

THE
Second volume of
Chronicles :

Containing the description,
conquest, inhabitation, and tro-
blefome estate of Ireland; first col-
lected by Raphaell Holinshed; and
now newlie recognised, augmen-
ted, and continued from the death
of king Henrie the eight vtill this
present time of sir Iohn Perot
knight, lord deputie: as
appeareth by the sup-
plie beginning in
pag. 109, &c.

By Iohn Hooker *alias* Vowell gent.

Wherevnto is annexed the de-
scription and historie of Scotland,
first published by the said R. H. and
now newlie reuised, enlarged, and
continued to this present yeare;
as appeareth in pag.

405: &c.
By F. T.

With two tables seruing both
counties added in the end
of this volume.

Historia placet nostrates ac peregrina.

1586



TO THE RIGHT HO-
 norable sir Henrie Sidneie knight,
 lord deputie generall of Ireland, lord president
of Wales, knight of the most noble order of the garter, and
 one of hir maiesties priuie councill within hir
realme of England.



Taking in hand (right honorable)
 to gather the particular histories of diuerse
 countries and nations, to ioine with a cos-
 mographie, which one Reginald Wolfe late
 printer to the queenes maiestie meant to
 publish in our English toong: when I came to
 consider of the histories of Ireland, I found
 my self so vnprouided of helps, to set downe
 anie particular discourse therof, that I was in
 despaire to enterprise to write anie thing at
 all concerning that realme, otherwise than
 incidentlie as fell to purpose to touch the
 same in the historie of England. At length

yet as maister Wolfes vse was, to impart to me all such helps as he might at anie
 hand procure for my furtherance, in the collections of the other histories, where-
 with I speciallie dealt; his hap was to light also vpon a copie of two bookes of the
 Irish histories, compiled by one Edmund Campion, fellow sometime of S. Iohn
 Baptists college in Oxford, verie well penned certeinlie, but so breefe, as it were
 to be wished, that occasion had serued him to haue vsed more leasure, and thereby
 to haue deliuered to vs a larger discourse of the same histories: for as he himselve
 confesseth, he had not past ten weekes space to gather his matter: a verie short
 time doubtlesse for such a peece of worke. But how breefe so euer I found him, at
 the persuation of maister Wolfe, vpon the hauing of that copie, I resolved to
 make shift to frame a speciall historie of Ireland, in like maner as I had doone of o-
 ther regions, following Campions order, and setting downe his owne words, ex-
 cept in places where I had matter to enlarge that (out of other authors) which he
 had written in breefe. And this I haue thought good to signifie, the rather for that I
 esteeme it good dealing in no wise to defraud him of his due deserued praise.

But now after I had continued the historie, and enlarged it out of Giraldus Cam-
 brensis, Flatsburie, Henrie of Marleburgh, and other, till the yeare 1509, in which
 that famous prince Henrie the eight began his reigne; some of those that were to
 bestow the charges of the impression, procured a learned gentleman maister Ri-
 chard Stanihurst, to continue it from thence forward as he saw occasion, being fur-
 nished with matter to enlarge the worke, whereof for those latter times I found my
 selfe vtterlie void, more than that which Campion had deliuered. What I haue

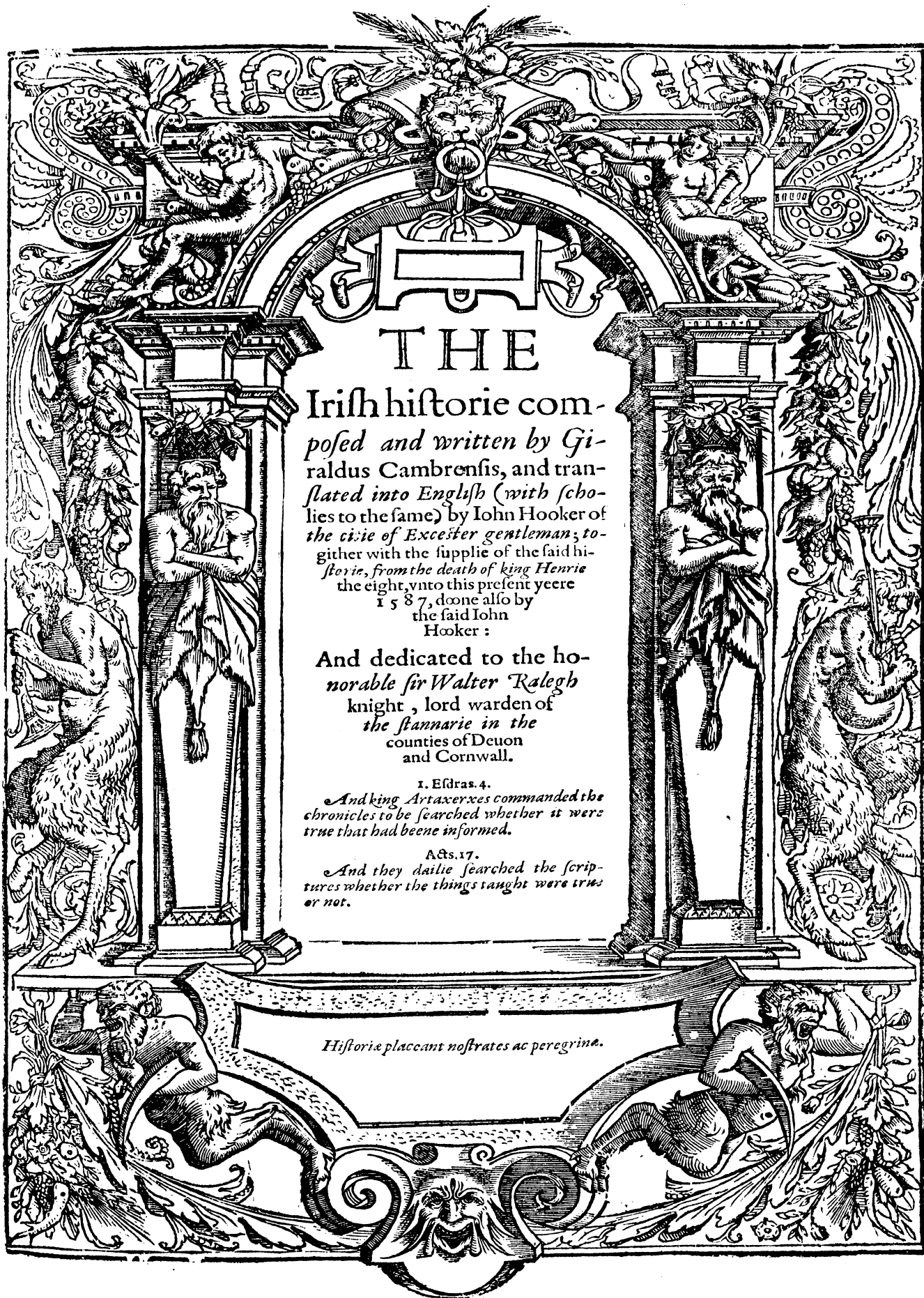
The Epistle.

doone heerein, your honors discretion shall easilie conceiue. For the imperfection
sith it is the first that hath beene set forth in print, I craue most humble pardon of
your good lordship, beseeching you rather to respect my good will than the per-
fectnesse of the worke, which (the wants considered) for the orderlie furnishing
thereof, is not to be looked for in the skilfull, much lesse in me the meanest of all,
and least able to performe it. Hauing presented the right honourable the earle of
Leicester with the historie of Scotland, to whom (as I haue heard) Campion made
dedication of this booke, I could not remember me to whome I might more conue-
nientlie offer this my trauell in this historie of Ireland, than to your lordship, be-
ing hir maiesties lieutenant in that realme. And therefore in most humble wise I ex-
hibit the booke to your honour, beseeching the same to beare with my bold at-
tempt therein, and to receiue it in good part from him that wished to haue more
amplie satisfied your good lordships expectation, if abilitie might haue answered
good will. Thus I beseech the Lord to guide your heart in his holie waies, & to fur-
nish you with politike prudence and skilfull knowledge to gouerne in your estate
and office, so as your doings may redound to his glorie, the fuertie of hir ma-
iesties dominion there, your owne aduancement in honour, and conse-
quentlie to the sure support and peaceable quietnesse
of the true and loiall subiects of
that realme,

Your honors most humble to command,

RAPHAEL HOLINSHED.





THE
Irish historie com-
posed and written by Gi-
raldus Cambrensis, and tran-
slated into English (with scho-
lies to the same) by Iohn Hooker of
the citie of Excester gentleman; to-
gether with the supplie of the said hi-
storie, from the death of king Henrie
the eight, vnto this present yeere
1587, doone also by
the said Iohn
Hooker :

And dedicated to the ho-
norable sir Walter Ralegh
knight, lord warden of
the stannarie in the
countie of Deuon
and Cornwall.

1. Esdras. 4.
And king Artaxerxes commanded the
chronicles to be searched whether it were
true that had bene informed.

Acts. 17.
And they dailie searched the scrip-
tures whether the things taught were true
or not.

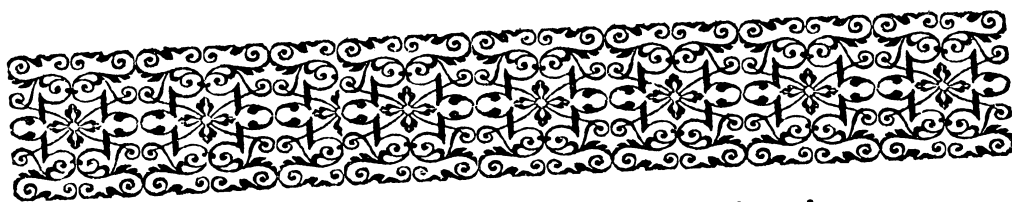
Historia placant nostrates ac peregrine.



¶ The authors out of whom this historie of
Ireland hath beene gathered.

{ Giraldus Cambrensis.
Flatsburie.
Henricus Marleburgensis.
Saxo Grammaticus.
Albertus Crantz.
Rogerus Houeden. }

{ Guilielm. Paruus Nouoburgensis.
Polychronicon, siue Ranulfus
Higeden.
Iohannes Bale.
Edmund Campion.
Records and rolles diuers. }



The contents of the chapters following
in the description of Ireland.

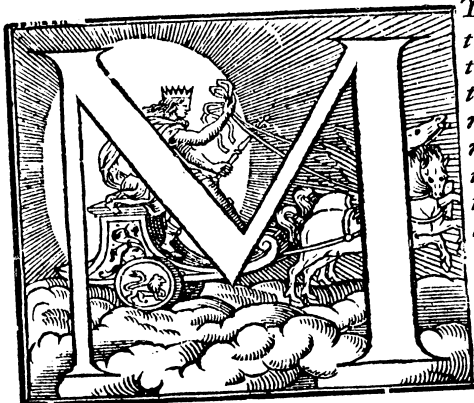
- 1 The names of Ireland, with the compasse of the same, also what shires or counties it containeth, the diuision or partition of the land, and of the language of the people. Chap. 1.
- 2 Of the nature of the soile and other incidents. Chap. 2.
- 3 The names of the ciuities, boroughs, and hauen towns in Ireland. Chap. 3.
- 4 Of the strange and woonderfull places in Ireland. Chap. 4.
- 5 Of the lords spirituall of Ireland, their names and dignities. Chap. 5.
- 6 The lords temporall, as well English as Irish, which inhabit the countrie of Ireland. Chap. 6.
- 7 The names or surnames of the learned men and authors of Ireland, and what bookes they wrote. Chap. 7.
- 8 The disposition and maners of the meere Irish, commonlie called the wild Irish. Chap. 8.

A.3.





TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE Sir Henrie Sidneie knight,
lord deputie generall of Ireland, lord president
of Wales, knight of the most noble order of the garter, and
one of hir maiesties priuie counsell within hir
realme of England.



My verie good Lord, there haue beene diuerse of late, that with no small toile, and great commendation, haue throughlie imploied themselues, in culling and packing together the scrapings and fragments of the historie of Ireland. Among which crue, my fast friend, and inward companion, maister Edmund Campion did so learnedlie bequite himselfe, in the penning of certeine breefe notes, concerning that countrie, as certes it was greatlie to be lamented, that either his theame had not beene shorter, or else his leasure had not beene longer. For if Alexander were so rauisht with Homer his historie, that notwithstanding Thersites were a crabbed and a rugged dwarfe, being in outward feature so deformed, and in inward conditions so crooked, as he seemed to stand to no better steed, than to lead apes in hell: yet the valiant capteine, weighing how liuelie the golden poet hath set forth the ouglie dandprat in his colours, did sooner wish to be Homer his Thersites, than to be the Alexander of that doltish rithmour, which undertooke with his wooden verses to blase his famous and martiall exploits: how much more ought Ireland (being in sundrie ages seized of diuerse good and courageous Alexanders) sore to long and thirst after so rare a clarke, as maister Campion, who was so upright in conscience, so deepe in iudgement, so ripe in eloquence, as the countrie might haue beene well assured to haue had their historie trulie reported, pithilie handled, and brauelie polished.

Howbeit, although the glose of his fine abbridgement, being matcht with other mens dooings, bare a surpassing kind of excellencie: yet it was so huddled up in hast, as in respect of a Campion his absolute perfection, it seemed rather to be a worke roughlie hewed, than smoothlie planed. Vpon which ground the gentleman being willing that his so tender a suckling, hauing as yet but greene bones, should haue bene swaddled and rockt in a cradle, till in tract of time the ioints thereof were knit, and growen stronger: yet notwithstanding he was so croft in the nicke of this determination, that his historie in mitching wise wandred through sundrie hands, and being therewithall in certeine places somewhat tickle too-nigh (for maister Campion did learne it to speake) and in other places ouer spare, it twitiled more tales out of schoole, and drowned weightier matters in silence, than the author (vpon better view and longer search) would haue permitted. Thus much being by the sager sort pondered, and the perfection of the historie earnestlie desired: I, as one of the most that could doo least, was fullie resolved to enrich maister Campion his chronicle, with further additions. But weighing on the other side, that my course packthred could not haue beene sutable knit with his fine silke, and what a disgrace it were, hungerlie to botch up a rich garment, by clouting it with patches of sundrie colours, I was forthwith reclaimed from my former resolution, reckoning it for better, that my pen should walke in such wise in that craggie and balkish waie, as the truth of the matter being forprised, I would neither openlie borrow, nor priuie imbezell ought to anie great purpose from his historie. But as I was hammering that worke by stealths on the anuill, I was giuen to vnderstand by some of mine acquaintance, that others had brought our raw historie to that ripeness, as my paine therein would seeme but needlesse. Whereupon being willing to be eased of the burden, and loath also in lurching wise to forstall anie man his trauell, I was contented to leaue them thumping in the forge, and quietlie to repaire to mine vsuall and pristinat studies, taking it not to stand with good manners, like a flittering flie to fall in an other mans

The Epistle.

his dish. Howbeit the little paine I tooke therein was not so secretlie moved within my closet, but it slipt out at one chinke or other, and camed so farre abroad, as it was whispered in their eares, who before were in the historie busied. The gentlemen conceiuing a greater opinion of me, than I was well able to uphold, dealt verie effectually with me, that as well at their instance, as for the affection I bare my native countrie, I would put mine helping hand to the building and perfecting of so commendable a worke. Having breathed for a few daies on this motion, albeit I knew that my worke was plumed with downe, and at that time was not sufficientlie feathered to flie: yet I was by them weied not to beare my selfe coy, by giving my entier friends in so reasonable a request a squemish repulse. Wherefore, my singular good lord, here is laid downe to your lordship his view a brieife discourse, with a tagged historie of a ragged wealepublike. Yet as naked as at the first blush it seemeth, if it shall stand with your honor his pleasure (whom I take to be an expert lapidarie) at vacant houres to insearch it, you shall find therein stones of such estimation, as are worth to be coucht in rich and pretious collars. And in especiall your lordship, aboue all others, in that you haue the charge of that countrie, maie here be schooled, by a right line to leuell your gouernement. For in perusing this historie, you shall find vice punished, vertue rewarded, rebellion suppressed, leuitie exalted, haughtinesse disliked, courtesie beloued, briberie detested, iustice imbraced, polling officers to their perpetuall shame reprooued, and vpright gouernours to their eternall fame extolled. And trulie to my thinking, such magistrats as meane to haue a vigilant eie to their charge, cannot bestow their time better, than when they sequester themselues from the affaires of the wealepublike, to recreate and quicken their spirits by reading the chronicles that decipher the gouernement of a wealepublike. For as it is no small commendation for one to beare the dooings of manie, so it breedeth great admiration, generallie to haue all those qualities in one man harboured, for which particularlie diuerse are eternised. And who so will be addicted to the reading of histories, shall readilie find diuerse euents worthie to be remembered, and sundrie sound examples daile to be followed. Vpon which ground the learned haue, not without cause, adiudged an historie to be the marrow of reason, the creame of experience, the sap of wisdom, the pith of iudgement, the librarie of knowledge, the kernell of policie, the vnfoldresse of treacherie, the kalendar of time, the lanterne of truth, the life of memorie, the doctresse of behauiour, the register of antiquitie, the trumpet of chivalrie. And that our Irish historie being diligentlie heeded, yeeldeth all these commodities, I trust the indifferent reader, vpon the vntwining thereof, will not denie. But if anie man his stomach shall be found so tenderlie niced, or so deintilie spiced, as that he maie not, for sooth, digest the grosse draffe of so base a countrie, I doubt not, but your lordship, who is thoroughlie acquainted with the woorthinesse of the Island, will be soone perswaded to leaue such quaint and licentious repastours, to feed on their costlie and delicate woodcocks, & willinglie to accept the louing present of your heartie welwiller. The gift is small, the giuer his good will is great, I stand in good hope, that the greatnesse of the one will counterpoise the smalnesse of the other. Wherefore that I maie the sooner vnbroide the pelfish trash that is wrapt within this treatise, I shall craue your lordship to lend me either your eares in hearing, or your eyes in reading the tenor of the discourse following.

RICHARD STANIHURST.



Chelength
and breadth of
Ireland.
Gerald, Cam-
bren, lib. 1.
topog. dist. 1.
rub. a. Polych.
lib. 1. cap. 32.

The name
Abernethy



A TREATISE CON-

teining a plaine and perfect description of Ire-

land, with an Introduction to the better vnderstan-

ding of the histories appertaining to that Iland:

compiled by Richard Stanihurst.

The names of Ireland, with the com-
passe of the same, also what shires or coun-
ties it containeth, the diuision or
partition of the land, and of
the language of
the people.

The first chapter.



The more part aswel
of Cosmo-
graphers,
as Chrono-
graphers,
do wish on
accord to af-
firm, that
the nation
of Ireland
(the utter-
most wea-
sterne Ile
known) is

halfe as big as Brittainia. Which I take to be true,
if the word Brittainia so farre displate the significati-
on, that it comprisse England, Wales, and Scotland.
To which opinion Giraldus Cambrensis relieth, say-
ing, that Brittainia containeth in length eight hun-
dred miles, and two hundred in breadth. Ireland
he taketh to be in length from the mounteins called
Tozach (the author of Polydronicon termeth them
Brendane his hilles) to saint Columbe his Iland
eight daies iourneie; rating of long Irish miles for-
tie miles to the daie: and in breadth from Dublin
to saint Patrike his hilles and the sea of Connaght
four daies iourneie, according to the foriniet rate: So
as by Cambrensis his surueie, who was a curious
inseacher therof, Ireland is three hundred & twentie
miles long of Irish miles, and one hundred and three
score miles broad. And accounting three hundred and
twentie Irish miles to amount to foure hundred
Engliss miles, which may well be reckoned accor-
ding to their iudgements that haue travelled in the
Irish territories: Ireland will be found halfe as big
as Brittainia. Girald. Cambrensis auoucheth,
saying, that Ireland is as big as Wales and Scot-
land. Ireland hath on the east, England, withui one
daies sailing; on the south east it hath France; Wit-
taine on the south, distant three daies sailing; on the
west the maine ocean sea.

Concluding the name Ibernia, hills, topographers

are not yet agreed from whence it is deduced. Some
write it Hibernia corruptlie, and suppose that the
stranger finding it in an od end of the world, foolish
and moistie, toke it at the first for a verie cold coun-
trie, and thereof named it Hibernia, as to saie, the
Winter land. But this error being vpon short expe-
rience reformed, it could not be that the name should
haue liued long, especiallie the first impositors surui-
uing the triall, and able to alter the first nomination.
Others bring a ghesse, that it should be named of Ir-
lamale. But because I read nothing of them in ante
probable historie, I purpose not to build vpon that
conecture.

Most crediblie it is holden, that the Hispaniards
(the founders of the Irish) for deuotion towards
Hispaime, called then Iberia of Iberius the sonne of
Iuball, and the rather, for that themselves had dwel-
led beside the famous riuer Iberus, named the land
Iberia (for so Leland and manie foren chronicles
write it) or Ibernia, adding the letter (n) for dis-
tence sake. And from Ibernia proceedeth Iberland,
or Iuerland; from Iuerland, by contraction Ireland:
for somuch as in corruption of common talke we
find that (u) with his vocale is easlie lost and sugges-
ted; so we saie ere for euer, nere for neuer, shole for
thouell, ore for ouer, ene for euen, dile for diuell. At
the same time it was also named Scotia, in reue-
rence of Scotach the wife of Cathelus, ancient cap-
taine of those Iberians that fitted from Hispaime
into Ireland: & the said Scotach was old grandame
to Iberus: and Vermon after the Scottish chro-
cles, who in ante tyme had their countreim
deriued from the Irish, and not from the Britons.
The name Scotia is of late yeares so vsuallie taken
for that part of Brittain that comprisseth Scotland,
that diuerse ancient Irish authors are holden to be
borne in Scotland; whereas in verie deed their native
soile is Ireland. As the famous scholemann Io-
hannes Duns Scotus, other wise named Doct of subti-
lis, for his subtil quiddities in scholasticall contro-
uersies, was an Irish man borne, and yet is taken
for a Scot.

Some hold opinion that he was borne in Man-
mon, a market towne five miles distant from
Wellsford. Others auouch, and that more trulie,
that he was borne in Downe, an old ancient citie
in the north of Ireland, and thereof they ghesse him
to be named: Dunsensis, and by contraction Duns,
which teaching is so trifull and common in all scholes,
that who so furpasseth others either in cauilking, or
erie, or subtil philosophie, is forthwith nicknamed a
Duns. Wherefore as Scotland is named Scotia mil-

whence it
proceedeth.

Ireland.

Iberus the
Hispani-
riuer.

Leland in
cyg. cant.

Scotia.
Scotach.
Cathelus.

Iohan. maior.
Scot. lib. i. ca. 9.

Iohannes do-
minus Scotus
borne in Ire-
land.

Why schol-
men are col-
led Dunces.

The length
and breadth of
Ireland.
Girald. Cam-
bren. lib. i.
topog. dist. i.
rub. a. Polych.
lib. i. cap. 32.

The name
Ibernia

nor,

Scotia maior.
Scotia minor.

Gaudell.

Banno.

The river
Banno.

Bagganbun.

Inuerna.
Ioan. Camet-
tes in cap. 35.
Solm.

Hermol. Barb.
ca. 16. in lib. 4.
Play castig.
The name Ir-
ish and Ire-
land curiously
fauored.

1. Lagenia.
2. Connatia.
3. Hultonua.
4. Momonia.
5. Media.
West Mæth
& east Mæth.

Hebriades.

The shires
and counties
of Ireland.

An. mun. 2533.
Cambrenf.
lib. 1. dist. 3.
rub. 5. & 6.

nor, so Ireland is termed Scotia maior, as the head
from whence the name of Scotia minor took his of-
spring. The Irish also were named of the foresaid
Gathelus, or Gaudellus, Gaudell. In their Irish
rithmes, they tearme Ireland verie often Banno. I
cannot diuine what reason should lead their makers
thereto, vntlesse it be the river in the countie of Wicke-
ford, named the Banno, where the Britons vpon the
conquest first arrived. The place otherwise is called
Bagganbun, according to the old ancient rithme: 10

At the creeke of Bagganbun,
Ireland was loft and wun.

For the remembrance of which river so notoriously
famosed, it carrieth great likelihood, that the name
should be to the whole realme generallie ascribed.
Sundrie Latine authors write Ireland Inuerna, or
thers luerna, diuerse Ijerna. Claudius nameth it
Iberna. The diuersitie of which names grow, for that
in their time the true and certaine name was not
knowne, so that they were contented to take it as
they found it, which matter is handled by Hermo-
laus Barbarus.

There are some of the ruder sort so quaint in seu-
ring the name Irish and Ireland, as that they would
be named Ireland men, but in no wise Irishmen.
But certes, in my fantasie such curious distinctions
may be verie aptlie resembled to the foolish butcher;
that offered to haue sold his mutton for fiftene grots,
and yet would not take a crowne. Who so will grate
vpon such nice diuersities, in respect that he is asha-
med of his countie; trulle (in mine opinion) his
countie mate be ashamed of him. Ireland is di-
uided into foure regions, Leinster, east: Connaught,
west: Ulster, north: Mounster, south: and into a fift
plot, defalked from euerie fourth part, and yet mea-
ring on each part, called thereof Mædia, Mæth,
comprising as well east Mæth, as west Mæth. Lein-
ster butteth vpon England, Ulster vpon the Scottish
Ilands: which face with Hebriades scattered be-
twene both the realms, wherein at this daie the Irish
Scot, successor of the elder Scythian, bid, or bid-
thanke dwelleth. Of these five, where they are fra-
mable to ciuillite, & answer the wits of the princes
courts, he sundred into shires or counties in this ma-
ner. In Leinster lieth the countie of Dublin, Kil-
dare, Wickesford or Wickesford, Catherlagh, Kilkem-
nie, the countie of Leice & Mphalie, called the kings
and quenes countie: these two latelie so named by
parlement, in the reignes of Philip and Marie, ha-
uing thire townes accordant, Philips towne, and
Marie bourgh. Connaught hath the countie Clare;
Ulster the countie of Louth, Doune, Antrim, one
moitie of the towne of Droghedagh (for the rest is in
Mæth) and Carregfergus. In Mounster lieth the coun-
ties of Waterford, Limerike, Corke, the countie
palantine of Tipperarie, Kerie, & the crosse of Tippe-
rarie. Mounster was of old time diuided into east
Mounster, Mounster, west Mounster, Desmond, south
Mounster, Conmound. The occasion why Ireland
was parted into these five principall regions grew
of this. There arrived in Ireland five brethren, that
were valiant & martiall gentlemen; to wit, Gaudell,
Conandus, Sagandus, otherwise named Gangan-
dus, Rutheragus or Rutheranus, & Slanius. These
five perceiving that the countie was not sufficient-
lie peopled, were agreed (as it were) to cast lots, and
to share the whole realme betwene themselves. The
four elder brethren seuering the countie into foure
parts, and being loth to vse their yongest brother
like an outcast or stepsonne, condescended that each
of them shoud of their owne portion allot to
Slanius a paring or parcell of their inheritance.
Which being as heartlie received of Slanius, as it
was bountifullie granted by them, he settled himselfe

therein, and of that partition it took the appellation
of Mædia, Mæth. The foure parts met at a certaine
stone at Mæth, nere the castell of Kilaire, as an in-
different meare to seuer the foure regions.

But although Slanius in the beginning had the
least parcell, yet in short space he stood so well to his
tacklings, and ineroched so far vpon his neighbours,
that he obtained the whole monarchie of Ireland. At
which time he did not suppress in oblivion his inheri-
tance of Mæth; but did enlarge it, and decreed it
shoud be a countie appendant to the monarch, his
diet or table. And albeit the confines thereof were by
Slanius stretched, yet it containeth not so much land
as anie of the other foure parts comprehendeth;
but rather by indifferent spruete, the halfe deale,
whereof also it is not vnknelie named Mæth. For
whereas in the time of Slanius, each of the foure
parts compriseth two and thirtie cantreds, Mæth
containeth but sixtene cantreds. A cantred is named
so much land as containeth an hundred townships.
This Slanius is intomed at an hill in Mæth, which
of him is named Slane. There hath bene in an-
cient time one Calfride Geneuile, lord of the libertie
of Mæth. This noble man became a frier preacher,
and decessed in the yeare of our Lord 1314, the twen-
tith of October, and was intomed in the abbey of
the Blacke friers at Trim.

There is also another diuision of Ireland, into the
English pale, and Irishrye. For when Ireland was
subdued by the English, diuerse of the conquerors
planted themselves nere to Dublin, and the con-
fines thereto adjoining, and so as it were inclosing
and impaling themselves within certaine lists and
territories, they ceased auaite the Irish; inso much
as that countie became mere English, and there-
of it was termed the English pale: which in ancient
time stretched from Dundalke to Catherlagh or
Kilkemie. But now what for the slacknesse of mar-
chours, and ineroching of the Irish enimie, the scope
of the English pale is greatlie impaired, & is cram-
pered and coucht into an od corner of the countie
named Fingall, with a parcell of the king his land,
Mæth, the countie of Kildare and Louth; which
parts are applied chieflie with good husbandrie, and
taken for the richest and ciuilist soles in Ireland.
But Fingall especiallie from time to time hath bin
so addicted to all the points of husbandrie, as that
they are nicknamed by their neighbours, for their
continuall dandgerie, Colonnies, of the Latine word
Coloni, whereinto the clipt English word clowne
seemeth to be answerable.

The word Fingall countenailleth in English
the race or sept of the English or strangers, for that
they were soles seized of that part of the Iland, gri-
ping with their talants so firmelie that warne nest,
that from the conquest to this daie, the Irish enimie
could neuer rouse them from thence. The inhabi-
tants of the English pale have bene in old time so
much addicted to their ciuillite, and so farre sequen-
red from barbarous sauagenesse, as their onlie mo-
ther tongue was English. And tralle, so long as these
impaired dwellers did lunder themselves as well in
land as in language from the Irish; rudenesse was
daie by daie in the countie supplanted; ciuillite in-
grafted, good lawes established, iustitie obserued, &
wellon suppressed; and in fine, the countie of a yong
England was like to that in Ireland. But when
their posteritie became not altogether so warie in
keeping, as their ancestors were valiant in conque-
ring, the Irish language was free dennized in the
English pale: this canker took such deepe root, as
the bodie that before was whole and sound, was by
little and little festered, and in maner whole putr-
fied. And not onlie this parcell of Ireland grew to
that

Mæth
it is named.

Mæth ap-
pointed to
king his table.

Cantred.

Slane.

Calfride
Geneuile.

The Eng-
lish pale.

Wickesford
whole En-
glish
the Pall.

The sateng of
a noble man
touching the
English of
Wickesford.

Did English
in Wickesford
and Fingall.

Water.

Fingall
celler in
husbandrie
Colonnies
of Fingall
Clowne.

Fingall
so named.

The ciuillite
of Ireland
ancient time.

The pronu-
tation of
Irish women

The super-
tation of
Irish.

The description of Ireland.

11

that chaulitie, but also Ulster and the greater part of Pouncker, as by the sequels of the Irish historie shall plainly appeere. But of all other places, Weisford with the territorie bated and perclosed within the river called the Bill, was so quite estranged from Irishie, as if a traveller of the Irish (which was rare in those daies) had pitcht his foot within the Bill and spoken Irish, the Weisfordians would command him forthwith to turne the other end of his tong and speake English, or els bring his trouchman with him. But in our daies they have so acquainted themselves with the Irish, as they have made a mingle mangle or gallimaufrey of both the languages, and have in such medle or checkerwise so crabbedlie jumbled them both together, as commonlie the inhabitants of the meaner sort speake neither good English nor good Irish.

There was of late daies one of the pères of England sent to Weisford as commissioner, to decide the controversies of that countrie; and hearing in affable wise the rude complaints of the countrie clowns, he conceived here & there sometime a word, other whiles a sentence. The noble man being verie glad, that upon his first coming to Ireland, he understood so manie words, told one of his familiar friends, that he stood in verie great hope to become shortly a well spoken man in the Irish, supposing that the blunt people had pratted Irish, all the while they tangled English. Howbeit to this daie, the dogs of the old ancient Chancer English are kept as well there as in Fingall, as they terme a spider, an attercop, a wisp, a wad, a lumpe of bread, a pocket, or a pucket, a sillibucke, a coppous, a faggot, a bleafe, or a blaze, for the short burning of it (as I judge) a physician, a leach, a gap, a shard, a base court or quazangle, a bawen, or rather (as I do suppose) a barton, the household or folks, meanie, sharpe, kéene, estrange, uncouth, easie, æth or eefe, a dunghill, a mizen. As for the word bater, that in English purporeth a lane, bearing to an high waie, I take it for a mere Irish word that crept into the English, through the daillie intercourse of the English and Irish inhabitants. And whereas commonlie in all countries the women speake most neatie and perillie, which Tullie in his third booke *De oratore*, speaking in the person of Crassus seemed to have observed: yet notwithstanding in Ireland it falleth out contrarie. For the women have in their English tong an harsh & brode kind of pronuntiation, with bittering their words so peevishlie and faintlie, as though they were halfe sicke, and readie to call for a posset. And most commonlie in words of two syllables they give the last the accent: as they saie, markeat, balkeat, goscoupe, pulloot, Robart, P. clafe, &c: which doubles doth disbeautifie their English above measure. And if they could be weaned from that corrupt custome, there is none that could dislike of their English.

Here percase some snappish carper will take me at rebound, and snufflinglie snib me for debasing the Irish language; but trulie, whosoever shall be found so overthwartlie bent, he takes the matter farre awrie. For as my skill is verie simple therein, so I would be loth to disuells my rashnes, in giuing light veridit in anie thing to me unknowne: but onelie my short discourse tendeth to this drift, that it is not expedient that the Irish tong should be so universallie gagled in the English pale: because that by pprove and experience we see, that the pale was neuer in more flourishing estate than when it was wholie English, and neuer in worse plight than since it hath enfranchised the Irish. But some will saie, that I shew my selfe herein as scrupolous as some losing gamblers seeme superstitious, when they plaie them-

selues drie, they gogle with their eles hither and thither, and if they can prie out anie one that giueth them the gaze, they stand lumping and lowering, fretting and fuming, for that they imagine that all their euill lucke proceeded of him: and yet if the stander by depart, the loser may be found as drie shaven as he was before. And euen so it fareth with you, because you see all things run to ruine in the English pale, by reason of great enormities in the countrie, either openlie praissed, or couertlie winked at; you glasse your eie on that which standeth next you, & by beating Jacke for Will, you impute the fault to that which perhaps would little further the weale publike if it were exiled. Now trulie you shoot verie néere the marke. But if I may craue your patience till time you see me shoot my bolt, I hope you will not denie, but that as néere the picke as you are, and as verie an hagler as I am, yet the scantling shall be mine. First therefore take this with you, that a conquest dwaleth, or at the least wile ought to draw to it three things, to wit, law, apparell, and language. For where the countrie is subdued, there the inhabitants ought to be ruled by the same law that the conqueror is gouerned, to weare the same fashion of attire therewith the victor is bested, and speake the same language that the vanquisher parleth. And if anie of these three lacke, doubtlesse the conquest limpeth. Now whereas Ireland hath bin by lawfull conquest brought vnder the subiection of England, not onelie in king Henrie the second his reigne, but also as well before as after (as by the discourse of the Irish historie shall euidentlie be declared) and the conquest hath bene so absolute and perfect, that all Leinster, Meth, Ulster, the more part of Connagh and Pouncker, all the ciuities and burroughs in Ireland haue bene wholie Englished, and with English conquerors inhabited, is it decent (thinke you) that their owne ancient native tong should be shrowded in obliuion, and suffer the enemies language, as it were a tetter or ringworme, to harbor it selfe within the lawes of English conquerors? No trulie.

And now that I haue fallen into this discourse, it will not be farre amisse to stand some what roundlie vpon this point. It is knowne, and by the historie you may in part perceiue, how haue the Ulster whilom flourished. The English families were there implanted, the Irish either vtterlie expelled or wholie subdued, the laws duly executed, the reuenue great, and onelie English spoken. But what brought it to this present ruine and decay? I doubt not but you geffe before I tell you. They were inuitoned and compassed with euill neighbours. Neighbourhood bred acquaintance, acquaintance wasted in the Irish tong, the Irish hooked with it attire, attire haled rudenesse, rudenesse ingendred ignorance, ignorance brought contempt of lawes, the contempt of lawes bred rebellion, rebellion raked thereto warres, and so consequentlie the bitter decaye and desolation of that woorthie countrie. If these thinke, when first they began to chap, had bene diligentlie by the dwellers stopped; hir maiestie at this daie, to hir great charges, should not haue bene occasioned to dam vp with manie thousand pounds, yea and with the woorthie carcases of valiant soldiers, the gaps of that rebellious northerne countrie.

Now put the case that the Irish tong were as sacred as the Hebrew, as learned as the Greeke, as fluent as the Latine, as amorous as the Italian, as courteous as the Spanish, as courtlike as the French; yet trulie (I know not which waie it falleth out) I see not but it may be verie well spared in the English pale. And if reason will not lead you to thinke

Weisford
with the Bill.

The feleng of
a noble man
touching the
English of
Weisford.

Did English
in Weisford
and Fingall.

Bater.

The pronun-
tiation of the
Irish women.

The supersti-
tion of gam-
blers.

A conquest
implicthly the
things.

The description of Ireland.

thinke it, tralie experience must force you to grant it.

In old time, when the Romans were first acquainted with the Greeke tong, as it is commonlie the nature of man to be delighted with newfangle waies: so he was accounted no gallant among the Romans, that could not prattle and chat Greeke. Marcus Cicero father to Tullie, being at that time kept in yeares, perceiving his countrymen to become changelings, in being bilwise and polmad, and to sucke with the Greeke the conditions of the Grecians, as to be in words talkative, in behaviour light, in conditions quaint, in manners haughtie, in promises unstedfast, in oaths rash, in bargains wavering (which were reckoned for Greeklissh properties in those daies) the old gentleman not so much respecting the neatnesse of the language, as the naughtie fruit it brought with it; said, that his countrymen the Romans resembled the bondslaves of Siria; for the more perfect they were in the Greeke, the worse they were in their manners and life. If this gentleman had bene now living, and had seen what alteration hath happened in Ireland, through the intercourse of languages, he would (I dare saie) breake patience, and would demand whie the English pale is more given to learne the Irish, than the Irishman is willing to learne English: we must imbrace their language, and they detest ours. One demanded merilie whie Oneille that last waie would not frame himselfe to speake English? What (quoth the other) in a rage, thinkest thou that it standeth with Oneille his honor to wryth his mouth in clattering English? and yet forsooth we must gag our selves in gibblishing Irish? But I dwell too long in to apparant a matter. As all the chiefties & tolongs in Ireland, with Fingall, the king his land, Meth, the countie of Kildare, Louth, Meisford, speake to this daie English (whereby the simplicitie of some is to be derided, that iudge the inhabitants of the English pale, vpon their first repaire into England, to learne their English in three or foure daies, as though they had bought at Chester a grotes worth of English, and so packt by the rest to be carried after them to London) even so in all other places their native language is Irish.

I find it solemnilie aduouched, as well in some of the Irish pamphlets as in Girald. Camb. that Gathelus or Gaidelus, & after him Simon Brecke, deuised the Irish language out of all other tongs then extant in the world. And thereof (saith Cambrensis) it is called Gathelus, partlie of Gaidelus the first founder, and partlie for that it is compounded of all languages. But considering the course of interchanging and blending of speeches togither, not by inuention of art, but by vse of talkie, I am rather led to beleue (seeing Ireland was inhabited within one yeare after the diuision of tongs) that Bastolenus a branch thither the same kind of speech, some of the 72 that to this familie befell at the desolation of Babel. Unto whom succeeded the Scythians, Grecians, Egyptians, Spaniards, Danes, of all which the tong must needs haue borrowed part, but especiallie retaining the Accs of Spanish then spoken in Granada, as from their mightiest ancestors. Since then to Henrie Fitzempresse the conqueror no such inuasion happened them, as whereby they might be giuen to infect their native language, vnouched in manner for the space of seuentene hundred yeares after the arrivall of Iberius. It seemeth to borrow of the Spanish the common phrase, Comestato, that is, How do you? or how fareth it with you? It fetcheth sundrie words from the Latine, as arget of *Argentum*, monie; falle of *sax*, salt; capouille of *Caballus*, a

plough horse, or (according vnto the old English terme) a caball or caple; birreat of the old mother-ten Latine word *Birettum*, a bonnet. The tong is sharpe and sententious, & offereth great occasion to quicke apophthegms and proper allusions. Wherefore their common iesters and rimers, whom they terme Bards, are said to delight passinge the best that conceiue the grace and propriety of the tong. But the true Irish indeed differeth so much from that they commonlie speake, that scarce one in five hundred can either read, write, or vnderstand it. Therefore it is preferred among certaine of their poets and antiquaries. And in verie deed the language carrieth such difficultie with it, wherfor the strangeness of the phrase, and the curious featnes of the pronuntiation, that a verie few of the countrie can attaine to the perfection thereof, and much lesse a forreiner or stranger.

A gentleman of mine acquaintance reported, that he did see a woman in Rome, which was possessed with a babling spirit, that could haue chatted any language sauing the Irish; and that it was so difficult, as the verie diuell was grieved there-with. A gentleman that stood by answered, that he toke the speech to be so sacred and holie, that no damned fiend had the power to speake it; no more than they are able to saie (as the report goeth) the verse of saint John the euangelist, *Et verbum caro factum est*. Saie by God his mercie man (quoth the other) I stand in doubt (I tell you) whether the apostles in their copious mart of languages at Ierusalem could haue spoken Irish, if they were apposed: whereat the companie heartilie laughed. As fluent as the Irish tong is, yet it lacketh diuerse words, and borroweth them verbatim of the English. As there is no vulgar Irish word (vnlesse there be some odd terme that lurketh in any obscure shrouds or other of their storehouse) for a cote, a gowne, a dublet, an hat, a drinking cup: but one lieth they vse the same words with a little inflexion. They vse also the contracted English phrase, God morrow, that is to saie, God giue you a good morning.

I haue apposed sundrie times the expertest man that could be had in the countrie, and all they could neuer find out an equiualent Irish word for knaue. The Grecians (according to Tullie his iudgement) were in the same predicament as touching the terme *Ineptus*: his words are these. *Ego mehercule ex omnibus Latinis verbis, huius verbi vim vel maximam semper petiti. Quem enim nos ineptum vocamus, id mihi videtur ab hoc nomine habere ductum, quod non sit aptus, idque in sermonis nostri consuetudine perlate patet. Nam quis aut tempus, quo quid postulet, non videt, aut plura loquitur, aut se ostentat, aut eorum, quibuscum est, vel dignitatis vel commodi rationem non habet, aut denique in aliquo genere aut inconcinuus aut multus est, id ineptus esse dicitur. Hoc vitio cum lata est eruditissima illa Graecorum natio. Itaque qui vim huius mali Graeci non vident, ne nomen quidem ei vitio imposuerunt. Ut enim quidam omnia, quomodo Graeci ineptum appellant, non reperiunt.*

Certes I haue bene of opinion (saith Tullie) that amongst the whole crue of Latine terms the word *Ineptus* hath bene of greatest importance or weight. For he, whom we name *Ineptus*, seemeth to me to haue the etymologic or ofspring of his name here hence deriued, that he is not apt; which stretcheth far and wide in the vsuall custome of our dailie speech or communication. For he that doth not perceiue what is fitting or decent for euery season, or gableth more than he hath commission to do, or that in bragging, boasting, or peacockwise setteth himselfe forth to the gaze, by making more of

Cic. lib. 2. de orat.

Oneille whie he would not learne English.

Camb. lib. 1. dist. 3. rub. 8. The founder of the Irish language.

Bastolenus.

Epiphani. cont. har. lib. 1. 1. tom. 1.

Bards.

The obscurity of the Irish.

The difficultie.

Haucines.

Rod. lib. 2. de Aile. & par. ciue.

John. vers. 14.

Irish boaght.

Fough.

The word the Irish.

Pro Irish word for knaue.

Lib. de om. lapsum.

Aquavice.

Theoric. Hermen. in Roman. iuxta Bonam.

The commodities of Aquavice.

the body, than the flesh is worth; or he that regardeth not the vocation and affaires of them, with whom he intermedleth: or in fine, who so is stale without grace, or ouer tedious in any matter, he is tearmed *Ineptus*; which is almost in English, in my phantase, as faulcie, or malapert. The famous & learned Graeke nation is generallie duffed with this fault. And for that the Grecians could not spee the enormitie thereof, they haue not so much as framed a terme thereto. For if you should ransacke the whole Graeke language, you shall not find a word to counteruaile *Ineptus*. Thus far Tullie. Yet Budæus would not seeme to acknowledge this barrennesse, but that the Graeke word *ἀπειρολογία* is equipollent to *Ineptus*: but that I referre to the iudgement of the learned, being verie willing to find out some other Budæus, that could fashion an Irish word for knaue, whereof this discourse of *Ineptus* grew. As the whole realme of Ireland is sundred into foure principall parts, as before is said, so each parcell differeth verie much in the Irish tong, euerie countrie hauing his dialect or peculiar manner in speaking the language: therefore commonlie in Ireland they ascribe a proprietie to each of the foure countries in this sort. Ulster hath the right Irish phrase, but not the true pronounciation; Munster hath the true pronounciation, but not the phrase; Leinster is deuoid of the right phrase, and true pronounciation; Connaught hath both the right phrase and true pronounciation. There is a cholerike or disdainfull interiection vied in the Irish language called *Boagh*, which is as much in English as *twish*. The Irish both in ancient time and to this daie commonlie vse it, and therefore the English conquerors called them Irish poghes, or pogh *apocrypha*. Which taunting terme is at this daie verie wrongfullie ascribed to them of the English pale. The English interiection, *Fough*, which is vied in loathing a ranke or strong saour, seemeth to be sib to the other.

Of the nature of the soile, and other incidents.

The second chapter.

The soile is low and waterish, including diuerse little Islands, inuironed with lakes & marish. Highest hills haue standing poles in their tops. Inhabitants especiallie new come, are subiect to distillations, rheumes and fluxes. For remedie whereof, they vse an ordinarie drinke of *Aqua vite*, being so qualified in the making, that it drieth more, and also inflameth lesse than other hot confections doe. One Theoricus wrote a proper treatise of *Aqua vite*, wherein he praiseth it vnto the ninth degree. He distinguisheth thre sorts thereof, *Simplex*, *Composita*, and *Perfectissima*. He declareth the simples and ingredients thereto belonging. He teacheth it to be taken as well before meat as after. It drieth vp the breaking out of hands, and killeth the flesh wormes, if you wash your hands therewith. It scoweth all scurfe & scalds from the head, being therewith dailie washt before meales. Being moderately taken (saith he) it sloweth age, it strengtheneth youth, it helpeth digestion, it cutteth regimine, it abandoneth melancholic, it reliseth the heart, it lighteneth the mind, it quickeneth the spirits, it cureth the hydropisie, it healeth the strangurie, it pounceth the stone, it expelleth grauell, it puffeth awaie all ventositie, it keepeth and preserveth the head from whirling, the eies from dazeling, the tong from lisping, the mouth from massing, the

teeth from chattering, and the throte from rattling: it keepeth the weasan from stinking, the stomach from wambling, and the heart from swelling, the bellie from writhing, the guts from rumbling, the hands from shivering, & the sinewes from shanking, the veines from crumpling, the bones from aking, & the marrow from soaking. Vltadius also ascribeth thereto a singular praise, and would haue it to burne being kindled, which he taketh to be a token to know the godnesse thereof. And trulie it is a soueraigne liquour, if it be orderlie taken.

The aire is verie holesome, not generallie so cleare and subtil as that of England. The weather is more temperat, being not so warme in summer, nor cold in winter, as it is in England and Flanders. The countrie is flozed with bees, contrarie to the opinion of some writers, who both in this and other errors, touching this countrie, may easilie be excused, as those that wrote by heare saie. No vineyards, yet grapes grow there as in England. They lacke the Robucke, as Polychronicon writeth. They also lacke the bird called the pie. Holweitt in the English pale to this day, they vse to tearme a die confener, a willie pie. Giraldus Cambrensis in his time complaineth, that Ireland had excess of wood, & verie little champaigne ground; but now the English pale is too naked: turffe is their most sell and seacole. No venomous creeping beast is brought forth, or nourished, or can liue in Ireland, being brought or sent. And therefore the spider of Ireland is well knowne not to be venomous, onelie because a frog was found lieng in the meadowes of Waterford somewhat before the conquest, they construed it to import their ouerthrow.

Bede writeth, that serpents conued into Ireland did presentlie die, being touched with the smell of the land, that whatsoever came from Ireland was then of soueraigne vertue against poison. He exemplifieth in certeine men, stung of adders, who drank in water the scrapings of bores that had bene of Ireland, and were cured. Generallie it is obserued, the further west, the lesse annoiance of pestilent creatures. The want whereof is to Ireland so peculiar, that whereas it laie long in question, to whether realme, Britaine or Ireland, the Ile of Man should appertene: the said controuersie was decided, that for so much as venomous beasts were knowne to breed therein, it could not be a naturall part of Ireland. And contrariwise, the Orkades are adiudged to be appendant to Ireland, because those Islands, neither breed nor foster any venomous worme, as Hector Boetius auoucheth. Giraldus Cambrensis writeth that he heard certeine merchants affirme, that when they had vnladen their ships in Ireland they found by hap some toads vnder their ballast. And they had no sooner cast them on the shore, than they would puffe and swell vnmensurable, & shortly after turning vp their bellies, they would burst in sunder. And not onelie the earth and dust of Ireland, but also the verie thongs of Irish leather haue the verie same force and vertue. I haue scene it, saith Cambrensis, experimented, that a toad being encompassed with a thong of Irish leather, and creeping thitherward, endeavouring to haue skipt ouer it, suddenly reculed backe, as though it had bene rapt in the head: whereupon it began to sprall to the other side. But at length perceiuing that the thong did embaie it of all parts, it began to thrille, and as it were to dig the earth, where finding an hole, it sunke awaie in the presence of sundrie persons.

It happened also in my time, saith Giraldus Cambrensis, that in the north of England a knot of pouncers toke a nap in the fields: as one of them late snoozing with his mouth gaping, as though he should haue

Vist. in celo philosoph. vel de lect. et. nat. cap. 11.

Poly. lib. 1. cap. 32.

Willie pie. Camb. part. 1. dist. 3.

No venomous worms in Ireland.

Camb. part. 1. dist. 1.

Bed. lib. 1. Angl. Hist. cap. 1.

The controuersie of the Ile of Man betwix.

Orkades appendant to Ireland. Hector Boet. in Scot. reg. descrip. pag. 9. Sect. 50. Camb. topo. lib. 1. dist. 1. rub. 29.

Camb. ibid. rub. 30. 31.

Irish leather repelleth venomous wormes.

Camb. in eo. dem loco.

The description of Ireland.

haue caught flies, it happened that a snake or adder slipt into his mouth, and glided downe into his belly, where harboing it selfe, it began to roame vp and downe and to feed on the yong man his entrails. The patient being soze distracted and aboue measure tormented with the biting pangis of this greivous ghest, incessantlie prayed to God, that if it stood with his gracious will, either wholie to bereaue him of his life, or else of his unspeakable mercie to ease him of his paine. The worme would neuer cease from gnawing the patient his carcase, but when he had taken his repast, and his meat was no longer digested, than it would giue a fresh onset in boing his guts. Diuerse remedies were sought, and medicines, pilgrimages to saints, but all could not preuaile. Being at length schooled by the graue aduise of some sage and expert father, that willed him to make his speedie repaire to Ireland, would tract no time, but busked himselfe ouer sea, and arriued in Ireland. He did no longer drinke of the water of that Iland, and taken of the bittels of Ireland, but forthwith he kild the snake, auoided it downe ward, and so being lottie and liuelie he returned into England. This far Giraldus Cambrensis.

Whether venomous
wormes were
expelled Ire-
land through
the prayers of
saint Patrike.

Polychr. lib. 1.
cap. 32.

There be some that more question, whether the want of venomous wormes be to be imputed to the proprietie of the soile, or to be ascribed to the prayers of saint Patrike, who conuerted that Iland. The greater part father it on saint Patrike, especiallie such as write his life aswell apart, as in the legend of Irish saints. Giraldus Cambrensis disaffirmeth flatlie that opinion, and taketh it to be a secret or hidden proprietie naturallie vnto the soile, from whom Polydronicon doth not swarue. For my part as I am wedded to neither of both the opinions, so I would haue bene easilie perswaded, being neither hot nor cold in the matter, to rest as a lukewarme neuter, in omitting the one and the other vnkand, were it not that one maister Alan Cope, or some other that masketh vnder his visours, more slanderouslie than pithille had busied himselfe therein. Wherefore, sith I may with better warrant defend my native countrie, than he or his betters may reproue it, especiallie where his slanderous reports are underpropt with him selfe surmises: I purpose vnder maister Cope his correction to cope and buckle with him herein: and before he beare the ball to the goale, to trip him if I may in the way. And because (gentle reader) I mind to make thee an indifferent vmpire in this controuersie, for the better vnderstanding of the matter, I will late downe maister Cope his words, in such wise as they are imprinted in his booke. First therefore thou must vnderstand, that his booke is made in dialog wise, a kind of writing as it is vsed, so commended of the learned. In these dialogs Irenæus an Englishman and Critobulus a Germane plaie the parts. Irenæus entresth into the stage, and in this wise be-
ginneeth.

Alan. Copus
dialog. 3.
acd. 28.

Incipiam a sancto Paulo: nostri in Melita (quam hodie Maltam appellant) Paulum viperam a manu pendente in ignem excussisse. In ea insula scorpiones, qui alibi sunt letales, Pauli, ut creditur, munere sunt innoxij.

Critobulus. Fortasse hoc habet a natura.

Irenæus. Falleris: nam insulani, ut Lucas refert, clamabant, delatum eod parricidum, cui cum mare pepercisset, irati dyserpentes, qui eum tollerent, immisissent: nec quicquam magis quam presentem eius mortem expectabant. A qua cum ille tantum abesset, ut nihil omnino damni aut doloris inde sentiret, in admirationem acti, dixerunt, eum longè supra hominem esse, & detum sub humana specie.

Critobulus. Sic est, ut dicis.

Irenæus. Cetera itaque audi. E specu, ad quem diuertisse dicitur, colliguntur lapides in tota ferme Europa salutare

Adhuc, quos nasci octauo calendis Februarij contingit (qui dies conuersionis eius memoria dicatus est) quacunque eos orbi pars in lucem proferat, non horrent nec formidant angues, imò, quod magis est, sola salua horum morsibus medentur. Id quod homo doctissimus & diligentissimus Thomas Fazellus nuper Thomam prodidit, vsu ipso rerum, & certis, nifallor, exemplis ab eo, Fazellus, obseruatum.

Critobulus. Ista quidem digna sunt obseruatione: etiam recorder, me legisse ac sapius audisse, precibus beati Patri-
cis Eibernie apostoli, ei regioni simile beneficium indultum, ne ea insula aliquid letale pariat. Dicit fortasse inde à nonnullis solet, nihil esse in Eibermia venenati præter ipsos homines, quod propter feros & agrestes eorum mores dictum à plerisque accipitur.

Irenæus. Eam regionem nihil pestiferum aut venenatum alere, tum ex multorum sermonibus, tum ex Beda intelligo: adeo ut terra illius regionis exportata, pestifera ac venenata animalia extinguat. Verum id quicquid est, non Patrio, sed naturæ regionis tribuo, propterea quod longè ante Patricium natum constet, eam fuisse eius regionis doctem, quam non est difficile alibi reperiri.

Bed. lib. 1.
Ang. hist. c.

Sententia ex
finitua s.
cap. 35.

I will begin (saith Irenæus) with saint Paule. You know that in Melita (which at this daie is called Malta) saint Paule slung into the fire a viper that stucke or did cleaue to his hand. In that Iland scorpions which are elsewhere deadlie or venomous, are become through the gift of saint Paule (as it is supposed) harmlesse.

Tush (quoth Critobulus) that may be percase incident to the nature of the soile.

Paule then (replieth Irenæus) you are in a wrong bor. For the Ilanders (as saint Luke mentioneth) shewed, that a parentuello was brought thither, and because he was not swallowed in the gulfs of the sea, the gods being in their iustian fumes, sent serpents to slay him. And they looked for nothing sooner than to see him euen at a twinkling to perish. But when they perceived him to be so farre distant from death, as that he sustained no harme, ne felt any paine, the people therewith amazed, said he far surpassed mans estate, & that he was a god inuested in man his shape.

You haue reason (answereth Critobulus) you haue hit the naile on the head.

Yea but I praye you clip not my tale (saith Irenæus) but take me with you. Stones are culled in the caue or den wherein saint Paule is said to haue baited or sojourned, which stones in maner in all Europe are soueraine medicines to cure the bitings and stings of scorpions and serpents. Furthermore, they that are borne the five and twentieth of Iannarie (which daie is named the conuersion of S. Paule) in that part soener of the world they are borne, they feare not or grudge not at snakes: yea, that which is more to be admired, the stings of poisoned wormes are healed by the verie spittle of this Iannarie brood. Which thing hath bene of late published by a well lettered man Thomas Fazellus, to haue bene curiously noted of him, as well by profe and experience, as by sure and substantiall examples, if I take not the matter amisse.

Then commeth in Critobulus, whome maister Cope maketh (I will not saie the vice or biecorner) but the pleasant conceipted gentleman of this enterlude, and fetcheth a long leape (for I am sure he could not lumpe so farre) from Malta to Ireland, and frameth his tale in this sort. By the faith of my bodie sir, here is stufte woorth the noting. And now I call to mind, that I haue read and often heard, that the like benefit hath bene imparted to Ireland, through the prayers of saint Patrike the apostle of the said Iland, that is to saie, that Ireland breedeth no venomous worme. And thereupon percase some are accustomed to saie, that there is no poisoned or venomous

Indgement.

Exod. c. 7.
verse 10.

• Iosa c. 10
verse 13.
• 3 Reg. 17
verse 22. and
Eccles. 48
verse 50.
• Act. 9. ver.
• Act. 9. ver.
• Act. 5. ver.
• Act. 14
verse 12.
• Act. 20
verse 10 &
• Act. 27
verse 23
• Act. 9. ver.
Act. 28 ver.

Augu. tra
in Iohan
Th. p. 3 q
a. 3 ad. 3

Gen. 3 v.

is taken to haue bene said of most men for their brutish and sauage maners.

To this (saith Irenaus) I am come to vnderstand by the report of diuerse, and also by Bede, that no poisoned or venemous thing is bred in that realme: in so much that the verie earth of that countrie being brought into other realmes, killeth all venemous and poisoned worms. But let the matter fall out which waie it will; I ascribe that propertie not to saint Patrike, but to the nature of the soile, because it hath been knowne long before saint Patrike was boine, that Ireland was indued with that propertie, which is elsewhere easie to be found. Whitherto spasse Cope.

In this discourse (gentle reader) thou seest that spasse Cope handleth two principall points, the propertie of spalta, and the nature of Ireland in destroying venemous worms, the one he ascribeth to the blessed apostle saint Paule, the other he will not in anie wise impute to saint Patrike. Touching the first, as I haue no occasion to intermeddle there, in, so I purpose not for the quarell I haue to the person, to disprove his opinion so farre as it standeth with truth. Wherefore that God that of his bountifull goodnesse gaue the grace to Moses, to turne Aarons rod into a serpent, to turne the riuer into blood, and to worke diuerse other effects that are mentioned in the scripture; to Josue, to staie the sun; to Elias to raise the dead child; to Peter to make the lame go; to heale Cneaz; to reuiue Tabitha; yea with his vertie shadow to cure the sicke; and the God that gaue to that Paule, of whose matter Cope speaketh, his gracious gift to make the lame go; to quicken and raise the deceased; and for his sake to salue his fellow passengers: it is not to be denied, but that God would impart his goodnes to anie region, euen the sooner that any of his blessed seruants would harborough there. And as I doubt not but Simon the tanners house was nothing the worse for lodging so happie a guest as Peter: so am sure spalta was farre the better for harborough so blessed a traveller or passenger as Paule. Which S. Luke letteth not to tell, declaring that all they which were sicke in the Island, flocked to Paule, and were cured; and also that the patient that was father to Publius, in whose house they were three daies verie courteously interteined, was by S. Paule healed. Which cure as well of that patient, as of the residue of the Islanders, did not onlie extend to their bodies, but chieflie & especiallie to their soules, according to the opinion of the learned diuines. For as our saul or Iesus Christ was neuer thought to cure anie ones bodie, but he would also heale his soule: so it must be thought of his apostles, in whose steps both in life and miracles they traced. And therefore the learned hold opinion, that S. Paule being in spalta expelled from diuerse of their soules the old serpent that deceived our progenitors Adam and Eue; for which God is to be magnified and glorified. Thus much I thought good here to insert, as a clause not wholly swaruing from that we treat of, and also that I would be found press and readie, as farre as my simple skill stretcheth, to vnderstand anie opinion that tendeth to the honor and glorie of God.

Whobest for so much as spasse Cope hath so strictlie dealt with Ireland, as with a countrie nothing appertaining to this matter, I trust he will pardon me, to be somewhat bold with him, touching the historie of spalta, that as his negligence shall be in this one disallowed, so his iudgement shall be in the other reuerfed. First therefore where he writeth, that the inhabitants of spalta clamabant, that is, cried, or shawted, it was not so. The Greeke text runneth,

οἱ ἀλλήλους, *Dicebant ad inuicem*, that is to saie, They muttered one to an other. And saint Luke paraphraseth his meaning after. For when they perceiued that the viper did not amole Paule, then saith saint Luke, *Conuertentes se, dicebant eum esse deum*; They turning the one towards the other, whispored or muttered that Paule was a god. Now put the case they cried, as spasse Cope saith, is it like that Paule was so busie in making of a fire, or that his cares did wander so farre off, as that he could not heare them? And if he heard them, thinke you that he would haue bene whist, in hearing God so farre blasphemed, as that he would suffer himselfe to be de-

scribed? so trulie. He would haue taken on, as he and Barnabas did at Lissris, where the inhabitants named them gods, Barnabas to be Jupiter, and Paule, for that he was well spoken, to be Mercurie. For when the apostles heard of their idolatrie, renouncing their clothes, they rush into the throng, crying and speaking, that they were mortall men, &c. In which place S. Luke putteth an expresse difference as it were of set purpose, betwene both the words, *Clamantes & dicentes*. spasse Cope addeth further, *Delatum est paricidam*, and yet the Greeke hath πόντος φόνεως; *Omnino interfectori*, or as the vulgar text is, *Utique homicida est homo hic*. So that they take him to be but a manquello, yet spasse Cope maketh him a parricide, which is worse. For although euerie parricide be a manquello, yet *E conuerso*, euerie manquello is not a parricide.

spasse Cope proceedeth further, *Irati dy. serpentes, qui eum rollerent, immisit*: The gods being angrie sent serpents to dispatch Paule. And yet forsooth, all these serpents were but one viper, as is plainelie exprest in the text, vlesse spasse Cope would teach saint Luke to tell his tale after the finest fashion, least the apostle should haue bene thought to haue fitoned. As a parson his spell, wherein mention is made of them that Christ fed in the desert, or wilderness. (quothe the parson) what a Christ was that, that with fine barlie loaves, and fine fishes fed fine hundred persons. The clirke hearing his master to grate ouer long on that point, for he did often iterate that sentence, stole by to the pulpit, and plucking the parson by his gowne, whispored in his eare that Christ fed fine thousand. Hold thee contented thou foolish fellow (quothe the parson) if I should tell mine hearers of so great a number, I should but discredit the gospeller, and they would not beleue me. So it fareth with spasse Cope. Wellike he mistrusted, that if he had said, that one viper could haue slaine Paule, the reader would haue suspected the vntruth of the matter: because it carrieth great likelihood with it, that one man could withstand one viper: and therefore to saue saint Luke his credit, he increaseth the number by putting the plurall for the singular. Whereas therefore it standeth with spasse Cope his pleasure, to flourish in his rhetoricall figure named, *Veritatis superlatio*, in terming muttering, shawting, a manquello, a parricide, one viper, serpents: he must be bozne withall, if in the heat of his figure he step a little abozie in the remnant of his discourse. For thus he saith.

And thereupon it is reported percase by some men, that there is nothing venemous or poisoned in Ireland, but the men and women. Which is taken to haue bene spoken by most men for their brutish and sauage maners. Here (good reader) thou must vnderstand that spasse Cope putteth the text doونه and the glose. The text is, There is nothing in Ireland venemous but the inhabitants. The glose is, This is said to haue been spoken for their brutish and sauage conditions. Now well harpt by saint Lankfield. Here is a glose, I undertake you, suitable to the text. But

Saint Paule heard not the inhabitants of spalta.

Act. 14. vers. 12, 13, 14.

spasse Cope his rhetorique.

The description of Ireland.

let vs see, how cunninglie M. Cope bequitheth himselfe. First he obserueth not *Decorum personæ*, secondlie he followeth not *Decorum dialogi*, thirdlie he sheweth herein little diuinitie. Touching the first point, who knoweth not, that these iapes and gibes are onelie fit for ruffians, vices, swashbucklers & tospots. And trulie they befit a diuine as well, as for an asse to twang quipassa on a harpe or gitterne, or for an ape to striske trenchmoeze in a paire of buskins and a doublet. The heathen misliked in an orator squiritlie, what should be thought then of a diuine, whome saint Paule would haue to be sober, modest, graue, and wise? Unlesse M. Cope leaning to the letter of saint Paule his words would beare vs in hand, that saint Paule would haue modestie to rest onelie in bishops. We are commanded in the old and new testament, to loue our neighbors as our selues. Which doth imple, that we ought not to slander our neighbors.

And shall a diuine then speake vncharitable, not onelie of one, but of an whole realme, and not onelie speake but also write, yea and that in the language that is vniuersallie spoken, thoroughout the greater part of the world, vpon no sure ground, but onelie vpon heare saie, weicng not what the prophet writeth, *Perdes omnes qui loquuntur mendaciâ*, Thou shalt destroye all them that speake vntruths: And were it that anie such slim slim flirts were soothed by anie person of credit; yet (as me seemeth) it would stand more with the grauitie of a diuine, that such childish quips, and scoresfull talvnts should sooner by his meanes charitable be whistled, than thorough his procurement carpinglie published. I will stand no longer on this point, but onelie craue M. Cope to resort to the fist of M. Critabulus, and there peruse Christ his verdict touching slanderous tongues. To come to the second part, in which he obserueth not *Decorum dialogi*, thou shalt vnderstand (good reader) that Critabulus, or Critabulus, whome M. Cope maketh his bagpipe to belch out his rancour, is a Germane borne, as M. Cope saith, who seemeth to be Critabulus his godfather. Now let anie one, that is acquainted with the manners of Germans, iudge, if it be decent, that one of them should scoffe and scoone the conditions and fashions of other countries. I will not speake by heare saie, as M. Cope doth, but by clesight. I could neuer espie nor probablie haue I heard it reported, no not of the mere sauage Irish, such quaffing, such swilling, such bolling, such gulling, such brutish drunkennesse, such sursetting, such vomitting, as I haue seene some Germans do. In god soth it is knowne, and for my part I haue seene it being beyond the seas, that in their carowling and cup friendship, they threaten such kindnesse on their companions, that least their felowes should mistrust them with double dealing, they will not sticke to shew them the bottome of their stomachs; & to the end they should take the better view thereof, they will place it now and then in their neighbors bosome.

Thus when they haue cast their gorges, they clap on their thumbe hats, and run like bedlem barretors into the streets with their naked flatbets, and there they keepe such a stinking sturre with hacking of stons, with beuwing of blocks, with thwitting of stocks, with striking of stalles, with thumping at doores, that it would make a horse breake his halter, to see so drunken a pageant. In fine, this qualitie is so naturallie ingrafted in the greater part of them, that a famous diuine did not sticke of late to saie openly in his lecture, that drunkennesse in that countrie man, was either *Peccatum originale* or *Accidens inseparabile*. I write not this (I take God to record) to the reproch or slander of that countrie (being loth to commit the selfe same fault that I reprehend in anie

other) but onelie my meaning is to settle before the reader his eyes the absurditie of M. Cope, in framing poore Critabulus to flout Ireland, considering that if he cast his eye homeward, he shall find as filthy puddle in his owne countrie, as in other realms. And therefore this quip saie as vnseemelie in his mouth, as for an whoze to reprehend bitchenie, or for an vsurer to condemne simonie. For as there is nothing lesse to be tollerated, than for anie one to haue an other to account for his life, that can yeld no account of his owne: so there is nothing that ought to mowzell by anie one from rebuking other nations, than to see the misdeancor of his owne native countrie. I would wish M. Critabulus or M. Cope, if it shall please him to make by the master, with indifference to weie the estate of Ireland, and so without parcialitie to frame his iudgement.

Ireland, and especiallie the ruder part is not stored with such learned men as Germanie is. If they had found preachers, and sincere liuers, that by the embalming of their carian soules with the sweet and sacred flowers of holie writ, would instruct them in the feare of God, in oberseng their prince, in obseruing the lawes, in vnderpropping in ech man his vocation the weale publike; I doubt not, but within two or three ages M. Critabulus his heires should heare so good a report run of the reformation of Ireland, as it would be reckoned as ciuill as the best part of Germanie. Let the soile be as fertile and bette as anie would wish, yet if the husbandman will not manure it, sometime plow and care it, sometime harrow it, sometime till it, sometime marle it, sometime delue it, sometime dig it, and sow it with god and sound coine, it will bring forth weeds, bindcoine, cockle, darnell, bzambles, bziers, and sundrie wild shots. So it fareth with the rude inhabitants of Ireland, they lacke vniuersities, they want instructors, they are destitute of teachers, they are without preachers, they are deuoid of all such necessities as apperteine to the training vp of youth: and notwithstanding all these wants, if anie would be so forwardlie set, as to require them, to vse such ciuilitie, as other regions, that are sufficientlie furnished with the like helps, he might be accounted as vnrasonable, as he that would force a creeple that lacketh both his legs to run, or one to pipe or whistle a galliard that wanteth his vpper lip.

But such is the corrupt nature of vs worldings, and me thinketh such vaine humors are not bitterlie dried vp in our sage and mortified diuines. We are most commonlie giuen rather to talvnt that which is amisse, than to praise that which is good; and rather we follow the spider in soking the poison, than in imitating the bee by sucking the honie. Now that it appeareth, that it was not sitting for the author being a diuine, to write so vncharitable, nor for M. Critabulus being a Germane to carpe other countries so snappishlie: let vs see what wholesome diuinitie hath bene here vttered, and how well the finewes of M. Critabulus his argument shall be found to hang together, when the anatomie thereof by peccemeale shall be examined. I call to mind (quoth M. Critabulus) that I haue read and often heard, that the like benefit hath bene granted to Ireland though the prayers of S. Patrike. M. Critabulus read & heard that by the prayers of S. Patrike, Ireland hath no venemous worme: Ergo some hold opinton, that the poison resteth onlie in the people. Truly this argument hangeth together by verie strange gimbolds. And I dare say, M. Cope neuer learned this kind of reasoning in the famous college of Pagdalene in Drford, what so euer M. Critabulus did in Germanie. But let vs put the logike apart, & scan the singular point of diuinitie. I would gladlie lerne in what part of scripture

ecclesi. 2. de
erat.

1. Tim. 3. vers.
4. 13.

Psal. 5. vers. 7.
Exposit. 1.
Vide August in
eundem Psal.

M. Cope 5.
vers. 22.

The German
his friendship.

2. Mac. 5. vers.
19.

Luc. 8. vers. 32.

Luc. 2. vers. 37.

Objection.

Answer.

or in what ancient father M. Critabulus read or heard (for most of his learning hath bene, as it seemeth, purchased by heare-saie) that ante holie prelat, that came of mere charitie to conuert a countrie from night to light, from rudenesse to knowledge, from infidelitie to christianitie, from vice to vertue, from the diuell to God (which doth imple an expectall zeale in saluing their soules) would purge the soile of all venomous woymes, & leaue the soules that haue moze need to be wooeded, wholie infected with the contagion of vice and sinne. Whereby insuech that the place is better than the inhabitants, and so consequentlie the saluing of the apachabees must be falsified: *Non propter locum gentem, sed propter gentem locum Deus elegit*: God did not chose the people for the place, but he elected the place in respect of the people. Our sauour Iesus Christ dispossessioning the patient of the legion of diuels, permitted them to enter into an heard of hogs. Critabulus would haue Christs saints do the contrarie, to dispossele the hogs, and to leaue the men possessed with diuels. For so he reporteth saint Patrike to haue done, by riding the land of all poisoned woymes, & leauing the rancour to lurke in the people. Trulie if the matter stood so farre out of ioiut, I doubt not, but the Islanders might haue come as lawfullie to him, as the Gergesens came ingratefullie to Christ, requiring him to depart their countrie. For such a scoffing prelat, his come had bene better than his companie, sith his abode would tend rather to the peruertering, than the conuerting of their Island.

Hitherto thou hast heard (gentle reader) how gallantlie Critabulus hath played his part: now shall I desire thee to vied how sagellie Ireneus claspeth vp all the whole controuerfie. He saith it is the nature of the soile, not to breed ante venomous woyme, and that was incident thereto before saint Patrike was borne. How proue you that sir: Pleaseth you to skew your eie towards the margent, and there shall you find the five and thirtith chapter of Solinus solemnlie quoted. Touching this matter, there is nothing in Solinus but this: *Illic anguis nullus, auis rara*. In Ireland is no snake, and seloome a bird, & yet birds are as commonlie there as in anie other countrie. But I would gladlie vnderstand how this authoritie of Solinus furthereth M. Ireneus his opinion. Ireland bred no snake before saint Patrike was borne: Ergo it ingendzed no toad, no adder, no frog, noz anie other diuulent woyme. As if a man would reason thus: Before saint Patrike his time there was no horsemill in Ireland: Ergo before his time there was no milhorse. Certes he that would wind vp his conclusion so fondlie, might be thought to haue as much wit as a rosted hore. His authoritie of Solinus is so far from vpholding Ireneus his assertion, as that it plainelie seemeth quite to ouerthrow it, & as it were in his owne turne, it giueth him a fall.

For the cause whie saint Patrike was moued to expell all the venomous woymes out of Ireland, might probable haue bene coniectured, to haue proceeded of this; that he perceiuing the land to breed no snakes, therof was occasioned, for the furthering of christian faith, to expell other kind of woymes that lurked there before his comming, as toades, adders, blind woymes, frogs, &c. Here perchase M. Cope may blench me, in replieng that *Anguis* may be construed generallie for all kind of vermine, and so I might be taken tardie in building my discourse vpon a misconstruction.

In good sooth to omit what strange and absurd signification *Anguis* should beare, by notifieng a poisoned spider and such like, and in mine opinion further from the purpose, than the father that dissuading his sonne from plaieng on fundate, fortified his reason

with the old said saw, *Non est bonum ludere cum sanctis*. It is not good, quoth he, to plaie on fundates or holie daies. Is it (thinke you) felonie or treason, to bring the credit of Solinus in question, for mistaking *Anguis* as well as *Auis*? For as he was grosslie decciued in the one, in writing that birds were rare in Ireland; so might he haue straid as likelie in the other, by disburdening Ireland of all venomous woymes, because the Island wanted in his time but one or two kinds, as a snake and a toad. Where a man buildeth vpon euerie twatling and pralling rumor, and his eie is not his iudge, he may be sure, that such slieng tales will catch manie feathers before they come at him that is as far distant from their nests, as Solinus was from Ireland when he wrote his pamphlet. The profe thereof as it is daillie tried, so not manie yeares past hath bene verie prettie beressed. There was a gentleman of mine acquaintance that met his enemie in the fields, where they both vpon a trifling quarell fought so frendlie, as they had more need to haue bene graped together with cables, than parted by indifferent sticklers. Howbeit, because the gentleman was neuer before flesht, and yet nothing at all that daie, for each of their blowes did commonlie light on the meadow where they fought, a friend of his reported well of him to an other, saying, that he was like in time to proue a proper man of his hands, for the well handling of his weapon in his late combat. Wherevpon some after, the other doubling the gentleman his praise, gaue notice to an other, that such a gentleman (naming him) fought valiantlie such a daie in such a place. Immediatlie vpon this in a shire or two off, it was noised that the partie praised, fought with two at once in such a place, naming the meadow. At length it was bruted, that he fought foure severall daies; and I am well assured that was the first fraie that euer he made, and I thinke it will be the last, vnlesse he be forced manure his heart to the contrarie.

Not long after it happened, that a gentleman and I trauelled abroad the countrie of set purpose to disport our selues, and so to retorne afresh to our books, where entering in communication with a blunt countrie lob (yet such an one as toke his halfe pence to be good siluer) that knew the foresaid champion. My companion and I made wise, as though we were not acquainted with him, or euer heard of the combat: Now in good faith gentleman (quoth he) you would do verie well to enter in acquaintance with him; for ouer this, that he is a gentleman abundantlie endued with singular good qualities, he is become of late so valiant a cutter, as he maketh blading his daillie breakfast. By saint Marie, quoth my companion, that is verie cold roste, and if his breakfasts be no better than a peece of cold proun, I little weigli how seloome I take a repast in his companie at anie such ordinarie. Paie, my meaning is (quoth the other) that he useth to fight fresh and fast, euerie morning, in so much that of late, I dare bide by it, he fought eight daies in one weeke. At which words I for my part coulde not restraine from laughing, seeing how demurelie the fellow kept his countenance, and how that he spake *Bona fide*. Wherevpon I shaped him an answer and said, that I neuer heard of anie that fought eight daies in one weeke, but onelie in old time, when five quarters made vp the yeare.

The fellow perceiuing that he ouershot himselfe, replied: Sir, you take me verie short, as long and as verie a lowbie as you imagine to make me: my meaning is, that he fought eight severall times in one weeke. Eight times (quoth my companion) then belike he fought once aboue commons. For you told vs right now, that he made his fraie his morning

Rumor catcheth feathers.

A frendlike commendation.

The description of Ireland.

breakfast, and whereas there are but seauen daies in the weeke, & he fought (as you report) eight times, and you know that eight maketh one aboue seauen, and seauen maketh six and one vnder eight; either you must confesse that he fought out his breakfast, dinner, beuer or supper; or else you must grant that there be eight daies in one weeke, or at the least two breakfasts in one daie: and that I am sure you will confesse to be as great an absurditie as the other. ¹⁰ Paie (quoth the clowne) and you intrap me with such subtiltie, you shall dine, sup and breake your fast alone for me, and therewithall departed. Whereby may be gathered, that if he had bin soothed vp, & his tongue let to run at libertie vncontrolld, like a bolue that runneth in a smooth allie without ante rub, he would haue brought himselfe to that baie, as he would not sticke to saie that his friend had fought eight daies in one houre. Wherefore as this pudding his pizke grew at length by report to an huge post, so the want of one venemous woorme in Ireland, being bured in ²⁰ foreign realmes, might haue bene so thwitted and mangled in the cariage before it came to Solinus his cares, as he might haue bene informed, that the countrie was denoid of all venemous woormes, whereas indeed there lacked but one kind.

Like as God of his iustice punisheth a countrie that is hardhearted, with outward woormes: so of his mercie they are remoued from a realme that is pliant to follow his lawes and precepts. As when Pharaos would not listen to God his threats denounc-
ed him by the preachers of God, Moses and Aaron, Egypt was punished with frogs and diuerse kind of flies, as is exprest at full in holie writ: and againe vpon Pharaos his feined promises (the secrets of whose hollow heart God perfectlie knew) at the instance of Moses, these plagues were appeased, and the vermine quite ertingished: so I praise you, is it so absurd a position to hold, that saint Patrike finding the Irish priest to embrace the gospell, as he did in verie deed, might stand so highlie in God his fauor, as though his earnest petition made to God, the poisoned woormes should be abandoned? This is not so rare a thing vpon the implanting of christian faith in anie region, but rather a propertie incident there-
to, according to Christ his promise: *Signa autem eos, qui crediderint, haec sequentur: In nomine meo demonia ejicient: linguis loquentur nouis: serpentes tollent: & si mortiferum quid biberint, non eis nocet: super egros manus imponent, & bene habebunt.* And these tokens shall follow them that beleue; In my name shall they cast out diuels, they shall speake with new tongues, they shall dye awaie serpents, and if they drinke anie deadlie thing it shall not hurt them: they shall laie hands on the sicke, and they shall be cured. Wherefore, sith it is so euidentlie warranted by scripture, that in the name of Iesus, serpents may be druen awaie, if Ireland be found through anie such means to be denoid of poisoned woormes, we are to ascribe the glorie hereof to God, according to the saleng of the prophet; *A domino factum est istud, & est mirabile in oculis nostris, Quod bath bene donec by God, and it seemeth wonderfull in our eyes.*

Thus farre (gentle reader) inroaching vpon thy patience, I haue imploied my trauell in defending my native countrie, against such as labour to distaine it with their slanderous scoffes. Touching the principall question, whether S. Patrike did expell poisoned woormes out of Ireland, or whether it be the nature of the soile, as I said in the entrie of this discourse; so I saie againe, that I weigh not two chips which waite the wind bloweth, because I see no inconuenience that may insue either of the affirmatiue or negatiue opinion. And therefore if M. Cope had dealt as modestlie as Cambrensis, the author of

Pelichronicon or others, that stood to the demall, he would haue gene scotfree with his complices, and haue made in mounterbankwise the most he could of his wares. But for that he would needs see further in a millstone than others, and not onelie slenderlie disproue the trinitall opinion, but scorefullie stander an whole realme, wherein he shall find his superiors in honour. His betters in parentage, his peres in learning, his mates in wisdom, his equals in courtessie, his matches in honesty: I must craue him to beare it patientlie, if by crieng him quittance, I serued him with a dish of his owne cookerie. And if for this my strect dealing with him (whereunto I was the soner led, for that as it is courtessie to mollifie wild speeches with mild answers, so I reckon it for good policie now and then to cleaue knurd knobs with crabbed wedges) he will seeme to take pepper in the nose, for anie recompense he is like to haue at mine hands, he may wipe his nose on his sleeve. And if it shall stand with his pleasure, to replie either in English or in Latine (the occasion of which is rather of him growne than by me giuen) he shall find me willing, if God spare me health, to reioine with him in so good a quarrell, either in the one language or the other: and when both tales are heard, I beseech him, for my part, that shall be druen to the wall.

Cambrensis reporteth of his owne knowledge, and I heare it auowed by credible persons, that barnacles thousands at once are noted along the shores in Ireland to hang by the beakes, about the edges of putrified timber, as ships, oares, masts, and holds, and such like, which in procelle taking linelie heat of the sunne, become waterfoules, and at their time of ripenesse either fall into the sea, or flie abroad into the aire. The same doe neuer couple in the act of generation, but are from time to time multiplied, as before is exprest.

Aneas Syluius writeth himselfe to haue pursued the like experiment in Scotland, where he learned the truth hereof to be found in the Islands Orkades. Giraldus Cambrensis gathereth hereof a partie conclusion against the Jewes in this wise following: *Respice infelix Iudae, respice, vel sero, primam hominis generationem ex limo sine mare & femina. Secundamque ex mare sine femina, ob legis venerationem, diffiteri non audes. Tertiam solum ex mare scilicet & femina, quia vidualis est, dura ceruice approbas & affirmas. Quartam vero, in qua sola salus est ex femina scilicet sine mare obstinata malicia in propriam perniciem detestaris. Erubescere miser, erubescere, & saltem ad naturam recurre, quae ad argumenta fides, ad instructionem nostram noua quotidie animalia sine omni mare vel femina procreat & producit. Prima ergo generatio ex limo, & haec vltima ex ligno. Illa quidem quoniam a Domino natura tantum semel, ideo semper obstupenda processit. Istam vero non minus admirabilem, minus tamen admirandam (quia saepe fit) imitatrix natura administrat. Sic enim composita est humana natura, ut nihil, praeter inusitatum & raro contingens vel pretiosum ducat vel admirandum. Solis ortum & occasum, quo nihil in mundo pulchrius, nihil stupore dignius, quia quotidie videmus, sine omni admiratione praeterimus. Eclipsin vero solis, quia rarius accidit, totus orbis obstupescit. At idem etiam facere videtur, flatu solo, & occulta quadam inspiratione citra omnem mixturam apum ex fauo procreatio.*

Marke thou wretched Jew, saith Cambrensis, marke yet at length the first creation (that is of Adam) of earth without male or female. As for the second, of a man without a woman (that is to saie Cue) for that thou hast the old lawe in reuerence, thou darest not denie. As for the third, both of man and woman, because it is daillie vsed as stiffneckt as thou art, thou dost acknowledge and confesse. But the fourth procreation, in which consisteth our onelie iustification (he meaneth the incarnation of Christ) of

Exod. 8.
vers. 7, 17, 24.
Vide Apoc. 9.
vers. 3, at
2 Reg. 8.
vers. 37.

Gregor. hom.
29. in euang.
Mat. 16. v. 17.

Isaia. 117.
vers. 22.

The barnacle.

Sabel part.
Ene. 10. lib. 2.
Cam. lib. 2.
pog. dist. 1.
rub. 15.
Thom. p. 39.
31. al. 4. 07.

How
they are
gendered.

Iohan. de S.
Gen. in lib.
exempl. &
nati. retum
4. c. 34.
whether the
barnacle be
fish or flesh
Cantor. lib.
topog. dist.
rub. 15.
Polychr. li.
c. 2.

Adam &
Uelie ere
by God.
August. sup
Gen. ad 1.
lib. 9. c. 18.

Genet
berfo 2.

Thom. a
of the
Thom. a
2. c. 2.
m.

of a woman without man, with sturdie and obstinat
 rancor to thine bitter destruction thou dost detest.
 Wholly therefore thou unhappie Jew, be ashamed of
 this thy fallie, and at the least wise haue recourse to
 nature, and settle his workes before thine eyes, that
 for the increase of faith, and to the lessening of vs,
 daily breath & ingendryeth new living creatures,
 without the coupling of male or female. Adam
 was created of earth, the barnacles are ingendryed
 of wood, because Adam was once created by him, who
 is Lord of nature, therefore it is continuallie admit-
 ted. But for that daime nature the counterfeite resse-
 of the celestiall workman, oftentimes breedeth barna-
 cles, therefore their breed is accompted more may-
 wellas than to be marvelled, more wonderfull than
 wonderes. For such is the framing of man his na-
 ture, as he demeth nothing pretious or wonderfull,
 but such things as seldome happen. What may be
 thought more beautifull than the course of the sunne?
 And yet because we see it daily rise and set, we let it
 overslip vs as an usuall custome, without anie sta-
 ring or gazing. Yet we are amazed and astonished at
 the eclipse, because it happeneth verie seldome. The
 bees that are ingendryed of the honie combe, onlie by
 a pisse or secret breathing without anie coupling,
 seme to uphold this procreation of barnacles. Wh-
 therto Cambrensis, with whom concerning the in-
 gendrying of bees Iohannes de sancto Geminiano
 accordeth.

The inhabitants of Ireland are accustomed to
 moue question, whether barnacles be fish or flesh, &
 as yet they are not fullie resolved; but most usuallie
 the religious of strictest abstinence doe eat them on
 fish daies. Giraldus Cambrensis, and after him Po-
 lydronicon suppose, that the Irish cleargie in this
 point strait. For they hold of certieintie that barna-
 cles are flesh. And if a man saie they had eaten a
 collop of Adam his leg, he had eaten flesh. And yet
 Adam was not ingendryed of male or female, but
 onlie created of claie, as the barnacles of wood &
 rotten timber. But the Irish cleargie did not so farre
 strait in their opinion, as Cambrensis & Polychro-
 nicon, in their disproue. For the framing of Adam
 and Cue was supernaturall onlie done by God,
 & not by the helpe of angels or anie other creature.
 For like as it surpasseth natures course to raise the
 dead, to lighten or insight the blind, so it stood not
 with the vniuersall & common linage of nature, but onlie
 with the supereminent power of God, to frame a
 man of claie, and a woman of a mans rib. But the
 ingendrying of barnacles is naturall, & not so won-
 derfull as Cambrensis maketh it. And therefore the
 examples are not like.

Now it should seme that in Cambrensis his time,
 the Irish cleargie builded their reason vpon this plot.
 What soeuer is flesh, is naturallie begotten or in-
 gendryed of flesh; barnacles are not naturallie in-
 gendryed of flesh, but onlie of timber and wood; bar-
 nacles therefore are not flesh, vntlesse you would haue
 them to be woden flesh. And if the reason be so knit
 it may not be disioynted by Cambrensis his example.
 As if a man should argue thus. She that is begotten
 of anie man, must be of force daughter to that man;
 Melcha was begotten of Aran; Ergo Melcha was A-
 rans daughter. This argument is of all parts so for-
 tified, as it seemeth of all sides to be impregnable.
 Yet a busie baine sophister cauilling on the terme
 (begotten) might saie, that Cue was begotten of A-
 dam, and yet she is not Adams daughter. True it is
 that Adam was not Cues father, no more than Cue
 was Adams mother, neither by that ingendrying
 was there anie degree of consanguinitie sprong be-
 twene them. But because the word (begotten) is ta-
 ken in the argument for the naturall ingendrying of

man and woman, the instance giuen of Cue doth
 not disproue the *Arior*. And yet for the better vn-
 derstanding of the question, it is to be noted that the
 philosophers distinguish *Animalia sensitiua*, that is, sen-
 sible living things, in two sorts, perfect and vnper-
 fect. The perfect are they that are ingendryed of seed,
 the vnperfect without seed. Those that are naturallie
 ingendryed with seed, can neuer be naturallie ingen-
 dryed without seed: albeit Auicenna verie erroneously
 holdeth the contrarie: as for example.

Because man is naturallie ingendryed of man and
 woman, no man may naturallie be ingendryed with-
 out the copulation of man and woman: yet super-
 naturallie it may be. As Adam was made without
 man and woman: Cue framed without woman:
 our sauour Christ begotten without man. And ther-
 fore the diuell could not haue attained him of origi-
 nall sinne. Contrariwise, the vnperfect may be in-
 gendryed without seed by mire, mud, dung, carien,
 rotten timber, or anie other thing; and chieslie by the
 secret influence and insillation of the celestiall pla-
 nets, as the sunne and such other. As if you put the
 haire of an horse taile in mire, puddle, or in a dong
 hill for a certeine space, it will turne to a little thin
 spralling worme, which I haue often seme & experi-
 mented. And they are termed vnperfect, not in re-
 spect of their owne nature, in which they are perfect,
 but in comparison of other sorts of living things.
 Among this crue must barnacles be settled. But here
 some will saie; Let them be perfect or vnperfect, what
 then? I would faine know, whether Cambrensis be
 in an error, or the Irish cleargie. For hitherto I see
 nothing, but Cambrensis his reason disproued. And
 it is often seme that a sound opinion may be weak-
 ned by a feeble reason, as we see manie fatte gar-
 ments made in the making. It is true: and if anie
 be desirous to know my mind herein, I suppose, ac-
 cording to my simple iudgement, vnder the correc-
 tion of both parties, that the barnacle is neither fish
 nor flesh, but rather a meane betwene both. As put
 the case it were enacted by parlement, that it were
 high treason to eat flesh on fridaie, and fish on sun-
 daie. Trulie I thinke that he that eateth barnacles
 both these daies, should not be within the compasse
 of the estatute: yet I would not wish my friend to
 hazard it, least the barnacle should be found in law
 fish or flesh, yea and perhaps fish and flesh. As when
 the lion king of beastes made proclamation, that all
 horned beastes should auoid his court, one beast ha-
 ving but a bunch of flesh in his forehead departed
 with the rest, least it had bene found in law that his
 bunch were an horne.

But some will peraduenture matuell, that there
 should be anie living thing, that were not fish nor
 flesh. But they haue no such cause at all. Pits,
 flesh wormes, bees, butterflies, caterpillers, snailles,
 grasshoppers, beetels, earwikes, ceremise, frogs,
 toads, adders, snakes, & such other, are living things,
 and yet they are neither fish nor flesh, nor yet red her-
 ring: as they that are trained in scholasticall points
 may easilie iudge. And so I thinke, that if anie were
 so sharpe set (the estatute aboue rehearsed, presuppo-
 sed) as to eat fridaie or sundaie, he could not be therefor
 indicted of haulte treason; albeit I would not be his
 ghest, vntlesse I toke his table to be furnisht with
 more wholesome and licorous viands. The like que-
 stion may be moued of the sell, and if it were well
 canuassed, it would be found at the leastwise a most
 case. But thus farre of barnacles.

Ireland is stozed of cowes, of excellent horses, of
 haukes, of fish and of foule. They are not without
 wolues & grethounds to hunt them, bigger of bone
 and lim than a colt. Their cowes as also the rest of
 the

Thom.p.1. q.
 91. art. 2. ad 2. 10
 Living
 things are of
 two sorts.
 Thom.p.1. q.
 71.1.0.1.10.
 Auicenna.

Gen.2. vers 7.
 Gen.2. vers 21.
 Mat.1. vers. 10
 Luc.1. vers. 34

Vide Arist. lib.
 1. Meteor. c.3.
 6.7.

The barnacle
 neither fish
 nor flesh.

The sell wher
 it is fish
 or flesh.
 Thom.p.1. a.71
 a.1.0.3.0.

How
 they are in-
 gendryed.

Adam, de S.
 Gen. 1. lib. de
 exempl. Reli-
 gionum lib.
 4. 36.
 Whether the
 barnacle be
 fish or flesh.
 Gen. 2. lib. 1.
 c. 2. 1. 1.
 Polychr. lib. 1.
 c. 1.

Adam & Cue
 vntlesse created
 by God.
 Aug. super
 Gen. ad lit.
 lib. 1. c. 1.

Gen. 11.
 vers. 3.

Adam & Cue
 created by
 God.
 Thom. p. 1. q.
 71.1.0.1.10.
 auicenna.

The barnacle.

Sabel part. 3.
 Ene. 1.0. lib. 5.
 Cam. lib. 10.
 pog. dist. 1.
 rub. 15.
 Thom. p. 3. q.
 31. art. 4. corp.

The description of Ireland.

their cattell, and commonlie at at else fouer the countrie ingendreth (except man) is much lesse in quantitie than those of England, or of other realms. Sheepe few, and those bearing course stables, whereof they spin notable rug. Their sheepe haue short and curt talle. They sheere their sheepe twise yearelie, and if they be left unshorne, they are therewith rather pained than otherwise. The countrie is verie fruitfull both of cozne and grasse. The grasse (for default of god husbandrie) suffered vncut, groweth so ranke in the north parts, that oftentimes it rotteth their cattell. Egles are well knowen to breed in Ireland, but neither so big, nor so manie as bookes tell. The hobbies are of pale caste, in running wonderfull swift, in gallop both false and full indifferent. The nag or the hackeneie is verie good for traueiling, albeit others report the contrarie. And if he be broken accordingly, you shall haue a little fit that will trauell a whole daie without anye bait. Their hobbies of seruice are called chiefe hobbies, being well broken they are of an excellent courage. They reime pallinglie, and champe vpon their bydels brauelie, commonlie they amble not but gallop and run. And these hobbies are but for skirmishes, not for traueiling, for their stomachs are such, as they disdain to be hackned. Thereof the report grew, that the Irish hobbie will not hold out in traueiling. You shall haue of the third sort a bassard or mongrell hobbie, more as tall as the hobbie of seruice, strong in traueiling, caste in ambling, and verie swift in running. Of the hobbie of seruice they make great store, as when at times of need they repose a great pece of safetie. This good Volaterane writeth to haue come from Austurea, the countrie of Hispanie, betwene Gallicia and Portugall, whereof they were named Asturcones, a name now properlie applied to the Hispanish genet.

The mongrell hobbie.

Volat. lib. 3. Geog. Asturcones.

The names of the ciuities, boroughs and haven townes in Ireland.

The third chapter.

Dublinum.

Dublin the beautie and eye of Ireland, hath bene named by Ptolome, in ancient time, Eblana. Some terme it Dublinia, others Dublinia, manie write it Dublinum, authors of better skill name it Dublinium. The Irish call it, Baile er Cleagh, that is, a towne planted vpon hurdels. For the common opinion is, that the plot vpon which the ciuitie is builded, hath bene a marish ground; and for that by the art or inuention of the first founder, the water could not be voided, he was forced to fassen the quakemire with hurdels, and vpon them to build the citie. I heard of some that came of building of houses to this foundation: and other hold opinion that if a cart or waine run with a round and maine pale through a street called the high street, the houses on each side shall be percerued to shake. This citie was builded, or rather the buildings thereof enlarged, about the yeare of our Lord 1155. For about this time there arriued in Ireland three noble Castrellings that were brethren, Auellanus, Sitaracus, and Puozus. Auellanus being the eldest brother builded Dublin, Sitaracus Waterford, and Puozus Limerike. Of the founder Auellanus, Dublin was named Auellana, and after by corruption of speach Eblana. This citie, as it is not in antiquitie inferiour to anye citie in Ireland, so in pleasant situation, in gorgious buildings, in the multitude of people, in martiall chivalrie, in

Dublin builded.

Auellanus the founder of Dublin.

Auellana, Eblana.

obedience and loialtie, in the abundance of wealth, in largeness of hospitalite, in maners and civillitie it is superiour to all other citie and townes in that realme. And therefore it is commonlie called the 3rd rith or yong London. The seat of this citie is of all sides pleasant, comfortable, and wholesome. If you would traueise hills, they are not far off. If champion ground, it lieth of all parts. If you be delited with fresh water, the famous river called the Liffie, named of Ptolome Lybnum, runneth fast by. If you will take the view of the sea, it is at hand. The onlie fault of this citie is, that it is lesse frequented of merchant estrangers, because of the bare haven. Their charter is large. King Henrie the fourth gaue this citie the sword, in the yeare of our Lord 1409, and was ruled by a maior and two bailiffes, which were changed into shiriffes by a charter granted by Edward the first, in the yeare of our Lord 1547. In which yeare John Kians and Robert Kians, two worthypfull gentlemen, were colleagues in that office, & there of they are named the last bailiffes & first shiriffes that haue bene in Dublin. It appereth by the ancient seale of this citie, called *Signum prepositurae*, that this citie hath bene in old time gouerned by a prouost.

The hospitalitie of the maior and the shiriffes for the yeare being, is so large and bountifull, that sothlie (London forspiced) verie few such officers vnder the crowne of England keepe so great a port, none I am sure greater. The maior, ouer the number of officers that take their daile repast at his table, keepeth for his yeare in maner open house. And albeit in tearme time his house is frequented as well of the nobilitie as of other potentais of great calling: yet his ordinarie is so good, that a verie few set feasts are prouided for them. They that spend least in their maioraltie (as those of credit, yea and such as bare the office haue informed me) make an ordinarie account of five hundred pounds for their viand and diet that yeare: which is no small summe to be bestowed in housekeeping, namelie where vittels are so good cheape, and the presents of friends diuerse and sundrie.

There hath bene of late yeares a worthypfull gentleman, named Patrike Scarlesfield, that bare the office of the maioraltie in Dublin, who kept so great port in this yeare, as his hospitalitie to his fame and renowne reffecth as yet in fresh memorie. One of his expectall and entire friends entering in communication with the gentleman, his yeare being well nere expired, moued question, to what he thought his expenses all that yeare amounted? Trueth James (so his friend was named) quoth maister Scarlesfield, I take betwene me and God, when I entered into mine office, the last saint Hierome his daie (which is the morrow of Michaelmasse, on which daie the maior taketh his oth before the chiefe baron, at the archerker within the castell of Dublin) I had three barnes well stozed and thwackt with corne, and I assured my selfe, that anye one of these three had bene sufficient to haue stozed mine house with bread, ale, and beere for this yeare. And now God and god companie be thanked, I stand in doubt, whether I shall rub out my maioraltie with my third barne, which is well nigh with my yeare ended. And yet nothing smiteth me so much at the heart, as that the knot of god fellows that you see here (he ment the sergeants and officers) are readie to sit from me, and make their next yeares abode with the next maior.

And certes I am so much wedded to god fellows, as if I could mainteine mine house to my contentation, with deftraing of five hundred pounds yearelie, I would make humble sute to the citizens,

Dublin the seat of the 3rd rith London.

The sword given to Dublin.

Dublin gouerned by a prouost.

The hospitalitie of the maior and shiriffes.

Patrike Scarlesfield his hospitalitie.

The morrow of Michaelmasse.

Com dnm his intertainment.

Chaucer the prolog of his Canterbury tales.

Nicholas Stanburgh.

The hospitalitie of Dublin.

to be their officer these thre yeaeres to come. Duer this, he did at the same time protest with oth, that he spent that yeaere in housekeeping twentie tuns of claret wine, ouer and aboue white wine, sacke, malmesie, muscadell, &c. And in verie deed it was not to be marvelled: for during his maiortaltie, his house was so open, as commonly from five of the clocke in the morning, to ten at night, his butterie and cellars were with one crew or other frequented. To the haunting of which ghests were the sooner allured, for that you should neuer marke him or his bedfellow (such was their burcomnesse) once frowne or wrynkle their foreheads, or bend their browes, or glowme their countenances, or make a fowle face at anie ghest, were he neuer so meane. But their interteimment was so notable, as they would sauce their bountifull & deintie faire with heartie and amiable chere. His porter or anie other officer durst not for both his eares geue the simplest man that resorted to his house Tom dym his interteimment, which is, to hale a man in by the head, and thrust him out by both the shoulders. For he was fullie resolved, that his worship and reputation could not be more diffained, than by the currish interteimment of anie ghest. To be brieve (according to the golden verses of the ancient and famous English poet Geffrie Chaucer:

An housholder, and that a great, was hee,
Saint Iulian he was in his countrie.
His bread, his ale, was alwaie after one,
A better viended man was no where none.
Without bakte meat was neuer his house,
Of fish and flesh, and that so plenteouse.
It stewed in his house of meat and drinke,
Of all deinties that men could thinke.
After the sundrie seasons of the yere,
So changed he his meat and his suppere.
Full manie a fat partrich had he in mew,
And manie a breme, and manie a lucc in stew.

Some of his friends, that were smudging pentic-fathers, would take him by verie roughlie for his lausling & his outrageous expences, as they tearme it. Truly my maisters (would he saie) take not the matter so hot: who so commeth to my table, and hath no need of my meat, I know he commeth for the good will he beareth me; and therefore I am beholding to thanke him for his companie: if he resort for need, how maie I bestow my goods better, than in releuing the poze? If you had perceived me so far behind hand, as that I had bene like to haue brought haddocke to paddocke, I would patientlie permit you, both largelie to controll me, and friendlie to reprove me. But so long as I cut so large thongs of mine owne leather, as that I am not yet come to my buckle, and during the time I keepe my selfe so farre adote, as that I haue as much water as my ship dralweith: I praye pardon me to be liberall in spending, sith God of his goodnesse is gracions in sending.

And in deed so it fell out. For at the end of his maiortaltie he ought no man a dotkin. What he depended was his owne: and euer after during his life, he kept so worshipie a standing house, as that hee seemed to surrender the princes sword to other maiors, and reserved the port & hospitalitie to himselfe. Not long before him was Nicholas Staniburst their maior, who was so great and good an housholder, that during his maiortaltie, the lord chancellor of the realme was his dailie and ordinarie ghest. There hath bene of late worshipfull ports kept by maister Fian, who was twise maior, maister Sedgraue, Thomas Fitz Simons, Robert Cusacke, Walter Cusacke, Nicholas Fitz Simons, James Wedlow, Christopher Jagan, and diuerse others. And not onelie their officers so farre excell in hospitalitie, but al-

so the greater part of the ciuitie is generallie addicted to such ordinarie and standing houses, as it would make a man muse which waie they are able to beare it out, but onelie by the goodnesse of God, which is the upholder and furtherer of hospitalitie. What should I here speake of their charitable almes, dailie and hourelie extended to the needie? The poze prisoners both of the Pelwgate and the castell, with thre or foure hospitals, are chieflie, if not onelie, relieved by the citizens.

Furthermore, there are so manie other extraordinary beggers that dailie swarme there, so charitable succored, as that they make the whole ciuitie in effect their hospitall. The great expences of the citizens maie probablie be gathered by the worshipie and fairlike markets, wecklie on wednesdaie and fridaie kept in Dublin. Their shambles is so well stored with meat, and their market with corne, as not onelie in Ireland, but also in other countries you shall not see anie one shambles, or anie one market better furnished with the one or the other, than Dublin is. The citizens haue from time to time in fundie conflicts so galled the Irish, that euen to this daie, the Irish feare a ragged and tagged blacke standard that the citizens haue, almost througth tract of time worne to the hard stumps. This standard they carrie with them in hostings, being neuer displayed but when they are readie to enter into battell, and come to the shoocke. The sight of which banteth the Irish about measure.

And for the better training of their youth in martiall exploits, the citizens vse to muster foure times by the yeaere: on Blacke mondaie, which is the morrow of Easter daie, on Maie daie, saint John Baptist his eue, and saint Peter his eue. Whereof two are ascribed to the maior & shiriffes: the other two, to wit, the musters on Maie daie and saint Peter his eue, are assigned to the maior and shiriffes of the Bull ring. The maior of the Bull ring is an officer elected by the citizens, to be as it were capteine or gaudian of the batchelers and the inwedded youth of the ciuitie. And for the yeaere he hath authoritie to chastise and punish such as frequent brothelhouses, and the like vnchast places. He is tearmed the maior of the Bull ring, of an iron ring that sticketh in the corne market, to which the bulles that are pearcelie bated be vsuallie tied: which ring is had by him and his companie in so great price, as if anie citizen batcheler hap to marrie, the maior of the Bull ring and his crue conduct the bridegrome vpon his returne from church, to the market place, and there with a solemne kisse for his *plimum vale*, he doth homage vnto the Bull ring.

The Blacke mondaie muster spring of this occasion. Soone after Ireland was conquered by the Britons, & the greater part of Leinster pacified, diuerse townesmen of Bristow flied from thence to Dublin, and in short space the ciuitie was by them so well inhabited, as it grew to bee verie populous. Wherevpon the citizens hauing ouer great affiance in the multitude of the people, and so consequentlie being somewhat retchlesse in heading the mounteine enimie that lurked vnder their noses, were wont to come and rolle in clusers, sometime thre or foure miles from the towne. The Irish enimie speng that the citizens were accustomed to fetch such od vagaries, expectallie on the holic daies, & hauing an inkling withall by some false clatterfert or other, that a companie of them would haue ranged abroad, on mondaie in the Easter weeke towards the wood of Cullen, which is distant two miles from Dublin, they laie in skale verie well appointed, and laid in fundie places for their comming. The citizens rather minding the pleasure they should presentlie inioy, than

The shambles and markets at Dublin.

The blacke standard.

The masters of Dublin.

The maior of the Bull ring

The blacke mondaie.

Dublin inhabited by the Britons. This was about the yeaere of our Lord 1209.

Tom dym his interteimment.

Chaucer hit the prolog of his Canterbury tales

Nicholas Staniburst.

The hospitallie of Dublin.

The description of Ireland.

than forecasting the hurt that might insue, flockt vnarmed out of the ciuitie to the wood, where being intercepted by them that late hounding in ambush, they were to the number of five hundred miserable slaine. Whereupon the remnant of the citizens deeming that unluckie time to be a crosse or a dismall daie, gaue it the appellation of Blacke mondaie.

The citie some after being peopled by a fresh supplye of Wiffollians, to dare the Irish enemie, agreed to banket yearelie in that place, which to this daie is obserued. For the maior and the shiriffs with the citizens repaire to the wood of Cullen, in which place the maior bestoweth a coslie dinner within a mote or a rundell, and both the shiriffs within another: where they are so well garded with the youth of the ciuitie, as the mounteine enemie dareth not attempt to snatch as much as a pastie crust from thence. Dublin hath at this daie within the citie and in the suburbs these churches that insue, of which the greater number are parioch churches, onelie Christs church with a few oratories and chappels excepted. Christs church, otherwise named *Ecclesia sancta trinitatis*, a cathedrall church, the ancientest that I can find recorded of all the churches now standing in Dublin. I take it to haue bene builded, if not in Auellanus his time, yet some after by the Danes. The building of which was both repaired & enlarged by Critius prince of Dublin, at the earnest request of Donat the bishop, and some after the conquest it hath bene much beautified by Robert Fitz Stephans and Strangbow the erle of Penbroke, who with his sonne is in the bodie of the church intombed. The chappell that standeth in the choye, commonlie called the new chappell, was builded by Gerald Fitz Thomas earle of Kildare, in the yeare of our Lord 1510, where he is intombed.

Saint Patrikes church, a cathedrall church, indued with notable liuings, and diuerse fat benefices. It hath a chappell at the north doore which is called the paroch church. This church was founded by the famous and worshipful prelate John Commin, about the yeare of our Lord 1197. His foundation was greatlie advanced by the liberalitie of king John. There hath risen a great contention betwixt this church and Christs church for antiquitie, wherein doubtlesse S. Patrike his church ought to giue place, vntlesse they haue further matter to shew, and better reasons to build vpon than their foundations, in which this church by manie yeares is inferior to the other. Saint Nicholas, Saint Michael, Saint Werberosse, or Saint Warburgh, so called of a Cheshire virgine. The citizens of Chester founded this church, with two chappels thereto annexed; the one called our ladies chappell, the other S. Martins chappell. His feast is kept the third of february. This church with a great part of the citie was burned in the yeare 1301: but againe by the parochians reedified. Saint John the euangelist, Saint Audeon, which is corruptlie called Saint Owen, or Dwen. His feast is solemnized the fourteenth of August. The paroch of this church is accounted the best in Dublin, for that the greater number of the aldermen and the workshops of the citie are demurant within that paroch.

Saint Tullochke now prophaned. In this church in old time, the familie of the Fitz Simons was for the moze part buried. The paroch was meared from the Crane castell, to the fish shambles, called the Cockhill, with Dzelson his innes, & the lane thereto adioining, which scope is now vntied to Saint John his paroch. S. Katharine, S. Michan or Mighan, Saint James; his feast is celebrated the five and twentieth of Iulie, on which daie in ancient time was there a worthise faire kept at Dublin, continuing six daies, vnto which resorted diuers merchants, as

well from England, as from France and Flanders. And they afforded their wares so dogdrap, in respect of the citie merchants, that the countrie was yeare by yeare sufficientlie forced by strangers: and the citie merchants not offering their wares, but to such as had not readie chinkes, and the re vpon forced to run on the score, were verie much impoverished. Wherefore partlie thorough the canuassing of the towne merchants, and partlie by the winking of the rest of the citizens, being woon vpon manie gate glosed promises, by plaieng hopepe to beare themselves ouerlie in the matter, that famous mart was suppress, and all forren saile wholie abandoned. Yet for a memorisall of this notable faire, a few cottages, booths, and alepoles are pitched at Saint James his gate. Saint Michael of Poules, alias Paules, Saint Brigide, Saint Kenin, Saint Peter Demonte, or vpon the hill, appendant to Saint Patrikes church. Saint Stephan; this was erected for an hospitall for poore, lame, and impotent lazers, where they abide to this daie, although not in such chaff and sincere wise, as the founders will was vpon the erection thereof. The maior with his brethren on Saint Stephan his daie (which is one of their station daies) repaireth thither, and there doth offer. Saint Andrew now prophaned.

Both the gates nere the White friers, Saint Owen his gate, Hogs gate, Dammes gate, Poule gate, alias Paules gate, Petogate, a goale or prison, Wline tauerne gate, Saint Audeon his gate, hard by the church going downe towards the Cocke street. The reason why this gate, and the Wline tauerne gate were builded, proceeded of this. In the yeare 1315, Edward Bruce a Scot, & brother to Robert Bruce king of Scots arrived in the north of Ireland. From whence he marched on forwards with his armie, vntill he came as far as Castleknocke. The citizens of Dublin being soe amazed at the sudden & Scarborough approach of so puissant an enemie, burned all the houses in Saint Thomas his street, lest he should vpon his repaire to Dublin haue ante succour in the suburbs. The maior (named Robert Pottingham) and communalitie being in this distresse, razed downe an abbete of the frier preachers, called Saint Sauour his monastrie, and brought the stones thereof to these places, where the gates now stand; and all along that wale did cast a wall for the better fortifying of the ciuitie, mistrusting that the wals that went along both the ketes, should not haue bene of sufficient force to outhold the enemie. The Scots hauing intelligence of the fortifying of Dublin, and reckoning it a folie to laie siege to so impregnable a ciuitie, marched toward a place not far from Dublin, called the Salmon leape, where pitching their tents for foure daies, they remoued towards the Paas. But when the ciuitie was past this danger, king Edward the second gaue strict commandement to the citizens to build the abbeie they razed; saieing, that although lawes were squatted in warre, yet notwithstanding they ought to be reuiued in peace. Gurmund his gate, hard by the Cucull, or Cockolds post. Some suppose, that one Gurmundus builded this gate; and thereof to take the name. Others indge, that the Irish assaulting the ciuitie, were discomfited by the earle of Desmond, then by god hap sojourniing at Dublin. And because he issued out at that gate, to the end the balliant exploit and famous conquest of so worthise a potentate should be ingrailed in perpetuall memorie, the gate bare the name of Desmond his gate, The bridge gate, Saint Nicholas his gate, Saint Patrike his gate, Wungan his gate, the Petostreet gate, Saint Thomas his gate, Saint James his gate.

The churches of Dublin.

Christs church.

The contro-uerse betwixt Christs church and Saint Patrikes church.

Fitz Simons.

S. James his faire.

The names of the streets, bridges, lanes and other notable places in Dublin.

John Decet.

Distmann.

1050

1095
Distmann-
towne, why
called.

The lanes.

The

The description of Ireland.

than forecasting the hurt that might insue, flockt unarmed out of the ciuitie to the wood, there being intercepted by them that laie howing in ambush, they were to the number of five hundred miserable slaine. Whereupon the remnant of the citizens determining that unluckie time to be a crosse or a dismall daie, gaue it the appellation of Blaque mondaie.

The citie soon after being peopled by a fresh supplie of Bisskollians, to dare the Irish enimie, agreed to banket yearelie in that place, which to this daie is obserued. For the maiors and the shiriffs with the citizens repaire to the wood of Cullen, in which place the maior bestoweth a coslie dinner within a mote or a rundell, and both the shiriffs within another: where they are so well garded with the youth of the ciuitie, as the mountaine enimie dareth not attempt to snatch as much as a passie crust from thence. Dublin hath at this daie within the citie and in the suburbs these churches that insue, of which the greater number are parioch churches, onelie Christs church with a few oratories and chapels excepted. Christs church, otherwise named *Ecclesia sancta trinitatis*, a cathedrall church, the ancientest that I can find recorded of all the churches now standing in Dublin. I take it to haue bene builded, if not in Auellanus his time, yet soon after by the Danes. The building of which was both repaired & enlarged by Critius prince of Dublin, at the earnest request of Donat the bishop, and soon after the conquest it hath bene much beautified by Robert Fitz Stephans and Strangbow the erle of Penbroke, who with his sonne is in the bodie of the church intombed. The chappell that standeth in the choro, commonlie called the new chappell, was builded by Gerald Fitz Thomas earle of Bilsdare, in the yeare of our Lord 1510, where he is intombed.

Saint Patrikes church, a cathedrall church, indued with notable liuings, and diuerse fat benefices. It hath a chappell at the north doore which is called the paroch church. This church was founded by the famous and worshipful prelate John Commin, about the yeare of our Lord 1197. This foundation was greatlie advanced by the liberalitie of king John. There hath risen a great contention betwixt this church and Christs church for antiquitie, wherein doubtlesse S. Patrike his church ought to giue place, butlesse they haue further matter to shew, and better reasons to build vpon than their foundations, in which this church by manie yeares is inferior to the other. Saint Nicholas, Saint Michael, Saint Werberosse, or Saint Warburgh, so called of a Cheshire virgine. The citizens of Chester founded this church, with two chapels thereto annexed; the one called our ladies chappell, the other S. Martins chappell. His feast is kept the third of Februarie. This church with a great part of the citie was burned in the yeare 1301: but againe by the parochians reedified. Saint John the euangelist, Saint Audeon, which is corruptlie called Saint Owen, or Owen. His feast is solemnized the fourteenth of August. The paroch of this church is accounted the best in Dublin, for that the greater number of the aldermen and the workshops of the citie are demurant within that paroch.

Saint Tulloche now prophaned. In this church in old time, the familie of the Fitz Simons was for the moze part buried. The paroch was meared from the Crane castell, to the Ash Hammles, called the Cockhill, with Derscon his innes, & the lane thereto adioining, which scope is now vntied to Saint John his paroch. S. Katharine, S. Michan or Mighan, Saint James; his feast is celebrated the five and twentieth of Iulie, on which daie in ancient time was there a worshipful faire kept at Dublin, continuing six daies, vnto which resorted diuers merchants, as

well from England, as from France and Flanders. And they afforded their wares so dogcheape, in respect of the citie merchants, that the countrie was yeare by yeare sufficientlie storied by strangers; and the citie merchants not uttering their wares, but to such as had not readie chinkes, and the rebyon forced to run on the scoze, were verie much impouerished. Wherefore partlie thorough the canualling of the towne merchants, and partlie by the winking of the rest of the citizens, being won vpon manie gate glosed promises, by plaieng bopape to breare themselves ouerlie in the matter, that famous mart was suppress, and all forren saile wholie abandoned. Yet for a memorisall of this notable faire, a few cottages, booths, and alepoles are pitched at Saint James his gate. Saint Michael of Poules, *alias* Paules, Saint Brigide, Saint Benin, Saint Peter Demonte, or vpon the hill, appendant to Saint Patrikes church. Saint Stephan; this was erected for an hospitall for poore, lame, and impotent lazers, where they abide to this daie, although not in such chast and sincere wise, as the founders will was vpon the erection thereof. The maiors with his brethren on Saint Stephan his daie (which is one of their station daies) repaireth thither, and there doth offer. Saint Andrew now prophaned.

Both the gates nere the White friers, Saint Owen his gate, Hogs gate, Dammes gate, Poule gate, *alias* Paules gate, Petwgate, a goale or prison, Wine tauerne gate, Saint Audeon his gate, hard by the church going downe towards the Cockhill street. The reason why this gate, and the Wine tauerne gate were builded, proceeded of this. In the yeare 1315, Edward Bruce a Scot, & brother to Robert Bruce king of Scots arrived in the north of Ireland. From whence he marched on forwards with his armie, vntill he came as far as Castleknocke. The citizens of Dublin being sore amazed at the sudden & Scarborough approach of so puissant an enimie, burned all the houses in Saint Thomas his street, least he should vpon his repaire to Dublin haue any succour in the suburbs. The maiors (named Robert Pottingham) and communalitie being in this distresse, razed downe an abbete of the frier preachers, called Saint Sautour his monastrie, and brought the stones thereof to these places, where the gates now stand; and all along that wale did cast a wall for the better fortifying of the ciuitie, mistrusting that the wals that went along both the heies, should not haue bene of sufficient force to withold the enimie. The Scots hauing intelligence of the fortifying of Dublin, and reckoning it a folie to laie siege to so impregnable a ciuitie, marched toward a place not far from Dublin, called the Salmon leape, where pitching their tents for foure daies, they remoued towards the Paas. But when the ciuitie was past this danger, king Edward the second gaue strict commandement to the citizens to build the abbete they razed; saieng, that although lawes were quatred in warre, yet notwithstanding they ought to be reuiued in peace. Gurmund his gate, hard by the Cucull, or Cockolds post. Some suppose, that one Gurmundus builded this gate; and thereof to take the name. Others iudge, that the Irish assaulding the ciuitie, were discomfited by the earle of Desmond, then by good hap sojourning at Dublin. And because he issued out at that gate, to the end the valiant exploit and famous conquest of so worshipful a potentate should be ingrailed in perpetuall memorie, the gate bare the name of Desmond his gate. The bridge gate, Saint Nicholas his gate, Saint Patrike his gate, Bungan his gate, the Petwstreet gate, Saint Thomas his gate, Saint James his gate.

The churches of Dublin.

Christs church.

The contro-uerse betwixt Christs church and Saint Patrikes church.

Fitz Simons.

S. James his faire.

The names of the streets, bridges, lanes and other notable places in Dublin.

John Decker.

St. Michael.

1050

1095

St. Michael's town, why called.

The lanes.

The

The names of the streets, bridges, lanes, and other notable places in Dublin.

Decer.

Manant.

1050

1095
Dismant-
towns, why so
called.

The lanes.

The Damines street, the Castle street, stretching to the pillorie, Saint Werberosses street, Saint John his street, *alias* fishamble street, Skinners row reaching from the pillorie to the tolehall, or to the high croffe. The High street bearing to the high pipe. This pipe was builded in the yeare 1308, by a worthie citizen named John Decer, being then mayor of Dublin. He builded not long before that time the bridge hard by Saint Wolffians, that reacheth over the Liffie. The Newgate street, from the Newgate to Saint Audoen his church. Saint Nicholas his street, the Wine sauene street, the Cooke street, the Bridge street. This street with the greater part of the keie was burnt in the yeare 1304. The Woodkete, the Merchant keie, Dismantowne, so called of certeine Casterlings or Normans, properlie the Danes that were called Dismanni, they planted themselves hard by the water side nere Dublin, and discomfited at Clontarke in a skirmish diuerse of the Irish. The names of the Irish captains thaine were Brian Borrough, Diagh macke Bzen, Ladie Okellie, Dolfin Abherdegan, Gille Barramede. These were Irish potentates, and before their discomfiture they ruled the coast. They were interred at Kilmaine ouer against the great croffe. There arriued a fresh supplie of Casterlings at Dublin in the yeare 1095, and settled themselves on the other side of the citie, which of them to this daie is called Dismantowne, that is, the towne of the Dismannes, whereof there ariseth great likelihood to haue bene a separat towne from the citie, being parted from Dublin by the Liffie, as Southwoke is seuered from London by Thames. Saint Thomas his street; this street was burnt by mishap in the yeare 1343. The New buildings, the New street, Saint Francis his street, the Rowme, Saint Patrike his street, the backside of Saint Sepulchres, Saint Iuuen his street, the Poule, or Paulmillstreet, Saint Brigids street, the Sheepe street, *alias* the Ship street. For diuerse are of opinion, that the sea had passage that waie, and thereof to be called the Ship street.

This as it seemeth not wholie impossible, considering that the sea floweth and ebbeth hard by it: so it carrieth a more colour of truth with it, because there haue bene found there certeine iron rings fastned to the towne wall, to hold and grapple botes withall. Saint Werberosses lane, vp to Saint Nicholas his street, now inclosed, Saint Michaelell his lane, beginning at Saint Michaelell his pipe, Christchurch lane, Saint John his lane, Ram lane, *alias* the Scholehouse lane, Saint Audoen his lane, Bevers lane. This lane is steep & slipperie, in which otherwhyles, they that make more hast, than good speed, clinke their bums to the stones. And therefore the ruder sort, whether it be through corruption of speech, or for that they giue it a nickname, commonlie terme it, not so homelie, as trullie, Kisse arlle lane. Mochelell lane, *alias* Backelane, on the southside of the fishamble, the Cooke street lane, Frapper lane, Siglottes hill, Marie lane, Saint Tullocke his lane, Scarlet lane, *alias* Flouds lane, Saint Pulchers lane, Saint Kenin his lane, the White friers lane, Saint Stephan his lane, Hogs lane, the Sea lane, Saint George his lane, where in old time were builded diuerse old and ancient monuments. And as an insarcher of antiquities may (by the view there to be taken) coniecture, the better part of the suburbs of Dublin should seeme to haue stretched that waie. But the inhabitants being dailie and hourelie molested and preided by their prouling mountaine neighbors, were forced to suffer their buildings fall in decay, and embayed themselves with in the citie walls.

Among other monuments, there is a place in that lane called now Collets innes, which in old time was the Escacar or Erchecker. Which should imple that the princes court would not haue bene kept there, vntill the place had bene taken to be cocksure. But in fine it fell out contrarie. For the baron sitting there solemnlie, and as it seemed, retchleslie: the Irish espieng the oportunitie, rushed into the court in plumps, where surprizing the vnweaponed multitude, they committed horrible slaughters by sparing none that came vnder their dint; and withall, as far as their Scarborough leasure could serue them, they ranfacke the prince his thesaure, vpon which mishap the erchecker was from thence removed. There hath bene also in that lane a chappell dedicated to saint George, likelie to haue bene founded by some worthie knight of the garter. The man with his brethren was accustomed with great triumphs and pageants percelle on saint George his feast to repaire to that chappell, and there to offer. This chappell hath bene of late razed, and the stones therof by consent of the assemble turned to a common ouen, conuerting the ancient monument of a dountie, aduenturous, and holie knight, to the celestake swoeping of a pulloafe baker. The great bridge going to Dismantowne, saint Nicholas his bridge, the Poule gate bridge, repared by Nicholas Saintburst about the yeare one thousand five hundred fortie & foure, the Castell bridge, S. James his bridge.

The castell of Dublin was builded by Henrie Loundres (sometime archbishop of Dublin, and lord iustice of Ireland) about the yeare of our Lord one thousand two hundred and twentie. This castell hath beside the gate house foure goodlie and substantiall towers, of which one of them is named Bermingham his tower, whether it were that one of the Berminghams did enlarge the building thereof, or else that he was long in duresse in that tower. This castell hath bene of late much beautified with sundrie and gorgeous buildings in the time of sir Henrie Sidneie, sometimes lord deputie of Ireland. In the commendation of which buildings an especiall wellwiller of his lordships penned these verses:

*Gesta libri referunt multorum clara virorum,
Laudis & in chartis stigmata fixa manent.
Verum Sidnei laudes haec saxa loquuntur,
Nec iacet in solis gloria tanta libri.
Si libri pereant, homines remanere valebunt,
Si pereant homines, ligna manere queunt.
Lignaque si pereant, non ergo saxa peribunt,
Saxaque si pereant tempore, tempus erit.
Si pereat tempus, minime consumitur aenum,
Quod cum principio sed sine fine manet.
Dum libri florent, homines dum viuere possunt,
Dum quoque cum lignis saxa manere valent,
Dum remanet tempus, dum denique permanet aenum,
Lana tua, Sidnei, digna perire nequit.*

There standeth nere the castell ouer against a voidrome called Preston his innes, a tower named Flouds tower. It toke the name of la Beale Floud, haue bene a castle of pleasure for the kings to recreate themselves therein. Which was not unlike, considering that a meaner tower might serue such single soule kings as were at those daies in Ireland. There is a village hard by Dublin, called of the said la Beale, chappell Floud.

Saint Pulchers, the archbishop of Dublin his house, as well pleasantlie sited, as gorgeouslie builded. Some hold opinion, that the beautifuller part of this house was of set purpose fired by an archbishop, to the end the gouernors (which for the more part laie there) should not haue so good liking to the house: not far disagreeing from the policie that I heard a noble

S. George his chappell.

The bridges.

1544.

The castell.

1220.

Bermingham his tower.

1566.

Chappell Floud.

Saint Pulchers.

The description of Ireland.

man tell he ofed, who hauing a surpassing good horse, and such a one as ouer ran in a set race other choise horses, did bobtaile him vpon his returne to the stable, lest anie of his friends casting a fantasie to the beast, should craue him. The noble man being so beautifullie giuen, as that of liberalitie he could not, of discretion he would seeme to giue his friend the repulse in a more weightie request than that were.

Saint Stephens graine, Hogging graine, the Steine, Mmantowne graine. In the further end of this field is there a hole commonlie termed Scaldbrothers hole, a labyrinth reaching two large miles vnder the earth. This hole was in old time frequented by a notorious thiefe named Scaldbrother, wherein he would hide all the bag and baggage that he could pilfer. The varlet was so swift on foot, as he hath oftentimes outrun the swiftest and lustiest young men in all Mmantowne, mangre their heads, bearing a pot or a pan of theirs on his shoulders to his den. And now and then, in derision of such as pursued him, he would take his course vnder the gallows, which standeth verie nigh his caue (a fit signe for such an inne) and so being shrowded within his lodge, he reckoned himselfe cocksure, none being found at that time so hardie as would aduenture to intangle himselfe within so intricat a maze. But as the pitcher that goeth often to the water, cometh at length home broken: so this lustie youth would not surcease from open catching, forcible snatching, and priuie polling, till time he was by certeine gaping grooms that late in wait for him, intercepted, fleeing toward his couch, hauing vpon his apprehension no more wrong done him, than that he was not sooner hanged on that gallows, through which in his youth and solitie he was wont to run. Where standeth in Mmantowne graine an hillocke, named little John his shot. The occasion proceeded of this.

In the yere one thousand one hundred fourscore and nine, there ranged three robbers and outlaws in England, among which Robert Hood and little John were chiefe, of all theues doubtlesse the most courteous. Robert Hood being betrayed at a nurrie in Scotland called Wicklies, the remnant of the crue was scattered, and euerie man forced to shift for himselfe. Wherevpon little John was faine to flee the realme by sailing into Ireland, where he sojourned for a few daies at Dublin. The citizens being done to understand the wandering outcast to be an excellent archer, requested him hartlie to trie how far he could shot at random: who yielding to their behest, stood on the bridge of Dublin, and shot to that mole hill, leaving behind him a monument, rather by his posteritie to be wondered, than possible by anie man lining to be counterfoied. But as the repaire of so notorious a champion to anie countrie would soone be published, so his abode could not be long concealed: and therefore to eschew the danger of lawes, he fled into Scotland, where he died at a towne or village called Morauie. Gerardus Mercator in his cosmographie affirmeth, that in the same towne the bones of an huge and mightie man are kept, which was called little John, among which bones, the hucklebone or hipbone was of such largenesse, as witnesseth Hector Boetius, that he thrust his arme through the hole thereof. And the same bone being suted to the other parts of his bodie, did argue the man to haue bene fourteene foot long, which was a pretie length for a little John. Whereby appeareth that he was called little John ironically, like as we terme him an honest man whom we take for a knaue in graine.

Here to the citie of Dublin are the foure ancient manors annexed to the crowne, which are named

to this daie, the Kings land; to wit, Newcastle, Passaggard, Ceshire, and Crumlin. The manor of Crumlin payeth a greater cheefe rent to the prince than anie of the other three, which proceeded of this. The seneschall being offended with the tenants for their misdemeanors, took them by verie sharple in the court, and with rough and minatorie speeches began to menace them. The lobbish and desperat clobertousnesse, taking the matter in dudgeon, made no more words, but knockt their seneschall on the forehead, and left him there sprawling on the ground for dead. For which detestable murder their rent was inhanced, and they paie at this daie nine pence an acre, which is double to anie of the other three manors.

Waterford was founded by Sitaracus (as is aforesaid) in the yere one hundred fiftie and five. Ptolome nameth it Danapia, but whie he appropriateth that name to this citie, neither doth he declare, nor I ghesse. This citie is properlie builded, and verie well compact, somewhat close by reason of their thicke buildings and narrow streets. The haue is passing good, by which the citizens through the intercourse of forren traffike in short space attaine to a bundance of wealth. The soile about it is not all of the best, by reason of which the aire is not verie subtil, yea nathelesse the sharpnesse of their wittes seemeth to be nothing rebated or duld by reason of the grossenesse of the aire. For in good sooth the townemen, and namelic students are pregnant in conceiuing, quicke in taking, and sure in keeping. The citizens are verie hardie and warie in all their publicke affaires, slow in the determining of matters of weight, louing to looke yer they leape. In choosing their magistrate, they respect not onlie his riches, but also they weigh his experience. And therefore they elect for their maior neither a rich man that is young, nor an old man that is poore. They are cheerefull in the intertainment of strangers, hartie one to another, nothing giuen to factions. They loue no idle benchesitters, nor luskish sailors: for young and old are wholie addicted to thysling, the men commonlie to traffike, the women to spinning and carding. As they distill the best *Aquavita*, so they spin the choicest rug in Ireland. A friend of mine being of late demurrant in London, and the weather by reason of an hard hoare frost being somewhat nipping, repaired to Paris garden, clad in one of these Waterford rugs. The mastiffs had no sooner espyed him, but deming he had bene a beare, would faine haue baited him. And were it not that the dogs were partlie muled, and partlie chained, he doubtet not, but that he should haue bene well tugged in this Irish rug; wherevpon he solemnilie vowed neuer to see beare baiting in anie such weed. The citie of Waterford hath continued to the crowne of England so loiall, that it is not found registred since the conquest to haue bene diffained with the smallest spot, or dulked with the least freckle of treason; notwithstanding the sundrie assaults of traitorous attempts: and therefore the cities armes are deckt with this golden word, *Intella manet*: a polle as well to be hartlie followed, as greatlie admired of all true and loiall townes.

Limerike called in Latine *Limericum* was builded by Ruons, as is before mentioned, about the yere one hundred fiftie and five. This citie coasteth on the sea hard vpon the riuer Sennan, whereby are most notable seuered Pounder and Connaght: the Irish name this citie Lounneagh, and thereof in English it is named Limerike. The towne is planted in an Island, which plot in old time, before the building of the citie was stored with grasse. During which time it happened, that one of the Irish potentates, raising warre against another of his parts, incamped

The names
of the fields
belonging to
the town.
The name of
the river.

Scaldbrother
executed.

Little John.
1189.

Robert Hood.

Little John,
deceased.

He taking his
land.

Cumbe

Waterford.

Danapia.

Coke.

Drogbeda.

Woffe.

The polle
waterford.

Limerike.

Sennan the
riuer of Limerike.

Limerike
subject to the crown.

Roie, or
Roie.

The description of Ireland.

man tell he bled, who hauing a surpassing good horse, and such a one as ouer ran in a set race other chosse horses, did bebaile him vpon his returne to the stable, least anie of his friends casting a fantasie to the beast, should craue him. The noble man being so beautifullie giuen, as that of liberalitie he could not, of discretion he would seeme to giue his friend the repulle in a moze weightie request than that were.

Saint Stephens graine, Hogging graine, the Steine, Mmantowne graine. In the further end of this field is there a hole commonlie termed Scald brothers hole, a labyrinth reaching two large miles vnder the earth. This hole was in old time frequented by a notorious thiefe named Scaldbrother, wherein he would hide all the bag and baggage that he could pilfer. The varlet was so swift on foot, as he hath oftentimes outrun the swiftest and lustiest young men in all Mmantowne, maugre their heads, bearing a pot or a pan of theirs on his shoulders to his den. And now and then, in derision of such as pursued him, he would take his course vnder the gallows, which standeth verie nigh his caue (a fit signe for such an inne) and so being shrowded within his lodge, he reckoned himselfe cocksure, none being found at that time so hardie as would aduenture to intangle himselfe within so intricat a maze. But as the pitcher that goeth often to the water, commeth at length home broken: so this lustie youth would not surcease from open catching, forcible snatching, and priuie prouling, till time he was by certeine gaping grooms that late in wait for him, intercepted, fleeing toward his couch, hauing vpon his apprehension no more wrong done him, than that he was not sooner hanged on that gallows, through which in his youth and solitie he was wont to run. Where standeth in Mmantowne graine an hillocke, named little John his shot. The occasion proceeded of this.

In the yere one thousand one hundred fourscore and nine, there ranged three robbers and outlaws in England, among which Robert Hood and little John were chiefe, of all theues doubtlesse the most courteous. Robert Hood being betrayed at a nurrie in Scotland called Wicklies, the remnant of the crew was scattered, and euerie man forced to shift for himselfe. Wherevpon little John was faine to flee the realme by sailing into Ireland, where he sojourned for a few daies at Dublin. The citizens being done to vnderstand the wandering outcast to be an excellent archer, requested him hartlie to trie how far he could shot at random: who yielding to their behest, stood on the bridge of Dublin, and shot to that mole hill, leaning behind him a monument, rather by his posteritie to be wondered, than possible by anie man lining to be counterfeited. But as the repaire of so notorious a champion to anie countrie would soone be published, so his abode could not be long concealed: and therefore to eschew the danger of lawes, he fled into Scotland, where he died at a towne or village called Morauie. Gerardus Mercator in his cosmographie affirmeth, that in the same towne the bones of an huge and mightie man are kept, which was called little John, among which bones, the hucklebone or hipbone was of such largenesse, as witnesseth Hector Boetius, that he thrust his arme through the hole thereof. And the same bone being suted to the other parts of his bodie, did argue the man to haue bene fourtene foot long, which was a pretie length for a little John. Whereby appeareth that he was called little John ironically, like as we terme him an honest man whom we take for a knaue in graine.

Nere to the citie of Dublin are the foure ancient manors annexed to the crowne, which are named

to this daie, the Kings land; so wit, Newcastle, Passaggard, Eschire, and Crumlin. The manor of Crumlin payeth a greater cheefe rent to the prince than anie of the other three, which proceeded of this. The seneschall being offended with the tenants for their misdemeanors, took them by verie sharple in the court, and with rough and minatorie speeches began to menace them. The lobbish and desperat clouertousnesse, taking the matter in budgeon, made no moze words, but knockt their seneschall on the forehead, and left him there sprawling on the ground for dead. For which detestable murder their rent was inhaused, and they paie at this daie nine pence an acre, which is double to anie of the other three manors.

Waterford was founded by Sitaracus (as is aforesaid) in the yere one hundred fiftie and five. Ptolome nameth it Panapia, but whie he appropriateth that name to this citie, neither doth he declare, nor I ghesse. This citie is properlie builded, and verie well compact, somewhat close by reason of their thicke buildings and narrow streets. The haue is passing good, by which the citizens through the intercourse of forren traffike in short space attaine to a bundance of wealth. The soile about it is not all of the best, by reason of which the aire is not verie subtil, yea nathelesse the sharpnesse of their wittes seemeth to be nothing rebated or duld by reason of the grossenesse of the aire. For in good sooth the townemen, and namelic students are pregnant in conceiuing, quicke in taking, and sure in keeping. The citizens are verie hardie and warie in all their publicke affaires, slow in the determining of matters of weight, loning to looke per they leape. In choosing their magistrate, they respect not onlie his riches, but also they weigh his experience. And therefore they elect for their maior neither a rich man that is young, nor an old man that is poore. They are chierfull in the intertainment of strangers, hartie one to another, nothing giuen to factions. They loue no idle bench, whistlers, nor luscious satyrs: for young and old are wholie addicted to thysing, the men commonlie to traffike, the women to spinning and carding. As they distill the best *Aqua vite*, so they spin the choicest rug in Ireland. A friend of mine being of late demurrant in London, and the weather by reason of an hard hoare frost being somewhat nipping, repaired to Paris garden, clad in one of these Waterford rugs. The massifs had no sooner espied him, but determining he had bene a beare, would faine haue baited him. And were it not that the dogs were partlie myled, and partlie chained, he doubtet not, but that he should haue bene well tugd in this Irish rug; wherevpon he solemnlie bowed neuer to see beare baiting in anie such weed. The citie of Waterford hath continued to the crowne of England so loiall, that it is not found registred since the conquest to haue bene distained with the smallest spot, or dulsed with the least freckle of treason; notwithstanding the sundrie assaults of traitorous attempts: and therefore the cities armes are deckt with this golden word, *Intesta manet*: a polle as well to be hartlie followed, as greatlie admired of all true and loiall townes.

Limerike called in Latine *Limericum* was builded by Ruorius, as is before mentioned, about the yere one hundred fiftie and five. This citie coasteth on the sea hard vpon the riuer Sennan, whereby are most notable seuered Houndster and Connaght: the Irish name this citie Lounneagh, and thereof in English it is named Limerike. The towne is planted in an Island, which plot in old time, before the building of the citie was stowed with grasse. During which time it happened, that one of the Irish potentates, raising warre against another of his peers, incamped

The names
of the fields
belonging to
this manor.
Scald-
brother.

Scaldbrother
executed.

Little John.
1189.

Robert Hood.

Little John
deceased.

He king his
land.

The polle
manet
Waterford

Limerike
Sennan
river of
Limerike
why so called

Note, of
Hound.

incamped in that Ile, having so great a troope of
hoysemen, as the hoxses ate up the grasse in foure
and twentie houres. Whereupon for the notorious
number of hoxses, the place is called Loun ne augh;
that is, the hoxse bare, or a place made bare or eaten
up by hoxses. The verie maine sea is thre scoze
miles distant from the towne, and yet the riuer is so
navigable, as a ship of two hundred tuns may saile
to the keie of the citie. The riuer is termed in Irish
Shaune amne, that is, the old riuer; for Shaune is
old, & amne is a riuer, deduced of the Latine word
Amnis. The building of Limericke is sumptuous and
substantiall.

Corke, in Latine *Coracium*, or *Corracium*, the fourth
citie of Ireland happie planted on the sea. Their ha-
uon is an haven rosall. On the land side they are in-
combed with euill neighbors, the Irish outlaws, that
they are faine to watch their gates houlie, to keepe
them shut at seruice times, at meales from sun to
sun, nor suffer anie stranger to enter the citie with
his weapon, but the same to leaue at a lodge appoin-
ted. They walke out at seasons for recreation with
power of men furnished. They trust not the coun-
trie adjoining, but march in wedlocke among them,
selues onellie, so that the whole citie is welnigh lin-
ked one to the other in affinitie. Drogheda, accoun-
ted the best towne in Ireland, and trille not far be-
hind some of their cities. The one moitie of this
towne is in Deth, the other planted on the further
side of the water lieth in Ulster. There runneth a
blind prophesie on this towne, that Kosse was, Du-
blin is, Drogheda shall be the best of the thre.

Kosse, an haven towne in Douniffer not far from
Waterford, which seemeth to haue bene in ancient
time a towne of great port. Whereof sundrie & pro-
bable coniectures are giuen, as well by the old dis-
tiches that are now a mile distant from the wals of
Kosse, betwene which wals and dittches the reliks
of the ancient wals, gates, and towers, placed be-
twene both are yet to be scene. The towne is built
in a barren soile, and planted among a crue of
naughtie and prolling neighbours. And in old time
when it flozished, albeit the towne were sufficientlie
peopled, yet as long as it was not compassed with
wals, they were formed with watch & ward, to keepe
it from the greedie snatching of the Irish enemies.
With whome as they were generallie molested, so
the priuat consensing of one pezzant on a sudden, in-
censed them to inuiron their towne with strong and
substantiall wals. There repaired one of the Irish to
this towne on hoxsebacke, & espieng a peece of cloth
on a merchants stall, took hold thereof, and bet the
cloth to the lowest price he could. As the merchant
and he stood dodging one with the other in cheaping
the waie, the hoxseman considering that he was
well mounted, and that the merchant and he had
growne to a price, made wise as though he would
haue drauone to his purse, to haue defraied the mo-
nie. The cloth in the meane while being tucked up
and placed before him, he gaue the spur to his hoxse
and ran a waie with the cloth, being not imbarred from
his passing pase, by reason the towne was not per-
closed either with ditch or wall. The townesmen be-
ing pinched at the heart, that one rascall in such
scornefull wise should giue them the stampaine, not
so much welting the slenderesse of the losse, as the
shamefulnesse of the soile, they put their heads tog-
ther, consulting how to prevent either the sudden ru-
thing, or the post haill streng of anie such aduenturous
rakehell hereafter.

In which consultation a famous Wido, a chaff wi-
dow, a politike dame, a bountifull gentlewoman,
called Kosse, who representing in sinceritie of life the
faintnesse of that hearbe whose name she bare, vn-

folded the deuise, how anie such future mischance
should be prevented: and withall opened his coffers
liberallie, to haue it furthered: two good properties
in a counsellor. His deuise was, that the towne
should incontinentlie be inclosed with wals, & there-
withall promised to discharge the charges, so that
they would not sticke to find out labourers. The de-
uise of this worthie matrone being wise, and the of-
fer liberall, the townesmen agreed to follow the
one, and to put their helping hands to the atchiuing
of the other. The worke was begun, which thorough
the multitude of hands seemed light. For the whole
towne was assembled, tag and rag, cut and long
taile: none exempted, but such as were bodied and
impotent. Some were tasked to delue, others ap-
pointed with mattocks to dig, diuerse allotted to
the unheaping of rubbish, manie bestowed to the ca-
riage of stones, sundrie occupied in tempering of
morter, the better fort busied in ouersailing the work-
men, ech one according to his vocation imploied, as
though the ciuitie of Carthage were afresh in build-
ing, as it is featlie verified by the golden poet Vir-
gil, and neatlie Englished by master doctor Phaer.

The Moores with courage went to worke,

some vnder burdens grones:

Some at the wals and towrs with hands
were tumbling vp the stones.

Some measurd out a place to build
their mansion house within:

Some lawes and officers to make
in parlment did begin.

An other had an haven cast,
and deepe they trench the ground,

Some other for the games and plaies
a statelie place had found.

And pillers great they cut for kings,
to garnish forth their wals.

And like as bees among the flours,
when fresh the summer falls,

In shine of sunne applie their worke,
when growne is vp their yong:

Or when their hives they gin to stop,
and honie sweet is sprong,

That all their caues and cellars close
with dulcet liquor fils,

Some doo outlade, some other bring
the stufte with readie wils.

Sometime they ioine, and all at once
doo from their mangers fet

The slothfull drones, that would consume,
and nought would doo to get.

The worke it heats, the honie smells
of flours and thime ywet.

But to returne from Wido of Carthage, to Kosse
of Kosse, and his worke. The labourers were so ma-
nie, the worke, by reason of round and exchequer pat-
ment, so well applied, the quarrie of faire marble so
nere at hand (for they affirme, that out of the tren-
ches and dittches hard by their rampiers, the stones
were had: and all that plot is so stonie, that the foue-
dation is an hard rocke) that these wals with diuerse
braue turrets were suddenlie mounted, and in man-
ner sooner finished, than to the Irish enemies noti-
fied: which I wisse was no small cosse to them. These
wals in circuit are equall to London wals. It hath
thre gorgeous gates, Bishop his gate, on the east
side: Algate, on the east southeast side: and South-
gate, on the south part. This towne was no more fa-
moused for these wals, than for a notable wooden
bridge that stretched from the towne unto the other
side of the water, which must haue bene by reasona-
ble surteie twelue scoze, if not moze. Diuerse of the
poales, logs, and stakes, with which the bridge was
underpopt, sticke to this daie in the water. A man
C. I. would

would here suppose, that so flourishing a towne, so trimlie builded, so substantiallie walled, so well peopled, so plentiouslie with thurstie artificers stoed, would not haue fallen to anie sudden decaye.

Rosse decayed.

But as the secret and deepe iudgements of God are beiled within the couerture of his diuine maiestie, so it standeth not with the dulnesse of man his wit, to beat his braines in the curious insearching of hidden mysteries. Wherefore I, as an historian undertaking in this treatise, rather plainlie to declare what was done, than rashlie to inquire why it should be done: purpose, by Gods assistance, to accomplish, as nere as I can, my dutie in the one, leauing the other to the frivolous deciding of busie heads. This Rosse, who was the foundresse of these former rehearsed wals, had issue three sonnes (howbeit some hold opinion, that they were but hir nephues) who being bolstered out thorough the wealth of their mother, and supported by their traffike, made diuerse prosperous voyages into foren countries. But as one of the three chaymen was imploied in his traffike abroad, so the prettie poplet his wife began to be a flesh occupieng giglot at home, and by report fell so farre acquainted with a religious cloisterer of the towne, as that he gat within the lining of hir smocke. Both the parties wallowing ouerlong in the sinking puddle of adulterie, suspicion began to creape in some townermens brains: and to be hysse, it came so farre, thorough the iust iudgement of God, to light, whether it were that she was with child in hir husband his absence, or that hir lover used hir fondlie in open presence, as the presumption was not onlie vehement, but also the fact too apparent: hir vnfortunat husband had no sooner notice giuen him vpon his returne of these sorrowfull newes, than his fingers began to nibble, his teeth to grin, his eyes to tricke, his eares to dingle, his head to dazell, insomuch as his heart being scared with gelousie, and his wits instilled thorough phrensie, he became as mad as a March hare.

The pangs of gelousie.

But how heauilie soeuer hir husband toke it, dame Rosse and all hir friends (which were in effect all the townermen, for that she was their common benefactresse) were galled at their hearts, as well to heare of the enormous adulterie, as to see the bedlorn pangs of brainesicke gelousie. Whereupon diuerse of the townermen grunting and grudging at the matter, said that the fact was horrible, and that it were a deed of charitie betterlie to grub awate such wild hyubs from the towne: and if this were in anie dispensible wife raked vp in the ashes, they should no sooner trauesse the seas, than some other would kindle the like fire afresh, and so consequently dishonest their wiues, and make their husbands to become changelings, as being turned from sober mood to be hornewood, because rutting wiues make often rammissy husbands, as our prouerb doth inferre. Others soothing their fellows in these mutinies turned the priuat inturie vnto a publike quarrell, and a number of the townermen conspiring together stoeked in the dead of the night, well appointed, to the abbeye, wherein the frier was cloistered (the monument of which abbeye is yet to be scene at Rosse on the south side) where undersparring the gates, and bearing vp the dormitorie doze, they stabbed the adulterer with the rest of the couent thorough with their weapons. Where they left them goating in their blood, roaring in their cabins, and gasping vp their sitting ghosts in their couches.

The bypore was great, and they to whome the slaughter before hand was not imparted, were wonderfullie thereat astonished. But in especiall the remnant of the cleargie bare herie hollow hearts to the

townemen: and how frendlie their outward countenances were, yet they would not with inward thought forget nor forgieue so horrible a murder, but were fullie resolved, whensoever oportunitie ferued the m, to sit in their skirts, by making the m soule as sorrowfull a hyrie. These three brethren not long after this bloudie exploit, sped them into some outlandish countrie to continue their trade. The religious men being done to vnderstand, as it seemed, by some of their neighbors, which foresailed them homeward, that these three brethren were readie to be imbarked, flunkt puiellie out of the towne, and refocted to the mouth of the hauen, nere a castell, named Hulke tower, which is a notable marke for pilots, in directing them which waie to sterne their ships, and to eschew the danger of the craggie rocks there on euerie side of the shoze peking. Some iudge that the said Rosse was foundresse of this tower, and of purpose did build it for the safetie of hir children, but at length it turned to their bane. For these reuengers nightlie did not misse to laie a lanterne on the top of the rocks, that were on the other side of the water. Which practise was not long by them continued, when these three passengers bearing saile with a lustie gale of wind, made right vpon the lanterne, not doubting, but it had bene the Hulke tower. But they toke their marke so farre amisse, as they were not ware, till time their ship was dashed and past against the rocks, and all the passengers ouerwhelmed in the sea.

This heauie hap was not so sorrowfull vnto the townermen, as it was gladsome to the religious, thinking that they had in part cried them acquittance, the more that they, which were drowned, were the archbrochers of their brethrens blood. Howbeit they would not crie ho here, but sent in post some of their couent to Rome, where they inhanled the slaughter of the fraternitie so heinouslie, and concealed their owne pranks so couertlie, as the pope excommenced the towne, the towne accursed the friers: so that there was such cursing and banning of all hands, and such dissentions hurle burlie raised betwene the inselues, as the estate of that flourishing towne was turned arse versie, topside the otherwaie, and from abundance of prosperitie quite exchanged to extreme penurie.

The wals stand to this date, a few streets and houses in the towne, no small parcell thereof is turned to orchards and gardens. The greater part of the towne is steepe and steaming vpward. Their church is called Christs church, in the north side thereof is placed a monument called the king of Denmarke his toome: whereby conieecture may rise, that the Danes were founders of that church. This Rosse is called Rosse Nova, or Rosse Ponti, by reason of their bydige. That which they call old Rosse, beareth cast three miles from this Rosse, into the countrie of Weifford, an ancient manour of the earle of Kilbares. There is the third Rosse on the other side of the water, called Rosse Ibarkan, so named, for that it standeth in the countrie of Kilkennie, which is diuided into three parts, into Ibircan, Ida, & Idough. Weifford a hauen towne not far from Rosse, I find no great matters thereof recozded, but onlie that it is to be had in great price of all the English posteritie, planted in Ireland, as a towne that was the first fostresse and harborresse of the English conquerors.

Kilkennie, the best vplandish towne, or (as they terme it) the properest drie town in Ireland, it is parted into the high towne, and the Irish towne. The Irish towne claimeth a corporation apart from the high towne, whereby great factions grow daily betwene the inhabitants. True it is, that the Irish towne

Robert Abbott.

William Marshall.

1254

The churches of Kilkennie.

The grammar school. Pierce Butler. Margaret Fitzgerald.

Peter Whyte.

The present estate of Rosse.

New Rosse, old Rosse.

Rosse Ibarkan.

Kilkennie, the best vplandish towne. The life of Malucy.

tolowne is the ancienter, and was called the old Kil-
kennie, being under the bishop his becke, as they are
ought to be at this present. The high towne was
bulded by the English after the conquest, and had a
parcell of the Irish towne thereto united, by the bi-
shop his grant, made unto the founders upon their
earnest request. In the yeare 1400, Robert Talbot
a worthy gentleman, inclosed with wals the better
part of this towne, by which it was greatly fortified.
This gentleman deceased in the yeare 1415. In
this towne in the choise of the frier preachers, Willi-
am Marshall earle marshall and earle of Denbroke
was buried, who departed this life in the yeare 1231.
Richard brother to William, to whome the inheri-
tance descended, within three yeares after deceased
at Kilkennie, being wounded to death in a field gi-
uen in the heath of Kildare, in the yeare 1234, the
twelve of April, and was intombed with his bro-
ther, according to the old epitaph here mentioned:

*Hic comes est positus Richardus vulnere fossus,
Cuius sub fossa Kilkennia continet ossa.*

This towne hath three churches, saint Kennes
church, our ladies church, alias S. Maries church, and
S. Patricks church, with the abbey of S. John. S.
Kennes church is their chiefe and cathedrall church, a
worthy foundation as well for gorgeous buildings,
as for notable livings. In the west end of the church-
yard of late haue bene founded a grammar schole
by the right honorable Pierce or Peter Butler erle
of Ormond and Ossorie, and by his wife the coun-
tesse of Ormond, the ladie Margaret fitz Gerald,
sister to Gerald fitz Gerald the earle of Kildare that
last was. Out of which schole haue sprouted such pro-
per impes, through the painefull diligence, and the
labourfome industrie of a famous lettered man M.

Peter White (sometime fellow of Oxiall college in
Oxford, and scholemaster in Kilkennie) as general-
lie the whole weale publike of Ireland, and especial-
lie the southerne parts of that Island are greatly
thereby furthered. This gentlemen's method in tra-
ining by youth was rare and singular, framing the
education according to the scholars vetne. If he
found him free, he would bide him like a wise Scho-
crates from his booke; if he perceived him to be dull,
he would spur him forward; if he understood that he
were the worse for beating, he would win him with
rewards: finally, by interlasing studie with recrea-
tion, sorrow with mirth, paine with pleasure, sweet-
nesse with bitternesse, roughnesse with mildnesse, he
had so good successe in schooling his pupils, as in good
soth I may boldly bide by it, that in the realme of
Ireland was no grammar schole so good, in Eng-
land I am well assured none better. And because it
was my happy hap (God and my parents be than-
ked) to haue bene one of his crue, I take it to stand
with my dutie, sith I may not stretch mine abilitie
in requiting his good turnes, yet to manifest my good
will in remembryng his paines. And certes, I ac-
knowledge my selfe so much bound and beholdyng to
him and his, as for his sake I reuerence the meanest
stone cemented in the wals of that famous schole.

This towne is named Kilkennie, of an holie and
learned abbat called Kianicus, borne in the countie
of Kilkennie, or (as it is in some bookes recorded) in
Connaght. This prelat being in his suckling yeres
fostered, through the prouidence of God, with the
milke of a cow, and baptized and bishoped by one Lu-
racus, thereto by Gods especiall appointment depu-
ted, grew in tract of time to such deuotion and lear-
ning, as he was reputed of all men to be as well a
mirrour of the one, as a paragon of the other: where-
of he gaue sufficient coniection in his minority. For
being turned to the keeping of sheepe, and his fellow
shepheards, whole yelding themselves like lusty

vagabunds to stouth and sluggishnesse, yet would he
still find himselfe occupied in framing with osiars
and twigs, little wooden churches, and in fashioning
the furnitures thereto appertaining. Being kept
further in yeares, he made his repaire into Eng-
land, where cloistering himselfe in an abbey, wherof
one named Doctus was abbat, he was whole wed-
ded to his booke, and to deuotion: wherem he conti-
nued so painefull and diligent, as being on a certeine
time penning a serious matter, and hauing not ful-
lie dwtone the fourth vocall, the abbey bell tynge
to assemble the couent to some spirituall exercise. To
which he so hastened, as he left the letter in semicir-
clewise vnfinisshed, vntill he returned backe to his
booke. Sone after being promoted to ecclesiasticall
orders, he trauelled by the consent of his fellow
monks to Rome, and in Italie he gaue such mani-
fest pfose of his pietie, as to this daie in some parts
thereof he is highly renowned.

Thomas towne, a proper towne bulded in the
countie of Kilkennie, by one Thomas Fitzantonie
an Englishman. The Irish thereof name it Wallie
mac Andan: that is, the towne of Fitzantonie.
This gentleman had issue two daughters, the one
of them was espoused to Denne, the other married
to Archdeacon, or Packodo, whose heires haue at
this daie the towne betwene them in coparcenarie.
But because the reader may see in what part of the
countie the cities and chiefe townes stand, I take
it not far amisse to place them in order as insueeth.

Drogheda, Carrigfargus, Downe, Armagh, Ar-
glash, Cloagher, Muncighan, Donnegauille, Barre-
mac Koffe, Pelwrie, Carlingford, Ardrie, Don-
dalke, Louth, Dublin, Ballydoyle, Luske, Swords;
Cathaggard, Lions, Pelwcastle, Rathcoule, Dugh-
ter arde, Paas, Glane, Mainwih, Killocke, Ra-
thaimgan, Kildare, Luianne, Castletowne, Philips
towne, Pariborough, Kilkullen, Castle Marten,
Thistledermot, Killea, Athie, Catherlaugh, Letche-
len, Gauranne, Thomas towne, Enelstocke, Ca-
shelle, Callanne, Kilkennie, Knocktofer, Koffe,
Clonmelle, Meiseford, Fernes, Fidderd, Enelco-
tie, Cathmon, Wicklow, Achloa, Waterford, Lis-
more, Dongaruan, Boghill, Cozke, Limerike,
Kilmallocke, Aloane, Caluio, Anrie, Louaghtegh,
Clare, Coame, Sligagh, Koffecomman, Aralawne,
Trinime, Donaghlenne, Rathlouth, Pananne,
Abbie, Scrime, Caragh, Kemes, Donboine,
Greenocke, Dulake. Polingare, Folwe, Lough-
seude, Kilkennistowne, Poilagagh, Deluinn.

In the foure and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of
king Henrie the eight, it was enacted in a parliament
holden at Dublin before sir Anthony Sentleger
knight, lord deputie of Ireland, that Wexth should be
diuided and made two shires, one of them to be cal-
led the countie of Wexth, the other to be called the
countie of Wexthmear, and that there should be two
shiriffes and officers conuenient within the same
shires, as is more exprest in the act.

Loughfoile, the Banne, Wolderfrith, Crareg-
fergus, Strangford, Ardglass, Loughueen, Car-
lingford, Killeale, Dundalke, Killogher, Dunane,
Drogheda, Woulepatricke, Panie, Baltraite, Wi-
more, Balbiggen, Roggers towne, Skeriff,
Kath, Malahide, Wandlewille, Youth, Dublin, Dal-
ke, Wickinchoa, Archloa, Weisford, Bagganbun,
the Passage, Waterford, Dongaruan, Koffe noua,
Boughille, Cozke mabegge, Cozke, Kinsale, Kierie,
Koffe Ilbere, Doxie, Balthimore, Downenere,
Downeshead, Downelounge, Attannanne, Crag-
hanne, Downenebtowne, Balinefadlidge, Dan-
gine Achoule, Eratie, Seninne, Callanne, Kille-
towne, Limerike, Inashtartoe, Belalenne, Arine-
newine, Glanemaugh, Ballisweham, Wintarrie,

Thomas
towne.
Thomas
Fitzantonie.

The names
of the chiefe
townes in
Ulster.
The names
of the chiefe
townes in
Leinster.

Chiefe towns
in Downe.
Chiefe towns
in Connaght.
Chiefe towns
in Wexth.
Chiefe towns
in Wickmear.

1542

The names
of the chiefe
hauen towns
in Ireland.

The description of Ireland.

Dowris, Wexham, Roskam, Calwate, Killinille, Innesbosanne, Dwan, Poare, Kilcolken, Burke, Belleclare, Rathesilbene, Bierweisowze, Burauets hare, Ardne makow, Rosbare, Kilgolinne, Malalele, Kadzanne, Strone, Burweis now, Zaltre, Kallballe, Ardnoche, Adzowse, Sligaghe, Innes Boswenne.

Cambrensis observed in his time, that when the sea doth eb at Dublin, it ebberth also at Bristow, and floweth at Milford and Wexford. At Wickloa the sea ebberth when in all other parts it commonlie floweth. Furthermore this he noted, that the river which runneth by Wickloa upon a low eb is salt, but in Arckloa the next haven towne, the river is fresh when the sea is at full. He writeth also, that not far from Arckloa standeth a rocke, and when the sea ebberth in one side thereof, it floweth in the other side as fast. Cambrensis insearcheth diuerse philosophicall reasons in finding out the cause, by obseruing the course of the moone, who is the emperesse of moisture. But those subtilties I leaue for the scholestricks.

Of the strange and woonderfull places in Ireland.

The fourth chapter.

Thinke it good to begin with S. Patrike his purgatorie, partly because it is most notoriouslie knowne, & partly the more, that some writers, as the author of Polychronicon and others that were mislead by him, seeme to make great doubt where they need not. For they ascribe the finding out of the place not to Patrike that converted the countrie, but an other Patrike an abbat, whom likewise they affirme to haue bene employed in converting the Island from heathenrie to christianitie.

But the author that brocheth this opinion, is not found to carie anie such credit with him, as that a man may certainlie affirme it, or probablie conjecture it; unless we relie to the old withered worne earthen legend, loaded with as manie lowd lies, as lewd lines. The better and the more certaine opinion is, that the other Patrike found it out, in such wise as Cambrensis reporteth. There is a poole or lake, saith he, in the parts of Ulster, that inuironneth an Island, in the one part whereof there standeth a church much lightened with the brightsome recourse of angels: the other part is ouglie and gasslie, as it were a bedden allotted to the visible assemblies of horrible and grislie bugs. This part of the Island containeth nine caues. And if anie dare be so hardie, as to take one night his lodging in anie of these ins, which hath bene experimented by some rash & harebraine aduenturers, straight these spirits claw him by the backe, and tug him so ruggedlie, and tolle him so crabbedlie, that now and then they make him more franke of his bum than of his tong; a painment correspondent to his intertainment. This place is called S. Patrike his purgatorie of the inhabitants. For when S. Patrike laboured the conuersion of the people of Ulster, by setting before their eyes in great heat of spirit, the creation of the world, the fall of our progenitors, the redemption of man by the blessed and precious blood of our sauour Iesus Christ, the certaintie of death, the immortalitie of the soule, the generall resurrection, our latter doome, the soles of heauen, the paines of hell, how that at length euery man, small and great, yong and old, rich and poore, king and heafer, potentate and pezzant must

either through Gods his gracious mercie be exalted to the one, to stonish in perpetuall felicitie; or through his vnsearchable iustice tumble downe to the other, to be tormented in eternall miserie. These and the like graue and weightie sentences, wherewith he was abundantlie storied, so far sunke into their harts, as they seemed verie flexible in condescending to his behest: so that some proufe of his estrange preaching could haue bene verified. Whereupon, without further delaie, they spake to the prelat in this wise.

Sir, as we like of your preaching, so we dislike not of our libertie. You tell vs of manie gubawes and estrange dreames. You would haue vs to abandon infidelitie, to cage vp our libertie, to bydle our pleasure: for which you promise vs for our toile and labour a place to vs as vnknowne, so as yet vncreteine. Your sermon to vs of a dungeon appointed for offenders and miscredents. In deed if we could find that to be true, we would the sooner be weaned from the sweet napple of our libertie, and frame our selues pliant to the will of that God, that you reueale vnto vs. S. Patrike considering, that these seallie soules were (as all dulcarnanes for the more part are) more to be terrified from infidelitie through the paines of hell, than allured to christianitie by the soles of heauen, most hartlie besought God, so it stood with his gracious pleasure, for the honour and glorie of his diuine name, to giue out some euident or glimring token of the matter they importunallie required. Finally by the especiall direction of God, he found in the north edge of Ulster a desolate corner hemmed in round, and in the middle thereof a pit, where he reared a church, called Reglis or Reglasse. At the east end of the churchyard a doze leadeth into a closet of stone like a long ouen, which they call S. Patrike his purgatorie, for that the people resort thither euen at this daie for penance, and haue reported at their returne estrange visions of paine and blisse appearing vnto them.

The author of Polydronicon writeth that in the reigne of king Stephan, a knight named Owen pigrimaged to this purgatorie, being so appalled at the strange visions that there he saw, as that upon his returne from thence he was whole mortified, and sequestering himselfe from the world, he spent the remnant of his life in an abbey of Lenzis. Also Dyonysius a charterhouse monke recordeth a vision scene in that place by one Agneius, or Agneius, whereof who so is inquisitiue, may resort to his treatise written *De quatuor nouis Simis*. Iohannes Camertes holdeth opinion, which he surmiseth vpon the gesse of other, that Claudius writeth of this purgatorie. Which if it be true, the place must haue bene extant before saint Patrike, but not so famondlie knowne. The poet his verses are these following:

*Est locus, extremum pandit qua Gallia litus,
Oceani pratentis aquis, quo fertur Rhodis
Sanguine libato populum mouisse silentium,
Flebilis auditur questus, simulachra coloni
Pallida, defunctisque vident migrare figuras.*

There is a place toward the ocean sea
from brim of Gallish shore,
Wherein Vlysses pilgrim strange
with offred blood ygore,
The people there did moue, a skrit-
ching shrill from dungeon lug
The dwellers all appall with gass-
lie galpe of grislie bug.
There onelie shapes are scene to stare
with visage wan and sad,
From nouke to nouke, from place to place,
in cluish skips to gad.

They that repaire to this place for deuotion his sake

The ceremonies used in entering S. Patrike his purgatorie.

Reglasse.

Polydron.
1. c. 36.
117.

Dyon. Cam.
lib. de quatuor
nouis Simis.

Ioh. Camertes
lib. Soliman.
35.

Claudius
in Ruffus.

Isola viuennan.

Camb. lib. 1.
topog. dist. 2.
rub. 5.

S. Patrike
his purgatorie.

Camb. lib. 1.
topog. dist. 2.
rub. 5.

take hie to continue therein foure & twentie houres, which doing other while with ghostlie meditations, and other while a deca for the conscience of their doers, they saie they see a plaine resemblance of their owne faults and vertues, with the hozor and comfort therein belonging, the one so terrible, the other so solous, that they verelie deeme themselves for the time to haue sight of hell and heauen. The reuelations of men that went thither (S. Patrike yet liuing) are kept written within the abbete there adioining. When anie person is disposed to enter (for the doze is euer spard) he repairerth first for deuote to the archbishop, who casteth all pericles, and dissuadeth the pilgrime from the attempt, because it is knowne that diuerse entering into that caue, neuer were seene to turne backe againe. But if the partie be fullie resolu'd, he recomendeth him to the prior, who in like maner sauourable exhorteth him to chuse some other kind of penance, and not to hazard such a danger. If notwithstanding he find the partie fullie bent, he conducteth him to the church, inioyneth him to begin with praier and fast of sixtene daies, so long together as in discretion can be indured. This time expired, if yet he perseuere in his former purpose, the whole conuent accompanieth him with solemn procession & benediction to the mouth of the caue, where they let him in, and so bar vp the doze untill the next morning. And then with like ceremonies they await his returne and reduce him to the church. If he be seene no more, they fast and praie sixtene daies after. Touching the credit of these matters, I see no cause, but a christian being perswaded that there is both hell and heauen, may without banitie vpon sufficient information be resolu'd, that it might please God, at sometime, for considerations to his wisdom knowne, to reueale by miracle the vision of soies and paines eternall. But that altogether in such sort, and by such manner, and so ordinarilie, and to such persons, as the common fame doth vtter; I neither beleue nor wish to be regarded. I haue conferrd with diuerse that had gone this pilgrimage, who affirmed the order of the premisses to be true, but that they saw no sight, saue onelie fearefull dreames when they chanced to nod, and those they said were exceeding horrible. Further they added, that the fast is rated more or lesse, according to the qualitie of the penitent.

Cambrensis affirmeth, that in the north of Mounster there be two Ilands, the greater and the lesse. In the greater there neuer entereth woman or anie liuing female, but forthwith it dieth. This hath bene often proued by bitches and cats, which were brought thither to trie this conclusion, and presentlie they died. In this Iland the cocke or male birds are seene to chirpe, and perch by and do wone the twigs, but the hen or female by instinct of nature abandoneth it, as a place vterlie poisoned. This Iland were a place alone for one that were vexed with a threewife. The lesse Iland is called *Insula viuentium*, because none died there, ne maie die by course of nature, as Giraldus Cambrensis saith. Howbeit the dwellers when they are soze trust with schinelle, or so farre withered with age as there is no hope of life, they request to be conueied by boate to the greater Iland, where they are no sooner inchoed, than they yeld by their ghosts. For my part, I haue bene verie inquisitiue of this Iland, but I could neuer find this strange properrie fasted by anie man of credit in the whole countrie. Neither trulie would I wish anie to be so light, as to lend his credit to anie such feined gloses, as are neither berefed by experience, nor warranted by anie colourable reason. Therefore I see not why it should be termed *Insula viuentium*, unless it be that none dieth there, as long

as he liueth.

Cambrensis telleth further, that there is a churchyard in Ulster, which no female kind maie enter. If the cocke be there, the hen dareth not follow. There is also in the west part of Connaght an Iland, placed in the sea, called Aron, to which saint Brendan had often recourse. The dead bodies need not in that Iland to be grauelled. For the aire is so pure, that the contagion of anie carrion maie not infect it. There, as Cambrensis saith, maie the sonne see his father, his grandfather, his great grandfather, &c. This Iland is enemie to mice. For none is brought thither, but either it leapeth into the sea, or else being staied it dieth presentlie. There was in Kildare an ancient monument named the Firehouse, wherein Cambrensis saith, was there continuall fire kept day and night, and yet the ashes neuer increased. I travelled of set purpose to the towne of Kildare to see this place, where I did see such a monument like a vault, which to this daie they call the Firehouse.

Touching the heath of Kildare Cambrensis writeth that it maie not be tild: and of a certaintie with in this few yeares it was tried, and found, that the cozne which was sowed did not proue. In this plaine (saith Cambrensis) stood the stones that now stand in Salisburie plaine, which were conueied from thence by the sleight of Merlin the Welsh prophet, at the request of Aurelius Ambrosius king of the Britons. There is also in the countie of Kildare a goodlie field called Mollaghamast, betwene the Moxrough and Killa. Diuers blind prophetes run of this place, that there shall be a bloudie field fought there, betwene the English inhabitants of Ireland and the Irish, and so bloudie forthwith it shall be, that a mill in a vale hard by it shall run foure and twentie houres with the streame of blood that shall poize downe from the hill. The Irish doubtlesse repose a great affiance in this balducktum dreame. In the top of this height stand mores or rundels verie formalie fashioned, where the strength of the English armie (as they say) shall be incamped.

The Earle of Suffer being lord lieutenant of Ireland, was accustomed to wish, that if anie such prophesie were to be fulfilled, it should happen in his gouernement, to the end he might be generall of the field. Not farre from Mollaghamast, within a mile of Castledermot, or Mithledermot, is there a place marked with two hillocks, which is named the Geraldine his thotow cast. The length of which in berie deed is wonderfull. The occasion proceeded of this. One of the Geraldins, who was ancestor to those that now are lords of Lackath, predeed an enemie of his. The earle of Kildare hauing intelligence thereof, suppressing affection of kinned, and moued by zeale of iustice, pursued him with a great troope of horsemen, as the other was bringing of the prede homeward. The Geraldine hauing notice giuen him, that the earle was in hot pursate, and therefore being warned by the messenger to hie him with all speed possible: the gentleman being nettled, that his kinsman would seeme to rescue the prede of his deadlie fo; and as he was in such fretting wise fring in his greafe, he brake out in these cholerike words: And doth my confine Kildare pursue me in deede? Now in god saith, whereas he seemeth to be a suppresser of his kindred, and an vpholder of my mortall enemie, I would wish him no more harme, than that this dart were as far in his bodie, as it shall sticke forthwith in the ground: and therewithall giuing the spurres to his horse, he hurled his dart so farre, as he abashed with the length thereof aswell his companie as his posteritie.

The Geraldine was not verie farre from thence, when the earle with his hand made hot foot after, and

Cambren. in eodem loco.

Iren.

The fire-house of Kildare.

The heath of Kildare.

The stones of Salisburie plaine.

Mollaghamast.

The earle of Suffer.

The Geraldine's thotow.

1470.

The Geraldine's wish.

The ceremonies used in entering S. Patrike his purgatorie.

Reglaire.

Polychr. lib. 1. c. 36. 1138

Dyon. Cant. lib. de quatuor mundi. art. 48.

Joh. Camerlin lib. Solim. can. 35.

Claud. lib. 1. in Ruffin.

Insula viuentium.

The description of Ireland.

The earle of
Rathore
answer.

The hill of
Caragh.

Castlenocke.
The strange
wells.

Camb.in lib. 1.
topog. dist. 1.
rub. 8. & 10.

dogging still the tracke of the pcedours, he came to the place where the dart was hurled, where one pick-
thanke or other let the earle to understand of the Ge-
raldine his wild speeches there deliuered. And to in-
hanse the heinousnesse of the offense, he shewed how
farre he hurled his dart, when he wished it to be pit-
ched in his lordship his bodie. The earle assented at the
length thereof, said: Now in good sooth, my cousin in
behauing himselfe so couragiously, is worthy to
haue the pcedo that free. And for my part I purpose
not so much to stomach his cholerike will, as to im-
brace his valiant prowesse. And therewithall com-
manded the retreat to be blowne and reculed backe.
There is in Meethan hill called the hill of Caragh,
wherein is a plaine twelue foor long, which was na-
med the Kempe his hall: there the countrie had their
meetings and folkemotes, as a place that was ac-
counted the high palace of the monarch. The Irish
hystorians hammer manie fables in this forge of Fin-
mac Colle and his champions, as the French hysto-
rie dole of king Arthur and the knights of the round
table. But doubtlesse the place seemeth to beare the
shew of an ancient and famous monument.

There is in Castlenocke a village not far from
Dublin, a window not glazed nor latized, but open,
and let the weather be stormie, the wind bluster bo-
sterouslie on euerie side of the house; yet place a can-
dle there, and it will burne as quietlie as if no pufse
of wind blew. This maie be tried at this date, who so
shall be willing to put it in practise. Touching the
strange wells that be in Ireland, I purpose to speake
little more than that which I find in Cambrensis, whose
words I will English, as they are Latined in his
booke. There is (saith he) a well in Dounster, with the
water of which if anie be washed, he becometh forth-
with hoare. I haue seene a man that had one halfe of
his beard, being died with that water hoare; the other
halfe unwashed was browne, remaining still in his
naturall colour. Contrariwise, there is a founteine
in the further edge of Ulster, and if one be bathed
therewith, he shall not become hoare: in which well
such as loath greie beares are accustomed to diue.
There is in Connaght a well that springeth on the
top of an hill farre and distant from any sea, ebbing
and flowing in foure and twentie houres, as the sea
doth; and yet the place is vplandish, and the water
fresh. There is another spring in the same countrie;
the water of which is verie wholesome to men and doo-
mer, but poison to beastes: and if a man put but the
grauell of this well into his mouth, it quencheth pre-
sentlie his thirst.

There is in Ulster a standing pole thirtie thou-
sand pases long, and fiftene thousand pases brode,
out of which springeth the noble northerne riuier, cal-
led the Banne. The fishers complaine more often for
bursting of their nets with the oter great lake of
fish, than for anie want. In our time vpon the con-
quest a fish swam from this pole to the shore, in shape
resembling a salmon, but in quantitie so huge,
that it could not be drawne or caried whole together,
but the fishmongers were forced to hacke it in gobs-
bets, and so to carrie it in pecemeale throughout the
countrie, making thereof a generall dole. And if the
report be true, the beginning of this pole was
strange. There were in old time where the pole now
standeth, vicious and beastlie inhabitants. At which
time was there an old said saie in euerie man his
mouth, that as soone as a well there springing (which
for the superstitious reuerence they bare it, was con-
tinuallie covered and signed) were left open and un-
signed, so soone would so much water gush out of that
well, as would forthwith ouerwhelme the whole ter-
ritorie. It happened at length, that an old trot came
thither to fetch water, and hearing his child whine, the

ran with might and maine to dandle his bable, for-
getting the obseruance of the superstitious order to-
fore vsed. But as she was returning backe to haue
conuered the spring, the land was so farre ouerflowed,
as that it past his helpe: and shortly after she, his
suckling, & all those that were within the whole ter-
ritorie were drowned. And this seemeth to carie more
likelihood with it, because the fishers in a cleare sun-
nie date see the sheeles and other piles plainlie and
distinctlie in the water. And here would be noted,
that the riuier of the Banne flowed from this head
spring before this flood, but farre in lesse quantitie
than it doth in our time. Hitherto Giraldus Cam-
brensis.

Boetius telleth a rare propertie of a pole in Ire-
land, & for that he maketh himselfe an euidence of
the matter, he shall tell his owne tale. *Ac quoniam*
Hibernie incidit mentio, prater infinita in ea rerum miracu-
la, haud importunum fore existimem, si vnum, quod ob porten-
tuosam nouitatem fidem omnium excedere videtur, nos ta-
men verum experti sumus, adiunxerimus. Lacus in caest,
circa quem amplissimo circumquaque spatio nec herba nec ar-
bor vlla nascitur, &c. in quem si lignum infusas anni circi-
ter vnius curriculo, id quod in terra fixum erit, in lapidem
conuertetur; quod deinceps aqua operietur, in ferrum: reli-
quum aqua exstans ligni formam naturamque seruabit. Ita
coniuncta, lapis, ferrum & lignum eodem in stipite inaudita
novitate conspiciuntur. But for that mention is made
of Ireland, ouer and aboue the infinite number of
wonders in that land, it will not be whole before the
purpose, to insert one maruellous thing, which al-
though it may seeme to some to haue no colour of
truth: yet because it hath bene by vs experimented,
and found out to be true, we maie the better aduouch
it. There is a standing pole in that land, nere
which of all sides groweth neither herbe, shrub, nor
bush. If you sticke a rod or peece of timber in this
pole, that which sticketh in the earth within the space
of one yeare turneth to a stone; as much as is dipt
in the water, is conuerted to iron; all that is aboue
the water remaineth still in the pristinat and former
woodden shape. So that you may see that which is
strange, in one stocke or sticke, stone, iron and wood
likt and knit together. Thus much Hector Boetius.

In the countrie of Bilkennie and in the borders
thereto confining, they vsed a Glemme trial by a wa-
ter they call Melathie. The propertie of this water
is, as they say, that if a persured person drinke there-
of, the water will gush out at his bellie, as though
the drinker his nauill were bored with an auger. The
riuier that runneth by Dublin named the Liffie hath
this propertie for certeine, and I haue obserued it at
sundry times. As long as it reigne, yea if it stood
potwizing by dates, you shall find diuerse swallow
bwokes; and the riuier will be nothing thereby in-
creased: but within foure and twentie houres after
the thowes are ceast, you shall perceiue such a sud-
den spring flow, as if the former raine were great;
a berie few places or none at all will be found pasa-
ble. Cambrensis writeth, that in the south part of
Dounster, betwene the maine sea coasting on this
paine and saint Brendan his hills, there is an I-
land of the vne side incompassed with a riuier abun-
dantlie stozed with fish, & on the other part inclosed
with a little bwoke. In which place saint Brendan
was verie much resiant. This plot is taken to be
such a sanctuare for beastes: as if anie hare, fox, stag,
or other wild beast be chased nere that land by
dogs, it maketh straight vpon the bwoke, and as
soone as it passeth the streame, it is so cocksure, as
the hunter may perceiue the beast resting on the
one bankie, & the dogs queuing on the other bankie,
being as it were by some invisible railles imbar-
d from dipping their feet in the shallow ford, to pursue
the

The Salt
lake.

Hector Boetius
in De consuetudine
delap. p. 143
Sect. 34.

Trimagh.

Melathie.

The Liffie.

Ireland the
house
nature.

Cambrensis
lib. 1. dist. 10.

The description of Ireland.

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the beast chased. On the other side of this land there runneth a river stozed about measure with fresh water fish, and in especiallie with salmon. Which abundance, as Cambrensis writeth, proceeded of God, to mainteine the great hospitalitie that was kept there. And because the dwellers thereabout shall not like pinching collicles make any sale of the fish, let it be powdered as artificialie as may be, yet it will not keepe (as though it were manna) above the first night or date that it be taken. So that you must eate it within that short compass, otherwise it putrifieth and standeth to no sted.

The Salmon
leape.

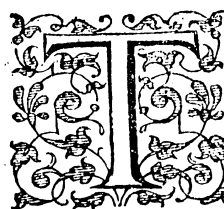
This river overfloweth a great rocke, vsuallie called the Salmon leape: for as it is commonlie the propertie of all fish to swim against the tide, as for birds to flitter against the wind; so it is naturallie giuen to the salmon to struggle against the streame, and when it approacheth nere this high rocke, it bendeth his taile to his head, and sometime taketh it in his mouth; and therewithall beareth it selfe ouer the water, and suddenlie it fetcheth such a round whiske, that at a trice it skipeth to the top of the rocke. The like salmon leape is nere Leislip, but not so high as this. There be also, as witnesseth Cambrensis, in the further part of Ulster, certeine hills nere to saint Bean his church, where cranes yearelie breed. And when they haue laied their eggs, if any purpose to ransacke their nests, let him but attempt to touch the eggs, they will shew like yong scrawling pullets without feather or downe, as though they were new hatched, and presentlie brought out of their shells. But if the partie plucke his hand from the nest, forth with they shew (whether it be by any metamorphosis, or some sugling legier de maine by dazeling the eyes) as though they were transformed into eggs. And further, saith Cambrensis, let two at one instance be at the nest, and let the one of them onelie giue the gaze, and the other attempt to take awaie the eggs, they will seeme to the looker on as eggs, and to the taker as yong red little cranets, being as bare as a bird his arse.

Armagh.

The towne of Armagh is said to be enemie to rats, and if any be brought thither, presentlie it dieth. Which the inhabitants impute to the praiers of saint Patrike. But to omit the strange places, that either by false reports are furnished, or by proofe and experience baile berefted: there are in this land such notable quarries of greie marble and touch, such store of pearle and other rich stones, such abundance of cole, such plentie of lead, iron, latin and tin, so manie rich mines furnished with all kind of metals, as nature seemed to haue framed this countrie for the Roiehouse or iewelhouse of hir chiefeest thesaure. Howbeit the hath not shewed hir selfe so bountifull a mother in powring forth such riches, as she proueth hir selfe an enuious stepdame; in that she inslitteth in the inhabitants a drouse lihernesse to withdraue them from the insearching of hir houndred and hidden iewels. Wherein the fareth like one, that to purchase the name of a sumptuous frankelen or a good blander, would bid diuerse ghests to a coslie and deintie dinner, and withall for sauing of his meat with some secret enchantment would benum them of their sirs, or with some hidden lothsomnesse would dull their stomachs, as his ghests by reason of the one are not able, or for the other not willing, by taking their repast to refresh themselves, in so much as in my phantasie it is hard to decide whether estate is the better: either for a diligent labourer to be planted in a barren or stonie soile, or for a lustily loiterer to be settled in a fertill ground; because the one will, and may not; the other may and will not though his painefull trauell reape the fruit and commoditie that the earth yeldeth.

Of the lords spirituall of Ireland, their names and dignities.

The fift chapter.



The spirituall iurisdiction is ordered into foure prouinces, whereof the primasie was euer giuen (in reuerence of saint Patrike that conuerted the countrie) to the archbishoppe of Armagh, who is called *Primas totius Hibernie*, and the archbishop of Dublin, *Primas Hibernie*. This custome was since confirmed by Eugenius the thirde, 1148, or 1152: who sent withall three other pallies of archbishops to be placed, one at Dublin, one at Cashill, & the last at Twene. To these are suffragans in right nine and twentie, and they all to the *Primas* of Armagh, vnder whose prouince are the bishops of Meeth and Deren, Ardach, Bilmore, Clogher, Doune, Coner, Clonknos, Kaba, Dromore. Under Dublin, whereunto Innocentius the thirde vniued Clonelagh, the bishop of Cephine, Kildare, Fernes, Doffe and Leighlin. Under Cashill, the bishop of Waterford, to whom Lismore is vniued, Corke and Clone, Kosse, Ardigh, Limerike, Enniscille, Killaloe, and Ardfert. Under Twene, Bilmore, Dfline, Anaghdoune, Clonsfert, Moxro. In this recount some difference hapneth by reason of personall and reall vniou of the sees, and for other alterations. I haue obserued in perusing of old booke the names of certeine bishops and archbishops of Dublin: and albeit I could not find a iust register or catalog of them, yet I toke it to be better to place such as I could find, than to omit the whole. Cormachus was one of the first bishops that I haue read of, but I am well assured, that there were diuerse others before his time. He flourished about the yeare 893, of this bishop Hector Boetius maketh mention. Dunanus was bishop of Dublin long after Cormachus: for Dunanus died in the yeare 1074. He was buried in Chriss church in Dublin, in the upper part of the chancell on the right hand.

Patricius was consecrated bishop of Dublin in Paule his church at London by the archbishop of Canturburie Lanfrancus or Lanfrancus. The reason of this consecration was, for that as yet the metropolitans of Ireland receiued not their pall. A pall is an indowment appropriated to archbishops, made of white like the breadth of a stole, but it is of another fashion. And where you shall espie the armes of any archbishop blazed, there you may perceiue the pall set out in white, with a great mante blacke crosses vpon it. An archbishop within three moneths after his consecration or confirmation ought to demand his pall, otherwise he may be removed; neither ought he to name himselfe archbishop before the receipt, neither may he before summon or call a council, make chrysme, dedicate churches, giue orders, or consecrate bishops. He may not weare his pall with out the church, neither in other prouinces; albeit in another prouince he may be in his pontificalibus, so that pontificalia differeth from the pall. Furthermore, an archbishop may not lend his pall vnto another, but it ought to be interred with him. But to returne to Patricius, his time was but short, for some after as he was crossing the seas to Dublin ward, he was drowned with his fellow passengers the same pere that he was consecrated, the ninth of October.

Donatus, of some called Bungus, succeeded Patricius, and likewise consecrated by Lanfrancus archbishop of Canturburie, at the instance of Dermacutus king of Ireland, the bishops of Ireland, the clergie and the citizens of Dublin: he deceased

Armagh.

Dublin.

Cashill.

Twene.

Lib. 10. Scot.
Hist. fol. 212.
lect. 40.

1074.

Pall what
it is.

c. quoniam;
c. cil.

c. quod sicut
de elect. penul.
De priuil. &
exce. priuil.
cap. Archie. & in
glos. c. ex maram;
& c. ad hoc.
de auct. &
vlu. pal.

1075.

The description of Ireland.

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1095.

in the yere one thousand nine tie and five. Samucll succeded Donatus, and died in the yere one thousand one hundred two and twentie. Gregorius did not succed immediatlie after Samucll, for there be thirtie yeres betwene them both. This Gregorius was the first metropolitan of Dublin, and was consecrated archbishop in the yere one thousand one hundred fiftie and two, and died in the yere one thousand one hundred thre score and two.

1152.

1162.

S. Laurentius Othohille. This prelat was first abbat of S. Benins in Glindelagh, and after he was solemnlie consecrated and installed in Chriss church at Dublin by Gelactus the pimat of Armagh, and not by Canturburie, as the bishops of Dublin were before the pall given them. He died in Normandie, and was buried in our ladie church of Angie in the yere one thousand one hundred and foure score, the fourteenth of November.

Johan Cummin an Englishman succeded Laurence. This famous prelat being cloistered by in the abbete of Cusham in Worcester shire was highly renowned of all men, as well for his deepe learning, as for the integritie of his life. The clergie of Dublin being given to understand of so worthie a clerke, became humble petitioners to the king his maiestie Henrie the second, that through his means such an unvaluable treasure should be installed in Laurence his dignitie. The king bowing to their earnest sute agreed he should be consecrated their archbishop; which was an happie houre for that countrie. For besides the great trauell he endured in conveying his flocke in Chrissian religion, he was founder of S. Patrike his church in Dublin, as is before specified. He decessed in the yere one thousand two hundred and twelve, and was intombed in the quere of Chriss church.

1180.

Henrie Londres succeded Cummin. This man was nicknamed Scorchbill, or Scorchbillein thorough this occasion. Being settled in his see, he gaue commandement to all his tenants to make their appearance before him at a date appointed: and for that he was raw as yet in his revenues, he toke it to stand best with their ease and quietnes, and his commoditie, that ech of them should shew their evidences, whereby he might learne, by what tenure they held of him. His tenants mistrusting no fluttish dealing, but construing all to be meant for the best, delivered their evidences to their landlord, who did scantlie well peruse them when he siong them all in the fire. The poore tenants espiong this subtil pranke to be verie unfitting for a bishop, could not bide their tongs, but brake out on a sudden: Thou an archbishop? Haie, thou art a scorchbillein. But it could not be gessed to what end this fact of his tended; for notwithstanding this, the tenants inioied their lands, vnlesse he did it because they should be tenants at will, and so to stand to his deuotion. This prelat doubtlesse was politike, and well lettered, and for his wisdom and learning he was elected lord iustice of Ireland. He was the founder of the castell of Dublin, as is before mentioned. He decessed in the yere one thousand two hundred twentie & five, and lieth buried in Chriss church. Wherby appeareth that Mathaeus Parisiensis did ouerthot himselfe, in writing one Hu or Hugo to be archbishop of Dublin in the yere one thousand two hundred and thirtie, whereas Londres at that time was in the see, as from his consecration to his death may be gathered, being the space of thirtie yeres.

Scorchbillein.

Matth. Paris.
in vita Ioan.
pag. 316.

1285.

Johan Stamford succeded Londres, but not immediatlie, and was consecrated in the yere one thousand two hundred foure score and five. This man, vpon the death of Stephan Fulborne archbishop of Lunc, was made lord iustice of Ireland in

the yere one thousand two hundred foure score and seauen. And sone after being in England he was sent from Edward the first as ambassador to the French king, and vpon his returne he decessed in England, & sone after was buried in saint Patrike his church at Dublin.

Willielmo Hothom is placed by some antiquaries to be archbishop of Dublin much about this time, but whether the man haue bene installed in this see at all or no, I am not able to affirme, nor to denie: but certeine it is that the date is mistaken, for vpon Johan Stamford his death, Richard Flerings was consecrated archbishop of Dublin, betwene whome and the lord Edmund Butler there arose a great controuersie in law, touching the manner of Hothwood with the appurtenances. Which man; the lord Butler recovered by an arbitrement or composition taken betwene them in the king his bench at Dublin. This prelat departed this life in the yere one thousand thre hundred and six.

1306.

Richard de Hauerings was successor vnto Flerings, who after that he had continued welnere the space of five yeres in the see, was soze appalled by reason of an estrange and wonderfull dreame. For on a certeine night he imagined that he had seene an vglie monster standing on his breast, who to his thinking was more weightie than the whole world, in so much as being as he thought in maner squiled or prest to death with the heft of this huge monster, he would haue departed with the whole substance of the world, if he were thereof possessed, to be disburdened of so heauie a load. Vpon which wish he suddenly awoke. And as he beat his braines in diuining what this dreame should import, he bethought himselfe of the flocke committed to his charge, how that he gathered their sinces pearelie, by receiuing the revenues and perquisits of the bishoplike, and yet suffered his flocke to starue for lacke of preaching and teaching. Wherefore being for his former slacknesse soze wounded in conscience, he trauelled with all speed to Rome, where he resigned by his bishoplike, a burthen too heauie for his wraike shoulders, and being vpon his resignation competentlie benefited, he bestowed the remanant of his life vpon deuotion.

1311.

Johan Lech nephew to Hauerings, vpon the resignation was consecrated archbishop. This prelat was at contention with the pimat of Armagh, for their iurisdiccions: insomuch as he did imbarre the pimat from hauing his crosse bozne before him within the prouince of Leinster, which was contrary to the canon law, that admitteth the crosse to beare the crosse before his archbishop in an other prouince. This man decessed in the yere one thousand thre hundred and thirtie.

1316.

Alexander Bigenor was next Lech consecrated archbishop with the whole consent as well of the chapter of Chriss church as of S. Patrike. Howbeit vpon the death of Lech there arose a schisme & division betwene Walter Thorneburie lord chancellor of Ireland and Bigenor; then tresuroz of the same countrie. The cancellor to further his election determined to haue posted to Rome, but in the wafe he was drowned with the number of 156 passengers. Bigenor staing in Ireland, with lesse aduenture and better speed, with the consent of both the chapters was elected archbishop. And in the yere 1317 there came bulls from Rome to confirme the former election. At which time the archbishop and the earle of Ulster were in England. This prelat sone after returned lord iustice of Ireland, and sone after he had landed at Daghill, he went to Dublin, where as well for his spirituall iurisdiction, as his temporall promotion he was receiued with procession and great solemnitie.

1317.

1327.
Ioan Cant.
de antea.
Cant. Sec.
dumhail.

Edmund
Butler.
1032.
Hothwood in
Fingall.

1306.

Hauerings
dreame.

1311.

Depriui.
excess pri.
c. Archiep.

1316.

1317.

Haueri
Bake.
13
The
Buc
Buc
Buc

The description of Ireland.

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1320. solemnitie. In this man his time was there an vniuersitie founded in Dublin, whereof master William Woodard was chancelor, a well learned man and one that proceeded doctor of the canon law in this vniuersitie. Bigenor deceased in the yeare 1349.

John de saint Paule was consecrated archbishop upon Bigenor his death. He deceased in the yeare one thousand three hundred sixtie and two. Thomas Annot succeeded John, and died in the yeare one thousand three hundred seuentie & six. Robert Wikeford succeeded Thomas, and died in the yeare one thousand three hundred and nintie. Robert Maldebie succeeded Wikeford, this prelat was first an Augustine frier, and a great preacher, and accounted a vertuous and sincere liuer. He deceased in the yeare one thousand three hundred nintie and seauen. Richard Porthalis was remooued from an other see and chosen archbishop of Dublin, who likewise deceased the same yeare he was elected. Thomas Craulic an Englishman succeeded him the same yeare, and came into Ireland in the companie of the duke of Surreie. This archbishop was chosen lord iustice of Ireland in the yeare one thousand foure hundred and thirtene. In whose gouernement the English

1413
The skirmish
at Kilkia.

did skirmish with the Irish in the countie of Kildare nere Kilkia, where the English vanquished the enimie, slue an hundred of the Irish. During which time the archbishop being lord iustice, went in procession with the whole clergie in Trisfelbermot, or Castle dermot, a towne adioining to Kilkia, praiering for the prosperous successe of the subjects that went to skirmish with the enimie. This prelat was of stature tall, well featured, and of a sanguine complexion, decking his outward comeliness with inward qualities. For he was so liberall to the rich, so charitable to the poore, so deepe a clerke, so profound a doctor, so found a preacher, so vertuous a liuer, and so great a builder, as he was not without good cause accounted the phenix of his time. In dailie talke as he was thort, so he was sweet. Hard in promising, bountifull in performing. In the yeare one thousand foure hundred and seuentene, he sailed into England, and ended his life at Faringdon, and was buried in New college at Oxford. In the yeare one thousand foure hundred thirtie & nine, there hath bene one Richard archbishop of Dublin, and lord iustice of Ireland, before whome a parlement was holden at Dublin, in the eighteenth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the first. In the yeare one thousand foure hundred and sixtie, Walter was archbishop of Dublin, & deputie to Jasper duke of Bedford, lieutenant of Ireland.

1439

1460

The bishops
of Kildare.

I found in an ancient register the names of certeine bishops of Kildare, that were in that see since the time of saint Brigids; the names of whome I thought here to insert. Lonie was bishop in saint Brigids time, which was about the yeare of our Lord foure hundred fortie and eight; the rest doe here follow:

2 Anoz.	14 Robert.
3 Conste.	15 Bonifacius.
4 Donatus.	16 Padogge.
5 Danid.	17 William.
6 Pagnus.	18 Calstride.
7 Richard.	19 Richard.
8 John.	20 James.
9 Simon.	21 Male.
10 Nicholas.	22 Waret.
11 Walter.	23 Edmund Lane, who
12 Richard.	florished in the yeare
13 Thomas.	1518.

There hath bene a worthie prelat, canon in the cathedrall church of Kildare, named Maurice Iake, who among the rest of his charitable deeds, builded the bridge of Kilkollen, and the next yeare following he builded in like maner the bridge of Leighlin, to

the great and dailie commoditie of all such as are occasioned to trauell in those quarters.

The lords temporall, as well English as Irish, which inhabit the countie of Ireland.

The sixt chapter.

10 Gerald Fitzgerald, earle of Kildare. This house was of the nobilitie of Florence, came from thence into Normandie, and so with the ancient earle Strangbow his kinsman, whose armes he geth, into Wales, nere of blood to Rice ap Griffun, prince of Wales by Desfa the mother of Maurice Fitzgerald & Robert Fitzstephans, with the said earle Maurice Fitzgerald removed into Ireland, in the yeare one thousand one hundred sixtie and nine. The familie is verie properlie toucht in a sonnet of Surreties, made upon the earle of Kildares sister, now countesse of Lincolne. From Tuscan came my ladies worthie race,
Faire Florence was sometime hir ancient seat:
The western Ile whose pleasant shore doth face
Wild Cambers clifles, did giue hir liuelie heat,
Postred she was with milke of Irish brest,
30 Hir fire an earle, hir dame of princes blood,
From tender yeares in Britaine she dooth rest
With kings child, where she tastes costlie food.
Hunsdon did first present hir to mine eie,
Bright is hir hew, and Geraldine she hight,
Hampton me taught to with hir first for mine:
And Windsor, alas, dooth chase me from hir sight;
Hir beautie of kind, hir vertues from above,
Happie is he, that can obtaine hir loue.

1165

The corrupt orthographie that diuerse vse in writing this name, doth incorporat it to houses there to linked in no kinred, and consequentlie blemisheth diuerse worthie exploits atchued as well in England and Ireland, as in forren countries and dominions. Some write Gerold, sundrie Gerald, diuerse verie corruptlie Gerrot, others Gerard. But the true orthographie is Girald, as maie appeare both by Giraldus Cambrensis, and the Italian authors that make mention of the familie. As for Gerrot it differeth flat from Girald: yet there be some in Ireland, that name and write themselves Gerrots, notwithstanding they be Giraldins, whereof diuerse gentlemen are in Ireth. But there is a sept of the Gerrots in Ireland, and they seme forsooth by threatening kindnesse and kindred of the true Giraldins, to fetch their petit degrées from their ancestors, but they are so nere of blood one to the other, that two bushels of beanes would scantlie count their degrées. An other reason why diuerse estrange houses haue bene shuffled in among this familie, was, for that sundrie gentlemen at the christening of their children, would haue them named Giralds, and yet their surnames were of other houses, and if after it happened that Girald had issue Thomas, John, Robert, or such like, then would they beare the surname of Girald, as Thomas Fitzgiralb: and thus taking the name of their ancestors for their surname, within two or three descents they shoue themselves among the kindred of the Giraldins. This is a generall fault in Ireland and Wales, and a great confusion and extinguishtment of houses.

60

This noble and ancient familie of the Giraldins, haue in sundrie ages flourishd in the most renowned countries of Europe. Marring Fitzgiralb was one in great credit with king John. I find an other Giraldine

Math. Paris in
vita Ioh. pag.
316. vers. 40.

1319
The bridge of
Kilkollen, and
Leighlin.

The description of Ireland.

raldine *Archiepiscopus Bredegalenſis*, who flourished in king Henrie the third his time. There was an other Giralbine patriarch of Jerusalem, in the yere one thousand two hundred twentie and nine, as witnesſeth Mattheus Parisienſis. There was one Giraldo of Werneill an excellent poet in the Italian tong: an other named Baptiſt Giraldo, was a famous citizen of Ferrara, an expert phyſician, and an exquisite philoſopher, being publike profeſſor of philoſophie in the ſaid citie, during the ſpace of ten yeares. I have ſene a worke of one *Gregorius Giraldu Ferrarienſis de dijs gentium*, dedicated to Hercules duke of Ferrara, a piſſhe booke and verie well penned. Alſo Syluſter Giraldu Cambrenſis hath bene one of this familie, nere of kin to ſir Maurice Fitzgiraldo. This gentleman was bozne in Wales, and thereof he is named Cambrenſis, of the word *Cambria*, that in old time was adapted to that part of *Britannia*. He was verie inward with Henrie the ſecond, conqueror of Ireland, being at that time the kings ſecretarie. And for that ſpectall affiance king Henrie repoſed in him, he was appointed to accompanie prince John the kings ſonne into Ireland, as one of his chiefeſt and diſcreteſt counſellores.

This gentleman was verie well learned, a ſol-
lerable divine, a commendable philoſopher, not rude
in phyſike, ſkilfull in coſmographe, a ſingular good
antiquarie, an orator, in induer comparable to the
beſt, in his ſtile not in thoſe daies taken for the
worſt, rather eſchewing the name of a rude writer,
than purchaſing the fame of an eloquent choniſter.
Among other his worke, he wrote one booke of the
deſcription of Ireland, other two of the conqueſt
thereof. John the abbat of ſaint Albons ſaith, that
this clerke was ſomewhat ſpare in words, and liber-
rall in ſentences. What he meaneth by this verbiſe I
know not, unleſſe he taketh the man to be ouerlauſh
of his pen in ſcumpling of his aduerſaries with quip-
ping ſawnts, which (as I geſſe) ſlowed rather from a
ſtaunting oſtentation of a roſting kind of rhetorike,
than from any great malice he bare any one. How-
beit, I maie not gaineſate, but as he was kind where
he toke, ſo he was ſomewhat biting where he diſ-
liked. But what his iudgement is of the Giralbins
maie plainlie appeare in his chyonicle, out of which I
haue culled this praife worſhipſe ſentence inſuing.

*Hoc eſt huius generis omen & hac conditio. Semper in ar-
mat a militia chari, ſemper primi, ſemper rebus in diſartys auſis
nobili preſtantiffimi. Ceſſante vero neceſſitatis articulo, ſtatim
exorſi, ſtatim ultimi, ſtatim ad ima liuore depreſſi. Ver-
untamen tanta generoſitatis ſilum liuor ad plenum extir-
pare non potuit. Vnde & uſque in hodiernum gens hac
noſtris plantularum ſuccrementis vires in inſula non modi-
cas habet. Qui ſunt, qui penetrant hoſtium penetralia?
Giralddida. Qui ſunt, qui patriam conſeruant? Giral-
ddida. Qui ſunt, quos hoſtes formidant? Giralddida. Qui ſunt,
quos liuor detractat? Giralddida. Si principem tanta ſtremuita-
tis merita digne penſantem reperiffent, quam tranquillum,
quam paciſcum olim Hibernie ſtatim reddidiffent? Sed ho-
rum ſine cauſa ſemper eſt ſuſpecta ſtremuitas.* This hath been
continuallie, ſaith Cambrenſis, a deſtine or fatal
propertie: annexed to this houſe. In warre and mar-
tiall bozles they are dandaled, they are colled, they
are lulled, who but they? They rule the roſt. But
when theſe martiall garboiles are appeaſed, they
are either through falſe informations wrongfullie
behaied, or elſe by enuious carpers ſiniſterlie ſuſpec-
ted. Howbeit, enue with all hir malicious diſſes,
could neuer wholie ſupplant the fertill groue of this
couragious & noble progenie. And maugre the heads
of all malicious promoters, this ſept, yea even at
this daie beareth, with the few ſlips there ingrafted,
no ſmall ſtroke in Ireland. Who are they that ſcale
the enimies ſoyt? The Giralbines; Who are they

that defend their cuntry: The Giralbines. Who are
they that make the enimie quake in his ſkin? The
Giralbines. And who are they whome enue backbit-
teth? The Giralbines. If it had ſtood with the god
fortune of the Giralbines, that the king with equall
balance would poiſe their valure, long yer this had
all Ireland bene put in quiet and peaceable ſtate.
But their ballantneſſe and power hath bene from
time to time without ſufficient cauſe ſuſpected. Yt
thereto Cambrenſis.

And ſoothlie, as often as I call to mind the ſaſeng
of this hiſtoriographer, I may not but muſe how
ſompe he hitteth the naille on the head. And who is
will conferre their continuall ſucceſſe from the pen-
ning of this ſentence (which was written about 400
yeares and upward) with this age of ours, ſhall ſome
perceiue, that theſe words were rather propheſies of
future miſhap, than complaints of former iniuries.
At this daie let them behaue themſelues ballantlie
in warre, and loiallie in peace; yet notwithstanding,
ſuch ſlanders are raiſed, ſuch rumors noſſed, ſuch
tales bzuted, ſuch fables twittled, ſuch vntrue reports
ſwatled, ſuch malicious inuentions ſorged, that ſuch
as are in authoritie cannot but of force ſuſpect them,
vnleſſe they were able, like gods, to prie in the bot-
tome of each mans conſcience. But who ſo wiſeth
any godneſſe to that miſerable cuntry, and noble
progenie, let him with all the beines of his heart be-
ſeech God, firſt that the higher powers be ſlowe in
belueing the deſpitefull reports of enuious back-
biters. Secondlie, that the Giralbines beare them-
ſelues in all their affaires ſo dutifullie, that theſe
curious inferchers be not able to depaint their ſei-
ned gloſes with any probable colours. So ſhall
ſuſpicion be abandoned, ſo ſhall malicious ſlanders
be ſquatted, ſo ſhall that noble houſe be truſted,
and conſequentlie the battered weale-publike of
Ireland reediſed. The familie is Engliſh, and
it is well knowne that the Irith rather ſcare their
force, than loue their perſons. And reaſon god
pardie. If or the Irith bearing in mind, that the G-
ralbine being thereto deputed by the prince, hath in
all ages conquered their lands, abated their coura-
ges, diſcomfited their men, vanquiſhed their armies,
daunted their power, ſuppreſſed their force, and made
them become true and tributarie ſubiects to the
croune of England: they haue god cauſe to beare
that ſept but holow hearts, what they ſo euer they
make in outward apperance. Thus much generallie
of the Giralbines, now I purpoſe particularlie to
treat of the houſe of Kilbare.

Maurice Fitzgiraldo, one of the earles progeni-
tors, was lord iuſtice of Ireland in the yere 1242,
at which time he builded the caſtell of Sligagh. This
Maurice was lord of Wreconille, and being entire-
lie ſeized of the whole cuntry, he gaue the one moi-
tie thereof to Cormocke mac Dermot, mac Ko-
rie. I read the Giralbine baron of Dphalie, in the
yere 1270. I haue ſene it regiſſred, that there died
a Giralbine the fourth earle of Kilbare, in the yere
1287. But I take that kalendar to beare a falſe date.
Wherefore the truth & certaintie is, that John Fitz-
giraldo, ſonne to Thomas Fitzgiraldo, was the firſt
earle of Kilbare, and was created earle vpon this
occaſion.

In the yere 1290, and in the eighteenth yere of
Edward the firſt, William Meſcie was made lord
iuſtice of Ireland. This man being either negligent
or rati in the gouernment of the cuntry, embold-
ned the Irith enimie to indamage the kings ſubiects
more eſſionies than they were accuſtomed to do.
Theſe enormities being for the ſpace of ſoure yeares
tolerated, the ſubiects miſliking of the ſlackneſſe of
their gouernour, gaue out ſuch ſiniſter ſpeeches of the
lord

Meſcie accu-
ſeth the lord
Fitzgiraldo.

The lord Fitz-
giraldo answer.

The lord Fitz-
giraldo replieth.

The caſtell of
Sligagh.

Baron of
Dphalie.

The firſt earle
of Kilbare.

1290

Meſcie lord
iuſtice.

lord iustice, as he was glad to the hart root. Some after, as the nobles in open assemble were ryping up by peccinle the seuerall harms their tenants suffered, the lord iustice willing to disburden himselfe of the crime, began with mistie kind of speeches to laie the whole fault on the lord John Fitzgiralde shoulders, saieing in parable wise, that he was a great occasion of these disorders, in that he bare himselfe in priuat quarrels as fierce as a lion, but in these publicke injuries he was as meeke as a lambe. The baron of Dhalie spelling and putting these syllables together, spake in this wise.

These accusations by the lord Fitzgiralde.

The lord Fitzgiralde answer.

My lord, I am hartlie sozie that among all this noble assemble, you make me your onelie marke whereto to shoot your bolt. And trulie were my deserts so heinous as I suppose you would wish them to be, you would not labour to cloud your talke with such darke riddles, as at this present you haue done; but with plaine & flat English, your lordship would not sticke to impeach of felonie or treason. For as mine ancestors with spending of their blood in their souereignes quarell aspired to this type of honour, in which at this date (God and my king be thanked) I stand: so your lordship taking the higher waie to the wood, by charging me with treason, would gladlie trip so roundlie on my top, that by shedding of my blood, and by catching my lands into your clouches, that butt so nere vpon your manors of Kildare and Rathfingian, as I dare saie they are an eie-soze vnto you, you might make my maister your sonne a proper gentleman.

The lord Fitzgiralde replyeth.

A gentleman? quoth the lord iustice: Thou bald baron, I tell thee the Mesclies were gentlemen before the Giraldines were barons of Dhalie, yea and before that Welsh bankrupt thine ancestour (he meant sir Maurice Fitzgiralde) fettered his nest in Leinster. And whereas thou takest the matter so farre in snuffe, I will teach thee thy lyripups after an other fashyon than to be thus malepertlie cocking and biling with me that am thy gouernour. Wherefore, albeit thy taunts are such as they might force the patientest philosopher that is, to be choikt with choler: yet I would haue thee ponder my speeches, as though I deliuered them in my most sober and quiet mood. I saie to the face of thee, and I will anow what I say vnto thee, that thou art a supporter of theues, a bolsterer of the kings enemies, an upholder of traitors, a murderer of subiects, a firebrand of dissention, a ranke theefe, an arrant traitor: and before I eate these wordes, I will make thee eate a peece of my blade.

The baron bysiding with might and maine his choler, bare himselfe as cold in countenance, as the lord iustice was hot in wordes, and replied in this wise. My lord I am verie glad, that at length you vntorapped your selfe out of that net, wherein all this while you masked. As for mine ancestour, whome you terme a bankrupt, how rich or how poore he was vpon his repairs to Ireland, I purpose not at this time to debate. Yet thus much I may boldlie saie, that he came hither as a bier, not as a begger. He bought the enemies land by spending his blood: but you lurking like a spider in his coptweb to intrap flies, endeuor to beg subiects liuings wrongfullie, by despoiling them of their innocent liues. And whereas you charge me with malepertnes, in that I presume to chop loglike with you being gouernour, by answering your knappish *Quid*, with a knappish *Quo*, I wold wish you to vnderstand, now, that you put me in mind of the distinction, that I as a subiect honour your roiall authoritie, but as a noble man I despise your drughill gentilitie. Lastlie, whereas you charge me with the odious termes of traitor, murderer, and the like, and there withall you wish me to resolue my

selfe, that you rest vpon reason, not vpon rage: if these wordes proceed from your lordship, as from a magistrate, I am a subiect, to be tried by order of law, and am sozie that the gouernour, who ought by vertue of his publicke authoritie to be my iudge, is by reason of priuat malice become mine accuser.

But if you utter these speeches as a priuat person, then I John Fitzgiralde, baron of Dhalie, doe tell thee William Mesclie, a single sole gentleman, that I am no traitor, no felon; and that thou art the onelie buttresse, by which the kings enemies are supported, the meane and instrument by which his maiesties subiects are daillie spoiled. Wherefore I as a loiall subiect saie traitor to thy teeth, and that shalt thou well vnderstand when we both shall be brought to the reherfall of these matters before our betters. Howbeit, during the time you beate office, I am resolved to giue you the mastrie in wordes, and to suffer you like a bzalling cur to barkie, but when I see my time I will be sure to bite.

These biting speeches passing to and fro, great factions on both sides were raised, with high and mightie wordes, and deepe othes; till time either part appeased his owne. The baron of Dhalie not sleeping nor slacking his matter, quadded with all hast into England, where he was no soner inshored, than Mesclie, after he had substituted William Haie in his roome, was imbarked, making as hot foot after the baron as he could. The king and his counsell vnderstanding the occasion of their sudden arrivals, to the end the truth should be brought to light, appointed a set date for the deciding of their controuersie, and that each of them should speake for himselfe what he could. Wherevpon Mesclie being commanded to begin, spake to this effect.

The lord Fitzgiralde raide poiteth into England.

Mesclie followeth.

My dread souereigne, as I must acknowledge my selfe somewhat agreed, to be intangled in so intricate a matter, so I am as glad as hart can thinke that so weightie a controuersie is brought to the deciding of so vpright an vmpire. And whereas it stood with your maiesties pleasure, with the aduise of this your honourable counsell, that I, as vniworthie, should haue the gouernment of your realme of Ireland; and during my time, your maiesties subiects, haue bene, I may not denie it, diuerslie annoied, for my discharge, as I saie in Ireland: so I anow here in England, that he knealeth here before your highnesse (pointing to the baron of Dhalie) that is the root and crop of all these enozmities. For it is well knowne, that he beareth that stroke with the Irish, as if he once but froone at them, they dare not be so hardie as once to peake out of their cabbins. And whereas his force doth greatlie amaze them, thinke you but his countenance doth wonderfullie incourage them: To the furtherance of which, it is apparantlie knowne, and it shall be proued, that he hath not onelie in hucker mucker, by sundrie messages imboldened your maiesties enemies, to spoile your subiects, but also by his personall pzenence, in secret meetings, he gaue them such courage, as neither the roialtie of your highnesse, nor the authoritie of your deputie, neither the force of your lawes, nor the strength of your puissant armie, was able to quench the flame of these hurlic burlies, that through his traitorous drifts were inkindled. These and the like enozmities through his priate packing with rebels being daillie committed, to bying me your maiesties gouernour in the hatred of the people, his adherents both secretlie muttered, and openlie exclaimed against me and my gouernment, as though the rebusse of all these harmes had wholie lien in mine hands.

Mesclie's oration.

Wherevpon being in conference with such as were the chieftains of your realme of Ireland, albeit

The castell of Strigagh, in Connaught.

Baron of Dhalie.

The first eile of Kildare.

1290 Mesclie lord iustice.

The description of Ireland.

"bett I took it to be expedient, to point with my finger to the verie sinke or headspring of all the treasons, that by secret conspiracies were pretended and practised against your maiestie and your subiects, yet notwithstanding hauing more regard to modestie, than to the defects of the baron of Dphalie, I did but glasse at his packing in such secret sort, as none or a verie few of the companie could gesse, whome with my mistie speeches I did touch. And as commonlie the gald horse doth sonest kicke, so this gentleman being prickt, as it should seme with the sting of his guiltie conscience, brake out on a sudden, and forgetting his allegiance to your highnesse, and his dutie to me your deputie, he took me vp so roughlie, as though I had bene rather his underling than his gouernour. The summe of which despitefull speeches I refer to the testimonie of the honorable audience where they were deliuered. As for his manifold treasons, I am ashamed to rehearse such things as he did not sticke to commit. And if it shall stand with your maiesties pleasure, to adiourne the triall for a few daies, I will charge him with such apparent crimes, as were his face made of brasse, he shall not be able to denie anie one article that shall be looked against him. When Mescie had ended, the baron of Dphalie prest himselfe somewhat forward, and in this wise spake.

The lord Giv-
rators oration.

"Most puissant prince and my dread souereigne, were master Mescie his mouth so fast a measure, as what he spake, should be holden for gospel, this had bene no fit place for so arrant a traitor, as he with his feigned glossing would gladlie proue me to be. But sith it pleased your maiestie, with so indifferent balance to ponder both our tales, I am thoroughlie perswaded, that my loiall innocencie shall be able, to ouerpoise his forged treacherie. Your maiestie hath heard manie words to small purpose. And as his complaint hitherto hath bene generallie huddled vp, so mine answer thereto may not particularlie be framed. Whereas therefore he termeth me a supporter of theues, a packer with rebels, a conspirator with traitors, if I should but with a bare word denie the premisses, all his gale glose of glittering speeches would suddenlie fade awaie. Yea, but he craueth respit for the booking of his articles. Trulie so he hath need. For loitering and lingring is the onlie waie he may deuise to cloke his feigning and forging. Wherein he sheweth himselfe as craftie, as the philosopher was accounted wise that promised a tyrant vpon menacing wordes, to schoule his asse in philosophie, so he had seven yeares respit; because that in that space he was perswaded, that either the tyrant, the asse, or he would die. In likewise master Mescie, vpon respit granted him, would hang in hope, that either the life of your maiestie (which God forbid) should be shortned; or that I, in tract of time, would be dissatoured; or that he by one subtill pzanke or other should be of this heauie load disburdened.

"But if I haue bene as manie yeares a malefactor as he aduoucheth, how happeneth it, that his tongue was tied before this late dissention begun? Whie did he not from time to time aduertise the counsell of my treasons? Whereas now it may be probable confectured, that he was egd to this seruice rather for the hatred he beareth me, than for anie loue he oweth your rotall maiestie. Touching the words I spake in Ireland, I purpose not, for ought I heard as yet, to eat them in England. And when I shall be cald to testifie such speeches as I deliuered there, I will not be found so raw in my matter, as to lose my errant in the carriage, as master Mescie hath done, or to crane further respit for the registering of his manifold treasons. As for my secret meetings with Irish rebels, where I perswaded master Mescie,

that you were able to proue them, I would be found willing to acknowledge them. For if my conscience were so deepelie stong, as you pretend, I would take it for better policie, by acknowledging my trespasses, to appeale to my king his mercie, than by denieng my faults, to stand to the rigor of his iustice.

"And as for meetings, I had neuer so manie in woods with rebels, as you master Mescie, haue had in your chamber with colwes. For it hath bene manifestlie apparented, that when the baron of Dphalie, and the best of the nobilitie of Ireland haue bene imbarde from entering your chamber, an Irish colw should haue at all times accesse vnto you. No, master Mescie: a colw, an horse, an haube, and a siluer cup haue bene the occasion of your slacknesse. When the subiects were presided, you would be content to winke at their miserie, so that your mouth were stoppt with barbarie. And when you had gathered your crums sufficientlie togither, you held it for a pretie policie (and yet it was but a bare thift) to charge the nobilitie with such packing, as you dailie did practise. But you must not thinke that we are babes, or that with anie such stale deuise, or grosse sugling trickes, you may so easilie duske or dazell our eyes. Can anie man that is but slenderlie witte, so far be caried, as to beleue, that master Mescie, being the kings deputie in Ireland, hauing his maiesties treasure, hauing the nobilitie at his becke, the kings armie at his commandement; but that, if he were disposed to besturre himselfe, he were able to ferret out such harchbrech brats as swarme in the English pale? If he said he could not, we must smile at his simplicitie; if he could and would not, how may he colour his dissolaltie?

"Yea, but I beare such stroke with the Irish, as that vpon anie priuat quarrell I am able to annoie them. What then? Because the baron of Dphalie can reuenge his priuat iniuries without the assistance of the deputie; therefore the deputie may not banquish weake and naked rebels without the furtherance of the baron of Dphalie: whereas the contrary ought to be inferd, that if a priuat person can tame the Irish, what may then the publike magistrat doe, that hath the princes paie? But in deed it is hard to take hares with fores. You must not thinke, master Mescie, that you were sent gouernour into Ireland to dandle your frills, to pen your selfe vp within a towne or citie to glue rebels the gaze, to pill the subiects, to animat traitors, to fill your coffers, to make your selfe by marrying true men, to gather the birds whilst other beat the bushes, and after to impeach the nobilitie of such treasons, as you onelie haue committed.

"But for so much as our mutuall complaints stand vpon the one his yea, and the other his naie, and that you would be taken for a champion, & I am knowne to be no coward: let vs, in Gods name, leaue lieng for barlets, berding for ruffians, facing for crackers, chatting for swatlers, scolding for callets, boking for scriueners, pleading for laywers, and let vs trie with the dint of sword, as become martiall men to doe our mutuall quarels. Wherefore to iustifie that I am a true subiect, and that thou Mescie art an arch traitor to God & to my king, here in the presence of his highnesse, and in the hearing of this honorable assemble, I challenge the combat. Whereat all the auditorie shouted.

"Now in god faith, quoth Mescie, with a right god will. Whereupon both the parties being dismiss vntill the kings pleasure were further knowne, it was agreed at length by the counsell, that the fittest triall should haue bene by battell. Wherefore the parties being as well thereof aduertised, as the date by the king appointed, no small prouision was made for the eager

Mescie fled in
to France.
Mescie be-
haved on the
lord Strauld.

The first cyle
of Mubare
created.
1315

The num-
bers of the
castles of
Mubare.

Lord Strauld.

Carle of D-
mond.
1247
The Bat-
lers (as I am
informed) are
found by an-
cient records
to haue bene
carries of the
Carrie.
1299

1309

1312

1313

1315

1316

1322

1319

1429

1327

The first cari-

cager a combat, as that was presupposed to haue bene. But when the prefixed daie approached nere, Alecie turning his great boast to small roff, began to crie creake, and secretly sailed into France. King Edward thereof aduertised, bestowed Alecies lordships of Kildare and Rathangan on the baron of Ophalie, saieing that albeit Alecie cennied his person into France, yet he left his lands behind him in Ireland.

He is said in France. Kildare be-
gined on the
12th of Girald.

The first earle
of Kildare
created.
1315

The num-
bers of the
earles of
Kildare.

The baron returned to Ireland with the gratulation of all his friends, and was created earle of Kildare, in the ninth yeare of Edward the second his reigne, the fourteenth of Hiate. He deceased at Loughbire (a village nere to Mainoth) in the yeare 1316, and was buried at Kildare, so that he was earle but one yeare. The house of Kildare among diuerse gifts, wherewith God hath abundantlie in-
dued it, is for one singular point greatlie to be admired, that notwithstanding the seuerall assaults of diuerse enemies in sundrie ages, yet this earle that now lieth is the tenth earle of Kildare, to whome from John the first earle, there hath alwaies continued a lineall descent from father to son: which trueth in mine opinion is a great blessing of God. And for as much as this earle now liuing as his ancestors before him, haue bene shrewdly shoued at by his euill willers, saieing that he is able, but not willing to profit his countrie: the posie that is framed for him, signifieng his mind, runneth in this wise:

Quid posim, iactant: quid vellem, sine recusant:

Viraque Regina sint, rogo, nota mea.

Lord Girald.

His eldest sonne is lord Girald, baron of Ophalie, for whom these two verses following are made:

Te pulchrum natura fecit, fortuna potentem,

Tefaciat Christi norma, Giralde, bonum.

Earle of Desmond.

1147
The But-
lers, as I am
informed) are
found by an-
cient records
to haue bene
earles of the
Carrick.
1199

Sir Thomas Butler earle of Desmond and Deserie. The Butlers were ancient English gentlemen, and worthy seruitors in all ages. Theobald Butler lord of Carricke and John Cogan were lord iustices of Ireland. This Butler died in the castle of Arkelow, in the yeare 1285. His lord Theobald Butler the younger, and son to the elder Theobald, was sent for by Edward the first, to serue against the Scots. This noble man deceased at Turue, and his bodie was conueighed to Weneie, a towne in the countie of Limerike. Sir Edmund Butler a wise and valiant noble man was dubbed knight at London by Edward the second.

This man being appointed lieutenant of Ireland, upon the repaire of John Mogan (who before was lord iustice) to England, besieged the Obyenies in Glindalozie: and were it not that they submitted themselves to the king and the lieutenants mercie, they had not bene onelic for a season vanquished, but also utterly by him extirped. This noble man was in his gouernement such an encourager and furtherer of seruitors, as that he dubb on saint Michael the archangels daie thirtie knights in the castle of Dublin. He was a scourge vnto the Scots that invaded Ireland, when he was lieutenant. He discomfited Omourgh a notorious rebell, neare a towne named Balie leshan. After diuerse victorious exploits by him atchieued, he sailed into England, and so to Hispanie in pilgrimage to saint James. Upon his returne to England, he deceased at London, and his bodie being conueied into Ireland was intombed at Balligauran.

James Butler earle of Desmond was lord iustice of Ireland, in the yeare 1359. The lord Butler and vicount Charles was dubb knight by Henrie the first in England, in the yeare 1425, at which time sir James Butler, sir John Butler, sir Rafe Butler, were in like manner knighted. James Butler, who married the earle of Herefords daughter, was prefer-

red to the earldome of Desmond in the first yeare of Edward the third, which fell vpon the heirs generall, lastlie vpon sir Thomas Butler earle of Wiltshire, after whome it reuered to Pierce Butler, whome a little before king Henrie the eight had created erle of Ossioie. I read Butler earle of Tipperarie in the yeare 1300. The Latine historie calleth him *Dominum de pincerna*, the English le Butler. Whereby it appeareth, he had some such honour about the prince. His verie name is Wecket, who was aduanced by Henrie the seconds eldest sonne, lord Butler, in recompense of the death of Thomas of Canturberie their kinsman. His eldest sonne is the lord Butler and vicount Charles. For the earle now liuing these two verses (in the remembrance of him) are made:

Magnus animi, maiorq; patris, sed natus utroq;

Corporis aut animi non bonitate minor.

Gerald fitz Gerald earle of Desmond. Maurice Desmond.

fitz Thomas a Geraldine, was created earle of Desmond the same yeare, soone after that Butler became earle of Desmond. His eldest sonne is lord fitz Gerald of Desmond. The erle now liuing, thus speaketh:

Eussitandem, iactatus fluctibus alii,

Et precor in portu sit mea tuta ratis.

Sir Richard Bourke earle of Glenrickard, a branch of the English familie de Burgo. The Bourkes haue bene ancient noble men before their comming to Ireland: and in old time they haue bene earles of Ulster. His eldest sonne is lord Bourke baron of Enikelline. His verse is this:

Quam mihi maiorum fama bona gesta dederunt,

Hanc mihi natorum barbara facta negant.

Connogher Obzen earle of Lomond: the name of earle ginen to Murragh Obzen for feareme of life, and after to Donogh Obzen, in the first yeare of the reigne of Edward the first, now confirmed to the heirs males, his eldest sonne is baron of Zbracca. Upon the erle now liuing this fantasie was deuised:

Non decet externos, sine causa, quare reges,

Cum licet in tuta viuere pace domi.

Mac Cartie Poze earle of Clencare, created in the yeare 1565. Vicount Barrie. Vicount Roch. Poze. son Vicount of Wozmanslowne: wherinto is lately annexed the baronie of Latone, &c. One of their ancestors sir Robert Presson, then chiefe baron of the exchequer, was dubbed knight in the field, by Lionell duke of Clarence. This gentleman married in wedlocke with Margaret Birmingham la-
die of Carbyie, who deceased in the yeare 1361. After whose death sir Robert Presson was seized of the said lordship in the right of his wife, and being molested by rebels, placed a garison in the castle, whereby the subjects were greatlie eased, and the rebels greatlie annoied.

There hath bene another sir Robert Presson of this house, great grandfather to the vicount now liuing. This gentleman was deputie to Richard, second son to Edward the fourth, in the first yeare of the reigne of his father: and after likewise in the reigne of Henrie the seventh, he was deputie to Jasper duke of Bedford, erle of Penbrooke, & lieutenant of Ireland: and at the same time was he appointed by the king generall receiver of his reuenue in Ireland. How wiselie this noble man behaued himselfe in peace, and how valiantlie he requit himselfe in warre, sundrie of king Henrie the seventh his letters to him being deputie, addrested, do manifestlie witnesse. There was a parlement holden before him at Drogheda, which was repealed in the tenth yeare of Henrie the seventh. Sir Christopher Presson was dubbed knight in the field by Edmund earle of March, lord deputie of Ireland. William Presson was lord iustice of Ireland in Henrie the eight his reigne. The house is ancient, planted in Lancashire.

D. I.

and

The combat
challenged.

The description of Ireland.

38

Preston came from Man. saith.

and from thence departed into Ireland, being to this date seized of a manour in Lancashire, named of the house Preston. The vicount now living speaketh in this wise, as it were present in person, and saith:

*Si quantum vellem, tantum me posse putarem,
Nota esset patrie mens mea firma mea.*

Baltinglasse.

Cusface alias Potwar, vicount of Baltinglasse, lord of Kilkullen to him and his heires males, the foure and thirtieth yeare of Henrie the eight. The ancestor Robert de Potwar was sent into Ireland with commission, and his ofspring hath ressed there since the yeare 1175. Potwar alias Cusface is written baron of Downe in the yeare 1317. The vicounts poeie now living is this that followeth:

*Cum bonus ipse manes, an non laus magna putatur,
Prudenter cuius posse placere viro?*

Mountgaret.

Sir Richard Butler vicount Mountgaret to him and his heires males in the first yeare of Edward the first. Vicount Dece. Lord Bermingham baron of Athenrie, now degenerate and become mere Irish, against whom his ancestors served valiantlie in the yeare 1300. John Bermingham was lord of Athenrie Anno 1316. John Bermingham baron of Ardigh, called in Latine de alio Dei, in the yeare 1318. Mac Maurice, alias Fitzgerald, baron of Kerrie. L. Courcie, not verie Irish; the ancient descent of the Courcies planted in Ireland with the conquest. Fleming baron of Slane. Simon Fleming was baron of Slane, 1370. The L. now living thus speaketh:

*Slanius inuictus princeps mihi nomen adaptat,
In bello clarum nomen & omen habens.*

Blunket.

Blunket baron of Killine, his familie came in with the Danes, whereof they haue as yet speciall monuments. Sir Christopher Blunket lord of Killine, was lord lieutenant of Ireland, which title is to be seene at this day in Killine, grauen on his tombe. The baron that now liueth, thus frameth his poeie:

*Cruent viuentem maiorum gesta meorum,
Talia me nequeunt vana cadente mori.*

Deluin.

Rugent baron of Deluin, an ancient house. Sir Gilbert de Rogent, or Rugent, came into Ireland, with sir Hugh de Lacie, one of the first and valiant conquerors of the countrie. This Gilbert matched with Rosa de Lacie, sister to Hugh de Lacie. He had giuen him upon the conquest the baronies of foure, and of Deluine by the said sir Hugh, of whose brother Richard de Capella, the house of Deluin is descended. In a conuenance past from sir Gilbert to his brother Richard, these words are inserted: Dedi & concessi fratri meo Richardo de Capella totum conquestum meum in Hibernia, & terram quam dedit mihi dominus meus Hugo de Laci, qui vocatur Deluin, & totam terram meam in Anglia. The baron now living & louing his countrie thus speaketh:

*In patria natus, patrie prodesse laboro,
Viribus in castris, consilijs domi.*

Howth.

S. Laurence, baron of Howth, signifieng the disposition of his mind, he speaketh in this wise:

*Si redamas, re labos, si spernis, sperno. Quid ergo?
Non licet absq. tui viuere posse bonis?*

Dunfanie.

Blunket baron of Dunfanie. Upon the baron now living, this deuise was framed as you see:

*Gratia quod dederat, si non fortuna negabit,
Dux tam preclaro stemmate dignus eris.*

Trimlestowne.

Barnetwall baron of Trimlestowne. They came from litle Brittain, where they are at this day a great surname. Upon their first arriuall, they wan great possessions at Weirhaue, where at length by conspiacie of the Irish they were all slaine, except one young man, who then studied the common lawes in England, who returning, dwelt at Drunnagh besides Dublin, where his heires to this date are settled. This house as well for antiquitie, as for the number of worshipfull gentlemen that be of the surname,

Drumnagh.

beareth no small stroke in the English pale of Ireland: howbeit of late it hath bene greatlie maimed thozough the decease of three worshipthe and famous Barnetwalls. The first was Robert Barnetwall L. of Trimlestowne that last was, a rare noble man, and indued with sundrie good gifts, who hauing wholie wedded himselfe to the reformation of his miserable countrie, was resolved for the whetting of his wit, which nathelasse was pregnant and quicke, by a short trade and method he toke in his studie, to haue sipp up the verie sap of the common law, and upon this determination sailing into England, sickened shortly after at a worshipfull marrones house at Cornuberie, named Margaret Tiler, where he was to the great græse of all his countrie pearled with death, when the weale publike had most need of his life. The second Barnetwall that deceased was M. Marcus Barnetwall of Donbroa, whose credit and authority had it bene correspondent to his valure and abilitie, he would (I doubt not) haue bene accounted and knowne for as od a gentleman (none disparied) as ante in the English pale of Ireland.

The third of the surname that departed this life, was sir Christopher Barnetwall knight, the lanterne and light as well of his house, as of that part of Ireland where he dwelt: who being sufficientlie furnished as well with the knowlege of the Latine tong, as of the common lawes of England, was zealouslie bent to the reformation of his countrie. A depe and a wise gentleman, spare of speech, and therewithall pitie, wholie addicted to grauitie, being in anie pleasant conceipt rather giuen to snimper than smile, verie vpright in dealing, measuring all his affaires with the safetie of conscience, as true as Steele, close and secret, fast to his friend, stout in a good quarell, a great householder, sparing without pinching, spending without wasting, of nature mild, rather choosng to please, where he might harme, than willing to harme where he might pleasure. He sickened the thre and twentieth of Iulie of an hot burning ague, and ended his life at his house of Caruie the first of August, to the great losse as well of his friends as of his countrie, upon whose death a sonne in law of his framed this epitaph consisting of sixtene verses.

*Leta tibi, sed mesta tuis mors accidit ista,
Regna dat alta tibi, damna dat ampla tuis.
Letus es in caelis vltro sine fine triumphans,
Mæstus at in terris diues inopsque in cet.
Nam sapiente caret diues, qui parva gubernet,
Nec, qui det misero munera, pauper habet.
Te gener ipse caret, vidua, te rustica turba,
Atque urbana cohors, te (ocer alma) caret.
Non est digna viro talis re publica tanto,
Nam sanctus sedes non nisi sancta decet.
Mira loquor, sed vera loquor, non ficta reuoluo,
Si maiora loquar, nil nisi vera loquar.
Mortuus es? Nobis hoc crimina nostra dederunt.
Mortuus es? Virtus hoc tibi sacra dedit.
Viuus es in caelo, dedit hoc tibi gratia Christi,
Viuus ut in mundo sis, tibi fama dabit.*

For the lord of Trimlestowne now living, describing a name of fame after death, this was deuised.

*Quod mihi vita dedit, fratri Mors sua negauit,
Quod dederat fratri, det mihi fama precor.*

Edward Butler baron of Donboin, giuen to Edmund Butler esquier, and his heires males, in the thre and thirtieth yeare of king Henrie the eight. For the baron now living, these verses are made.

*Dum sequitur natus summi vestigia patris,
Filius optato tramite cuncta geret.*

Sir Barnabie Fitzpatricke baron of Upper Osserie, giuen to Barnabie Mac Cullopatrike and his heires males, in the thre and thirtieth yeare of Henrie the eight. Donat Clonnagh apachgula strikes

Robert Barnetwall.

M. Marcus Barnetwall.

Sir Christopher Barnetwall knight.

117.

1541

1541

Louth. 1541

Danganon.

Corragh more. Desert.

Inshirini. 1543

Baronets.

Barnet wall knight.

signifieth.

Ardereici.

Wien. Brocht. Argobestus.

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strike was a pærelesse warriour in the peare 1219.
Sir Barnabie Fitzpatrick, now lord of vpper M
serie, was knighted by the duke of Massfolke at the
siege of Leith in Scotland: in the begining of Q.
Elizabeths reigne, for whom these verses are made:

*Principis in gremio summi nutritus & altus,
Hæsit ab illustri regia dona schola.*

Plunket, baron of Louth, to sir Christopher
Plunket and his heires males, in the 33 yeare of
H. Henrie the eight. This baronie was an erldome
pertaining to the Berminghams, in the yeare 1316,
& soner. For the baron now liuing, this was deuised:

*Nobilis, ingenuus, firmis quoque firmus amicis,
Nubila seu celum luxue serena regat.*

Onelle, baron of Dungauon, to whom the earle
dome of Eron was intailed by gift of king Henrie
the eight. Potwar, baron of Curraghmore. Mac
Sartan, lord Desert, his ancestozs were lords in the
time of Lionell duke of Clarence, earle of Ulster,
in the yeare 1360: now verie wild Irish. Pur-
ragh Obzene, baron of Aniskohne, to him and his
heires males, in the five and thirtieth yeare of king
Henrie the eight. There are besides these noble
men, certeine gentlemen of worship, commonlie
called baronets, whom the ruder sort doth register a-
mong the nobilitie, by terming them corruptlie ba-
rons; whereas in verie deed they are to be named
neither barons, nor baronets, but banretts. He is
properlie called a banret, whose father was no car-
pet knight, but dubbed in the field under the banner
or ensigne. And because it is not vsuall for ante to
be a knight by birth, the eldest sonne of such a knight
with his heires, is named a bannerret, or a banret.
Such are they that here insue. Scutleger, ban-
ret of Flemarge, makere Irish. Den, banret of
Bozmannstowne, waring Irish. Fitzgiralde, ban-
ret of Burnedchurch. Welleste, banret of Poz-
ragh, Yusefe, banret of Galtrim. Saint Wige-
bell, banret of Scrine. And Pangle, banret of the
Panan. English gentlemen of longest continu-
ance in Ireland are those, which at this day either in
great pouertie or perill doe keepe their properties of
their ancestozs lands in Ulster, being then compa-
nions to Courcie, the conqueror and earle of that
part. These are the Saurages, Jordans, Fitz Hol-
mons, Chamberleins, Russels, Bensons, Andleies,
Whites, Fitz Arslutes, now degenerat and called
in Irish Mac Phahon, the Beares sonne.

The names or surnames of the lear-
ned men and authors of Ireland, and
what bookes they wrote.

The seuenth chapter.



Andronicus, whome Marianus
Scotus termeth Barbofus,
because of his long beard, a
learned man, greatlie in old
time renowned in Ireland.
But for as much as in his
age the countrie was not flo-
red with such as imployed
their labors in gathering together the sayings and
doings of sage persons, the discontinuance of his
same is rather to be imputed to the ignorance of the
time, than to the want of his deserts. He flouri-
shed in the yeare 1053. Alen, a learned physician.
James Archer a student of diuinitie. Argobastus,
the second bishop of Argentine, successor to the ho-
lie prelat saint Amand, bozne in Ireland, a learned
and deuout clerke: who leaving his countrie and li-
uing in heremit wise, in certeine solitarie places
of France, instructed the people of that realme in the
feare of God, and the knowlege of the scriptures.

In his preaching he was noted to haue so singlar a
grace, and so prosperous successe, that such as were
by anie worlddie misadventure afflicted, vpon the
hearing of his godlie sermons would subcentlie be
comforted. The French king Dagobertus, aduer-
tised of his learning and vertue, caused him to be sent
for, vsing him as his chiefe counsellor in all his
weightie affaires; and after aduanced him to be bi-
shop of Argentine: he wrote a booke of homilies.
He decessed in the yeare 658: & was buried hard
by a gibbet nere the citie, pitcht on the top of an
hill called saint Michaels hill, which was done by
his owne appointment, in that he would follow the
exemple of his maister Christ, who did vouchsafe to
suffer without the citie of Ierusalem, where offen-
dozs and malefactozs were executed. Barnwall.
Barnwall a preacher. Brendan an abbat bozne in Con-
nagh, in his youth trained vp vnder Marcus a bi-
shop: and being further kept in yeares, he trauelled
into England, where he became a profess monke,
vnder an abbat named Congellus, he flourished
in the yeare 560: and wrote these bookes insuing.
Confessio christiana lib. 1. Charta celestis hare-
ditatis lib. 1. Monachorum regula lib. 1.

Edmund Bernerden a frior, he proceeded doctor
of diuinitie in Dublin, in the yeare 1320. Wigtide
the birgine, bozne in Leinster, she flourished in the
yeare 510: she wrote a booke of hir reuelations.
Browne, sometime scholer to maister Peter White;
he translated Maturinus Corderius his booke of
phases into English, in the yeare 1562. James
Caddell, he wrote Diuersa epigrammata. Carberie
a profound ciuillan. Celsus archbishop of Armagh,
bozne in Ireland, and schooled in the vniuersitie of
Orford, he flourished in the yeare 1128: he wrote
these bookes following. Testamentum ad ecclesias
lib. 1. Constitutiones quædam lib. 1. Ad Mala-
chiam epistolæ complures. Clære, bozne in Kilkenn-
ie, and proceeded maister of art in Orford. John
Clære, bozne in Leinster, being profess a greie fri-
er, he bestowed his time in preaching, chieslie in the
towne of Kilkennie. This man was a good anti-
quarie, as appeared by a chronicle he wrote, begin-
ning at the natiuitie of Christ, and stretching to the
yeare 1350: in which yeare he flourished. He wrote
these bookes following. Annallium dronicon lib. 1.
De regibus Anglorum lib. 1. De custodijs provin-
ciarum lib. 1. De Franciscanorum cœnobijs & e-
orum distinctionibus lib. 1.

Henrie Cogie doctor of diuinitie, proceeded in
the vniuersitie of Dublin, in the yeare 1320. Colme,
a learned and an holie monke, he flourished in the
yeare 670: he wrote a booke intituled Pro focijs
Quartadecimanis. Columbanus, bozne in Ulster,
and trained in learning and knowledge as well in
England as in France, for his learning and ver-
tue, was elected to be abbat. Having trauelled di-
uerse countries, at length he repaired to Italie,
and there in an abbey by him founded, called Mo-
nasterium Bobiense, he ended his life the twentieth of
November. He left to his posteritie these bookes:
In psalterium commentarios lib. 1. Collationes
ad monachos librum 1. De moribus monachorum
metricè lib. 1. Monasteriorum methodos lib. 1.
Epistolæ ad commilitones lib. 1. Aduersus re-
gem adulterum lib. 1. Conganus an Irish ab-
bat, of whom saint Barnard maketh great ac-
count, he flourished in the yeare 1150: and wrote
to saint Bernard Gesta Malachie archiepiscopi
lib. 1. Ad Bernardum Clareuallensem epist. plures.
Connour. Walter Conton: he wrote in the La-
tine tongue diuerse epigrams and epistaphs. Simon
Contell a diuine. Cornelius Hybernus, otherwile
named

Barnwall
Barnwall
Brendan.

Browne,
Burnell,
Butler.
Caddell.
Carberie,
Celsus.

Clære.
Clun.

Columbanus.

Conganus.

Barnardus in
vita Malachie
in præf.
Connour.
Conton.
Contell.
Cornelius.

D. 2.

The description of Ireland.

40

named Boetius, by reason that he was taken in his time for an exquisite antiquarie, as may appeare by the Scottish historian Hector Boetius, by whom he acknowledged himselfe to be greatly furthered. He flourished in the yeare 1230: and wrote Multarum rerum Chronicon. lib. 1. Richard Creagh borne in Limerike, a diuine, he wrote Epistolae complures. Responsiones ad casus conscientiae. De vitis sanctorum Hiberniae. Topographiam Hiberniae, with diuerse other bookes.

Henrie Crumpe borne in Ireland, and brought up in the vniuersitie of Oxford, where he grew by reason of his profound knowledge in diuinitie to no small credit. Having repaired to his native countrie, minding there to bestirre the talent wherewith God had indued him, he was suddenly apprehended by Simon bishop of Metch, and kept in durelle, by reason that he was suspected to be of no sound religion. He flourished in the yeare one thousand three hundred ninetie and two, and wrote these bookes: Determinationes scholasticarum lib. 1. Contra religiosos mendicantes lib. 1. Responsiones ad obiecta lib. 1. Edmund Curren archdeacon of old Lagglin, there hath bene an Irish bishop of the name. Patrike Cusacke a gentleman borne, and a scholar of Oxford, sometime scholemaster in Dublin, and one that with the learning that God did impart him, gaue great light to his countrie; he imployed his studies rather in the instructing of scholars, than in penning of bookes, he flourished in the yeare one thousand five hundred three score and six, and wrote in Latine Diuersa epigrammata.

Dalie scholed in the vniuersitie of Paris, having a pretie insight in scholasticall diuinitie, he made Diuersas conciones. Sir Willielme Darcie knight, a wise gentleman, he wrote a booke intituled, The decate of Ireland. Dauid Delahide, an exquisite and a profound clerke, sometime fellow of Mertton college in Oxford, verie well scene in the Latine and Greeke tongues, expert in the mathematics, a proper antiquarie, and an exact diuine, whereby I gather that his pen hath not bene lazie, but is daily breeding of such learned bookes as shall be available to his posteritie. I haue scene a proper oration of his in the praise of master Westwood being Christmasse lord in Mertton college intituled, De ligno & feno, also Schemata rhetorica in tabulam contracta. Deuror, there are two brethren of the name learned, the elder was sometimes scholemaster in Wexford.

Peter Dillon a diuine, and John Dillon likewise a student in diuinitie. Doudall, sometime prelat of Armagh, a graue, a learned, and a politike prelat, verie zealouslie affected to the reformation of his countrie, he made Diuersas conciones. Dozmer a lawyer, borne in Kosse, scholar of Oxford, he wrote in ballat roiall, The decate of Kosse. Iohannes Duns Scotus an Irishman borne, as in the forefront of this treatise I haue declared. Iohannis Iohannes Maior a Scottish chronicler would faine proue him to be a Scot. Leland on the other side saith he was borne in England. So that there shall as great contention rise of him, as in old time there rose of Homers countrie. For the Colophonians said that Homer was borne in their cite; the Cyrians claimed him to be theirs, the Salaminians adouced that he was their countryman: but the Smirniens were so fittellie bent in prouing him to be borne in their territorie, as they would at no hand take no naie in the matter, & therupon they did consecrate a church to the name of Homer. But what countryman soeuer this Scotus were, he was doubtlesse a subtil and profound clerke. The onelie fault wherewith he was disliked, was a little spice of vaine glorie, being giuen

to carpe and taunt his predecessors diuines, rather for blemishing the fame of his aduersaries than for aduancing the truth of the controuersies. Whereupon great factions are growen in the scholes betwene the Thomists and Scotists; Thomas being the ring leader of the one sect, and Scotus the belweadder of the other. He was fellow of Mertton college in Oxford, and from thence he was sent for to Paris to be a professor of diuinitie. Finallie, he repaired unto

10 Cullen, where in an abbey of greie friers (of which profession he was one) he ended his life. The bookes he wrote are these: Commentarij Oxonienses lib. 4. Reportationes Parisienses lib. 4. Quodlibeta scholastica lib. 1. In Analytica posteriora lib. 2. In metaphysicam quaestiones lib. 12. De cognitione Dei lib. 1. De perfectione statuum lib. 1. Sermones de tempore lib. 1. Sermones de Sanctis lib. 1. Collationes Parisienses lib. 1. Lectura in Genesim lib. 1. De rerum principio lib. 1. Commentarij in euangelia lib. 4. In epistolas Pauli lib. plures. Quaestiones vniuersalium lib. 1. Quaestiones predicamentorum lib. 1. In Aristotelis physica lib. 8. In categorias Aristotelis lib. 1. Tetragrammata quaedam lib. 1. Commentariorum imperfectorum lib. 1.

Cusacke a doctor of diuinitie, a verie good scholemaster, he flourished in the yeare one thousand five hundred thirtie and six. Oliver or Oliver Cusacke a student of the ciuill and canon law, a good humanician, and a proper philosopher. Nicholas Cusacke a gentleman borne, surpassing birth by learning, and learning by vertue. Paucice Cusacke a student of diuinitie, one that notwithstanding he were borne to a faire living, yet did wholie sequester himselfe from the world.

Fagan a batchelor of art in Oxford, and a scholemaster in Waterford. Daniell Ferralle, a diuine and a scholemaster. Fergusius son to Fergus baron king of Ireland, the first king of Scots, whome some affirme to be borne in Denmarke, the more part suppose him to haue bene an Irish man. He flourished in the yeare of the world three thousand six hundred seuentie and eight, and before the incarnation two hundred ninetie and two, in the five and twentieth yeare of his reigne. He was by misadventure drowned nere a rocke in the north of Ireland that of him is called to this daie Carregfergus; vpon whose mishap these verses were made:

Icarus Icareis ut nomina fecerat undis,

Fergusius petra sic dedit apta sua.

50 This Fergusius wrote a booke intituled, Leges politicae lib. 1. Finnanus scholar to one Pennius and Segenius, taken for a deepe diuine in his age; he flourished in the yeare six hundred firtie and one; he wrote Pro veteri paschatis ritu lib. 1. Field a physician, Thomas Field a master of art. John Fitzgiralde, commonlie named John Fitzedmund, a verie well lettered ciuillian, a wise gentleman, and a good householdier.

60 Robert Fitzgiralde alias Robert Fitzmaurice borne in the countie of Kildare. Dauid Fitzgiralde, usuallie called Dauid Duffe, borne in Kerie, a ciuillian, a maker in Irish, not ignorant of musike, skilfull in physike, a good & generall craftsman much like to Hippias, surpassing all men in the multitude of crafts, who comming on a time to Pisa to the great triumph called Olympicum, wore nothing but such as was of his owne making; his shoes, his pattens, his cloke, his cote, the ring that he did weare, with a signet therein verie perfectlie wrought, were all made by him. He played excellentlie on all kind of instruments, and song thereto his owne verses, which no man could amend. In all parts of logicke, rhetorike, and philosophie he vanquished all men, and was vanquished of none.

Richard

For Boetius
in Scot.
lib.

Creagh.

Crumpe.

Curren.
Cusacke.

Dalie.

Darcie.

Delahide.

Deuror.

Dillon.
Doudall.

Dozmer.

Duns Iohannes
maior lib.
4. cap. 10.

Clein orat.
pro Arch.
poeta.

Amale.

Thomas
Scotus.

132

1360

Cusacke.

Fagan.
Ferralle.

Fergusius.

Carreg-
fergus.

Finnan.

Field.

Fitzgiralde.

Hippias.

Fleming.

Foutanus.

654

Furcus.

47

Caute.

With
the vni-
tosopher,
namelie
whereby
sons. W
archdeac
magh, b
reprouit
said con
were ca
where be
De paup
dicantes
Determin
archidia
Contra
crucem
De statu
rum lib.
ologica
de tem
laudes A
lib. 4. I
noranti
Iudeor
Epistol
librum
Mal
iustice
famous
sogh. a
Henric
made u
fault be
if it like
the orat
in god
we mu
mas f
in Eng
mons,
Greal
tie colle
and a p
ther th
now b
scholer
gent m
aduent
in mon
mata.
Phil
diligen
the req
rald cr
in the
tene,
nere
Flem
port to
Foilla
Fran
virgin
led M
red m
cause
peare
bed a
wrote
peris
Artie.
W
ford,

The description of Ireland.

41

Richard Fitzcrafe, primat of Armagh, scholar in the vniuersitie of Oxford to Baconthorpe a good philosopher, & no ignorant diuine: an enimie to friers, namelie such as went begging from doore to doore, whereby he purchased the hatred of all religious persons. He was by Edward the third his means made archdeacon of Lichfield, after created primat of Armagh, being cited before pope Clement the first, for reprimond the begging friers. In the heat of the said contention he deceased in Italie, whose bones were caried into Ireland, and buried at Dondalke, where he was boine. He wrote these bookes insuing: De paupertate seruatoris lib. 7. Contra fratres mendicantes lib. 16. In extravagantem Ioannis 23 lib. 1. Determinationes ad eundem lib. 1. Contra suum archidiaconum lib. 1. Propositiones ad papam lib. 1. Contra fratrum appellationem lib. 1. Sermones ad crucem Pauli lib. 1. Sermones coram pontifice lib. 1. De statu vniuersalis ecclesie lib. 1. Lectura sententiarum lib. 4. Quastiones earundem lib. 1. Lectura theologica lib. 1. Sermones ad clerum lib. 1. Sermones de sanctis lib. 1. Marie laudes Auenioni lib. 1. Illustrationes euangeliorum lib. 4. De passione dominica lib. 1. De peccato ignorantie lib. 1. De iure spirituali lib. 1. De vascijs Iudeorum lib. 1. Propositionum suarum lib. 1. Epistolarum ad diuersos lib. 1. Dialogorum plurimum librum vnum.

Walter Fitzsimons, archbishop of Dublin, lord iustice and lord chancellor of Ireland at one time, a famous clerke, and eruditelie learned both in philosophy and diuinitie: being in companie with king Henrie the seuenth, and hearing an oration that was made in his praise, the king demerited him, what fault he found most in the oration: Trulie (quoth he) if it like your highnesse, no fault, sauing onelie that the orator flattered your maiestie ouermuch. Now in good faith, our father of Dublin (quoth the king) we minded to find the same fault our selues. Thomas Fitzsimons, a verie proper diuine: he wrote in English a treatise of the church. Leonard Fitzsimons, a deepe and pithie clerke, well scene in the Greeke and Latine tong, sometime fellow of Trinitie college in Oxford, perfect in the mathematicals, and a painefull student in diuinitie: he hath a brother that was trained vp in learning in Cambridge now beneficed in Trim. Michael Fitzsimons, scholemaster in Dublin, a proper student, and a diligent man in his profession, he wrote Orationem in aduentum comitis Essexie Dublinum, Epitaphion in mortem Iacobi Stanihursti, Diuersa epigrammata.

Philip Plattisburie, a worthe gentleman, and a diligent antiquarie, he wrote in the Latine tong, at the request of the right honourable Girald Fitzgiralde erle of Kildare, Diuersas chronicas: he flourished in the yeare one thousand five hundred and seauenteene, & deceased at his towne named Johnstowne nere the spaas. Thomas Fleming: there is a Fleming now liuing, of whome I heare great report to be an absolute diuine, and a professor thereof. Foillanus a learned monke, he travelled into France, where thorough the liberalitie of an holie virgine, named Gertrude, he founded an abbete called Monasterium Fossense, where at length he suffered martyrdom. Fursaus peregrinus, so called, because he was boine in Ireland, and did bestow his yeares as an estranger in France, where he founded an abbete named Cœnobium Latinacense: he wrote certene pamphlets, that by tract of time are perished, he flourished in the yeare six hundred and fiftie, and was buried in his owne monasterie.

Robert Garvie, fellow of Quall college in Oxford, a student of both the lawes, a man well spoken

as well in the English as in the Latine. Robert Gogan. Gogan a preacher. William Hardit a doctor of diuinitie, proceeded in the vniuersitie of Dublin, in the yeare one thousand three hundred and twentie. Hic- kite, physicians, the father and his sonne. Hugo de Hibernia, so called, because his surname is not knowne, he was a greie frier, and a great traveller, he flourished in the yeare one thousand three hundred and fiftie, he wrote Limerarium quoddam lib. 1. Oliver Huseie, a professor of the arts in Dowait. Derbie Hurle, a scullian, and a commendable philosopher: he wrote In Aristotelis physica. Robert Joffe, boine in Lilkennie, a good humanician. Kaulphus Kellis a monke, brought vp in the knowledge of the Latine tong in Kildare, in which he profited so well, that for his eloquence and wisdom he was sent to Clement the first, as the speaker or prolocutor of all his order, and also was appointed the generall aduocat or repetic vnder Petrus de Casa, master generall of the order. After he was advanced to be archbishop of Cashill, in which honour he deceased, hauing at vacant houres written In iure canonico lib. 1. Epistolarum familiarium lib. 1. Thomas Kenedie, a ciuiliian.

Kerite, he wrote in Irish Catechismum, Translationem bibliae. Cagher, a nobleman boine, in his time called Mac Murrough, he descended of that Mac Murrough that was sometime king of Leinster, he was a surpassing diuine, and for his learning and vertue was created bishop of Leighlin and abbat of Crag: he flourished in the yeare one thousand five hundred and fiftie, and was an hundred yeares old when he deceased. James King, boine in Dublin, and scholar to P. Patrike Cusacke, vnder whome being commendable trained, he repaired to the vniuersitie of Cambridge, where he deceased before he could attaine to that ripenesse of learning, whereto one of so pregnant a wit was like in time to aspire, he wrote Carmina in laudem Henrici Sidari, Diuersa epigrammata. Letz, a learned and an expert physician. Leurouse a learned diuine, sometime bishop of Kildare, and deane of Saint Patrick in Dublin. Aeneas Loughlen, or Mickleighlen, master of art, and a preacher. Thomas Long doctor of both the lawes, he proceeded at Paris, in the yeare one thousand five hundred seuentie and six in August, he is a proper philosopher, no stranger in scholasticall diuinitie, a pretie Latinist: he wrote De speciebus contra mendacem monachum, In Aristotelis physica, The- ses ex præcipuis iuris vtriusque partibus selectas Carolo Borbonio cardinali consecratas.

Peter Lombard boine in Waterford, scholar to master Peter White, hauing imployed two yeares and a halfe in the studie of philosophie at Louaine, he was chosen when he proceeded master of art, Primus vniuersitatis, by the vni forme consent of the foure principals, which preferment did happen to none in such consenting wise, in manie yeares before: he wrote Carmen heroicum in doctorum Nicholai Quemerfordi. Doobie Macchzagh, a student in diuinitie. Macgrane, a scholemaster in Dublin, he wrote carols and sundrie ballads. Malactias boine in Ulster, his life is exallie written by saint Bernard, in whose abbete he died in the yeare one thousand one hundred fortie and eight, he wrote Constitutorum communium lib. 1. Legum cœlibatus lib. 1. Nouarum traditionum lib. 1. Ad D. Barnardum epist. plures. Malactias, the minozit or greie frier, a student in the vniuersitie of Oxford, where he attended to that knowledge in diuinitie, as he was the onelie man in his time that was appointed to preach before the king and the nobilitie, a sharpe reprimor of vice, a zelous embracer of vertue, enimie to flatterie, friend to simplicitie; he flourished in the yeare D. 3. one

Kenedie.
Kerne.
Kecannagh.

Leic.
Leurouse.
1556

Loughlen.

Long.

Macchzagh.
Macgrane.
Malactias.

Malactias
minozit.

The description of Ireland.

42

Mauricius,
Iohannes Cam-
bertus in cap.
330. l.

one thousand three hundred and ten, he wrote De peccatis & remedijs, lib. 1. Conciones plures, lib. 1.

Mauricius Hybernus, of him Iohannes Cambertus, thus writeth. *Annus ab his proximis excelluit, ex ea insula oriundus Mauricius, D. Francisci ordinis professus, in dialecticis, utraque philosophia, metaphysicis, ac sacra theologia plurimum eruditus. Vixit insuper dici potest, quod humanitate, quidam morum sanctimonia praeditus fuerit. Is cum annis plurimis in Patavino gymnasio bonas artes docuisset, cum summa omnium gratia, ob eius singularem eruditionem, ac candidissimos mores, a Iulio secundo pontifice maximo in Tuvanensem archiepiscopum creatus est. Quo cum relicta Italia bellis in ea secutionibus proficisceretur, non multum post, magna studiorum iactura, cum nondum quinquagesimum aetatis suae attigisset annum, mortem obiit. Erant plurima suae doctrinae in manibus monumenta, sed ea ob immaturam eius mortem edere non licuit. Quantum fuerit inter eum, dum viveret, & necessitudine vinculum, testantur sexcentae epistolae, quas plenas charitatis indicis, varijs temporibus ad me dedit. Ex (quanta verae amicitiae vis) post amici obitum, relegens soleo assidue recreari.*

There did (saith Iohannes Cambertus) of late yeares one Mauricius bozne in Ireland, excell, a greie fier profect, vertic well scene in logike, expelic grounded in philosophie, both morall & naturall, learned in the metaphysiks, in diuinitie pærelesse. Scantlie mate I tell with how great courtesie & vertue he was indued. When he had professed at Padua the liberall arts manie yeares with no small renowne; he was created by Julius the second, not onelie for his profound knowledge, but also for the sinceritie of his life, archbishop of Tuen. When he was traueking thitherward, being departed fro Italie, by reason of the vppres that were there daily increasing, he ended his life to the great losse of learning, before he was full fiftie yeares old. He had sundrie works in hand, which he could not haue finished by reason of his vntimelie death. How deere and entier friends he and I were one to the other during his life, the letters he addrested me from time to time, to the number of six hundred, thwacht with loue and kindnesse, do manifestlie declare. And by perusing of them after his death (such is the force of friendship) I am greatlie comforted. Thus farre Cambertus. This Mauricius wrote Commentarios super Scotum in praedicabilia, In magistrum sententiarum lib. 4. Mauricius archbishop of Cathill, he flourished in king Johns reigne. Giraldus Cambrensis, vpon his comming into Ireland, and debasing the countrie in the hearing of this prelat, sayeng that albeit the inhabitants were want to fateng that number of their saints, yet they had no martyrs: You saie verie well sir (quoth the archbishop) indeed as rude as this countrie is or hath bene, yet the dwellers had the saints in some reuerence. But now that the gouernement of the countrie is come to your kings hands, we shall (I trust) shortly be stored with martyrs.

Mauricius
Cathillensis.

131. 3b.

Monie.
Dellan.

Magran.
Morris.

Augent.

Obuge.

John Magran a diuine, he wrote a treatise, De possessione monasteriorum. Monie a ciuillian and a good Latinit. Dellan, sometime fellow of Allsoules college in Orford, a learned physitian. Patrike Magran a diuine. Philip Morris a scholer of Orford and after deane of S. Patriks in Dublin, he flourished in the yeare 1446, and wrote these works, Declamaciones quasdam lib. 1. Lecturas scripturarum lib. 1. Sermones ad populum, lib. 1. Contra mendicitatem validam lib. 1. Augent, baron of Deluin, scholed in the vniuersitie of Cambridge. William Augent a proper gentleman, and of a singular good wit, he wrote in the English tong diuerse sonets.

Dauid Obuge, bozne in the towne of Bildare; for his learned lectures, and subtile disputations openlie published in Orford and Treuers in Germanie, he

was taken for the gem and lanterne of his countrie. In his time Giraldus Bononiensis, being maister generall of the Carmelits, was at iar with William A. Idlington, the prouinciall of all the English Carmelites. Wherevpon tenne of the wisest and learnedest Carmelits that then were resident in England, being fullie elected to resist their generall, Obuge was chosen to be the forman of all the said crew. Giraldus Bononiensis vnderstanding that he being an Irishman, was so hot in the controuersie, was egerly bent against Obuge, because he assured himselfe to haue had fauour at his hands, by reason Obuge was bozne in that countrie where the Giraldines his kinsmen were planted, and thereby on he was banished Italie. This forme in procelle of time being appealed, the outcast Carmelite was made the generall gardian of all his fraternitie in Ireland: which countrie by his continuall teaching and preaching was greatlie edified. Duer this he was so politike a counsellor, that the nobilitie and estates in causes of weight, would haue recourse to him as to an oracle. He was in philosophie an Aristotile, in eloquence a Tullie, in diuinitie an Augustine, in the ciuill law a Iustinian, in the canon a Panoimitane, he flourished in the yeare 1320, he deceased at Bildare, leauing these learned works insuing to posteritie. Sermones ad Clerum lib. 1. Epistolae 32 ad diuersos lib. 1. Propositiones disputatas lib. 1. Lectiones Treuerenses lib. 1. Regulae Iuris lib. 1. Contra Giraldum Bononiensem.

Owen Doethoe, a preacher, and a maker in Irish. Thomas Oheirnaie, deane of Cork, a learned diuine, he wrote in Latine Ad Iacobum Stanishurstum epist. plures. Thomas Oheirigh, bishop of Ross, an exquisite diuine, brought vp in Italie. Pander, a man zelouslie addicted to the reformation of his countrie, whereof he wrote a politike booke in Latine, intituled Salus populi. Patricius, who notwithstanding he be no Irishman bozne, yet I may not ouerslip him in the catalog of Irish authors, for as much as his whole works tended to the conuersion and reformation of that countrie: he was surnamed Succetas or Pagonius, an absolute diuine, adorning his deepe knowledge therein with sinceritie of life. Being sent into Ireland by the appointment of Celestinus the first, accompanied with Segetus a priest, he conuerted the Iland from idolatrie and paganism to christianitie. He wrote these bookes following. De antiquitate Aualonica lib. 1. Itinerarium confessionis lib. 1. Odorporicon Hybernica lib. 1. Historia Hybernica ex Ruano lib. 1. De tribus habitaculis lib. 1. De futura electorum vita lib. 1. Abiectoria quaedam 36 lib. 1. Ad Cereticum tyrannum epist. 1. Sermones lib. 1. Ad Aualonicos incolas epist. 1. Ad Hybernicas ecclesias epist. plures. Ad Britannos epist. plures. He deceased, being one hundred, twentie, and two yeares old, in the yeare 458, or as some suppose 491, and lieth buried in an ancient citie, in the north of Ireland, named Downe, according to the old verse, which saith:

*Hi tres in Duno tumulo tumulantur in uno,
Brigida, Patricius, atque Columba pium.*

Patricius Abbas a learned man, and much giuen to the edifying of his countriemen: he flourished in the yeare 850, and deceased at Glasconburie. Some ascribe the finding of saint Patrikes purgatorie to this abbat, not to Patrike that conuerted the countrie; but that error hath bene before sufficientlie reprobued. This abbat wrote Homilies lib. 1. Ad Hybernos epist. plures. Petrus Homericus, professor of philosophie in Naples, at which time Thomas Aquinas that after became the lanterne of scholemen, both in philosophie and diuinitie, was his scholer; being therefore as highlie renowned as Socrates is

Giraldus
Bononiensis.

Owen
Doethoe,
Thomas
Oheirnaie,
Thomas
Oheirigh,
Pander,
Patricius.

43

De
la
bo
fo

Sh
Sh
Sh
Sh

Sh
Sh

Patricius
abbas.

Petrus
Homericus.

for being master to Plato; or Plato is, for having Aristotle to his scholar. This Petrus flourished in the yeare 1230, he wrote Quodlibeta theologica lib. 1. Plunket, baron of Dunlany, scholar in Kington, to Ag. Shaghens, after sent by Sir Christopher Warne wall knight, his frendlie father in law, to the universitie of Orford. Where, how well he profited in knowledge, as such as are of his acquaintance presentlie perceive, so hereafter when his woorkes shall take the aire, that now by reason of bashfull modestie, or modest bashfulness are wrongfullie imprisoned, and in manner stifled in shadowed couches, I doubt not, but by his fame and renowne in learning, shall be answerable to his desert and balure in writing.

Downell, a batchelor of divinitie, sometime chapleine in Jew college in Orford, after returning to his countrie, he was beneficed in Drogheda, from thence flitted to Louaine, where through continuall hearing of lectures and disputations, more than by his privat studie, he purchased a laudable knowledge in divinitie. Whereby he gave manifest shew of the profit that riseth of exercise and conference. Upon this occasion, one of his acquaintance was accustomed to tell him that he had all his divinitie by hearesaie. He deceased at Louaine in the yeare 1573. Nicholas Duemeford, doctor of divinitie, proceeded the thre and twentieth of October, he wrote in English a verie pithie and learned treatise, and therewithall requisitelte pend, intituled; Answers to certaine questions propounded by the citizens of Waterford; Diverse sermons. There lived latelie of the surname a graue prelat in Waterford, and properlie learned.

Kian, there lived two brethren of the surname, both scholars of Orford, the one a good civilian, the other verie well scene in the mathematicals. Richard archdeacon of saint Patriks, chancelor in the universitie of Dublin, proceeded doctor of the canon law, in the yeare one thousand thre hundred and twentie. Robert Kochford bozne in the countrie of Weiseford, a proper divine, an exact philosopher, and a verie good antiquarie. There is another Kochford that is a student of philosophie. Roth, batchelor of law, proceeded in the universitie of Orford. There hath bene another Roth vicar of S. Johns in Kilkennie prestlie learned. Iohannes de sacro bosco, bozne in Holitwood, and thereof surnamed De sacro bosco; he wrote an excellent introduction, De Sphara. Sedgrane, two brethren of the name, both students in divinitie. Shaghens fellow of Balliol college in Orford, after scholemaster in Ireland, a learned and a vertuous man. Sheine, scholar in Orford and Paris; he wrote, De Repub. Elias Sheth bozne in Kilkennie, sometime scholar of Orford, a gentleman of a passing good wit, a pleasant conceited companion, full of mirth without gall; he wrote in English diuerse sonets. Michaell Sheth bozne in Kilkennie, master of art. Skidmoz bozne in Cozke, and gardian of Poghill.

Richard Smith bozne in a towne named Rackmachneie, thre miles distant from Weiseford, surnamed Smith, of his father, who was by occupation a smith, being fouretene yeres of age he stole into Englnd, and repaired to Orford, where in tract of time he proceeded doctor of divinitie, was elected doctor of the chaire, taken in those daies for a perelesse pearle of all the diuines in Orford, as well in scholasticall as in positive divinitie. Upon the death of quene Marie he went to Louaine, where he read openly the apocalypse of saint John, with little admiration and lesse reprehension; he wrote in English against licentious fasting, or the libertie of fasting; The assertion of the sacrament of altar; A defense of

the sacrifice of the masse one booke; Of unwritten verities one booke; Retractions one booke. In the Latin tongue he wrote De coelibatu sacerdotum lib. 1. De votis monasticis lib. 1. De iustificatione hominis librum vnum.

Nicholas Stanthurst, he wrote in Latine Dic-tam medicorum lib. 1: he died in the yeare one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure. James Stanthurst, late recorder of Dublin, ouer his exact knowledge in the common lawes, he was a good orator, and a proper diuine. He wrote in English, being speaker in the parlements; An oration made in the beginning of a parlement holden at Dublin befoze the right honorable Thomas earle of Sussex, &c: in the third and fourth yeares of Philip and Marie; An oration made in the beginning of the parlement holden at Dublin befoze the right honorable Thomas earle of Sussex, in the second yeare of the reigne of our souereigne ladie quene Elisabeth; An oration made in the beginning of a parlement holden at Dublin befoze the right honorable Sir Henrie Sid-neie knight, &c: in the eleuenth yeare of the reigne of our souereigne ladie quene Elisabeth. He wrote in Latine, Pias orationes. Ad Corcaciensem decanum epistolae plures: he deceased at Dublin the seven and twentieth of December, being one and fiftie yeares old. Upon whose death, I as nature and dutie bound me, haue made this epitaph following:

*Vita brevis, mors sancta fuit (pater optime) visa,
Vita timenda malis, mors redamanda bonis.
Vrbs est orba sopho, legum rectore tribunal,
Causidicoque cliens, atque parente puer.
Plurima proferrem, sed me prohibere videtur,
Pingere vera dolor, fingere falsa pudor.
Non opus est falsis, sed quae sunt vera loquenda,
Non mea penna notet, buccina fama sonet.
Hoc scripsisse satis, talem quandoque parentem
Est habuisse decus, sed caruisse dolor.
Filius hac dubitans, talem vix comperit vsquam,
Nullus in orbe patrem, nullus in orbe parem.
Mortuus ergo pater, poteris bene virum haberi,
Vivis enim mundo nomine, mente Deo.*

Walter Stanthurst, sonne to James Stanthurst, he translated into English Innocent de contemptu mundi. There flourished before anie of these a Stanthurst, that was a scholar of Orford, brother to Gennet Stanthurst, a famous and an ancient mactrone of Dublin, she lieth buried in saint Michaels church. Sutton, one of that name, is a verie good maker in English. Pattheu Talbot scholemaster, a student in Cambridge. William Talbot. John Talbot sonne to William, a master of art, he wrote in Latine, Orationem in laudem comitis Essexiae, Diuersa epigrammata. Edmund Tanner a profound diuine, he wrote Lectiones in summam D. Thomae. Tailer batchelor of art, proceeded in the universitie of Orford, he wrote in Latine Epigrammata diuersa.

Thomas Hybernus bozne in Palmerstowne nere the Paas, he proceeded doctor of divinitie in Paris, a deepe clerke and one that read much, as may easilie be gathered by his learned woorkes: he flourished in the yeare 1290, and wrote with diuerse other woorkes, these bookes insuing: Flores bibliae, Flores doctorum lib. 2. De christiana religione lib. 1. De illusionibus demonum lib. 1. De tentatione diaboli lib. 1. De remedijs vitiorum lib. 1. Laurentius Toole archbishop of Dublin. Trauerse doctor of divinitie, he flourished in the reigne of Henrie the eight. There hath bene after him a scholemaster in Dublin of that name. Tundalus Magus a knight, after he became a Charterhouse monke, much giuen to contemplation, wherein he is reported to haue seene diuerse visions of heauen and hell, and thereupon he wrote

Stanthurst.

1557.

1560.

1568.

1573.

Circa unius Dom. 1506.

Sutton.
Talbot.

Tanner.
Tailor.

Thomas Hybernus.

Toole.
Trauerse.

Tundalus.

The description of Ireland.

Wrote Apparitionum suarum lib. 1. he floished in the yeare 1449.

Virgilius Solinus a noble man borne being kept in peares, he trauelled into Germanie, where being knowne for a vertuous and learned prelat, he was chosen by Otilon duke of Bauaria, to be their rec- tor or gardian of an ancient abbete, named S. Peters abbete, placed in the citie of Salisburgh, after he was created Episcopus Iuanienfis, and founded in the said towne of Salisburgh a church. In his time one Bonifacius an Englishman, being gene- rall visitour in Bauaria, rebaptized certeine, whome he suspected not to haue bene orderlie baptized. Vir- gilius detesting the fact, hauing consulted with Si- donius archbishop of Bauaria, with Ood Bonifacius in his sond attempt. The controuersie being brought before pope Zacharias, he decreed that Bonifacius held an error, and that Virgilius and Sidonius pub- lished in that point sound doctrine, as who so will read Zacharias his epistle vnto Bonifacius shall plainlie see. Virgilius deceased 784, and lieth bur- ied in his church at Salisburgh: he wrote Ad Zacha- riam Rom. pont. epist. 1.

Owen Alltaga physician, his father proceeded doctor of physike in Paris. Vltanus a lerned monke fellow to Foillanus, with whome he trauelled into France, and with continuall preaching edified the inhabitants of that realme; he floished in the yeare 640. Gilbertus Vrgilius a profess Carmelite, and a student in Orford, he floished in the yeare 1330, he wrote in two great tomes, Summam quarundam legum, De rebus theologicis lib. 1. Usher, or Usher a student in Cambridge, and a preacher. Wadding, a proper versifier, he wrote in Latine vpon the bur- ning of Paules steeple, Carmen heroicum, Diuersa epigrammata. Edward Wallsh, he floished in the yeare 1550, and wrote in English The dutie of such as fight for their countrie, The reformation of Ire- land by the word of God. James Wallsh, master of art, and student in diuinitie, he translated into Eng- lish, Giraldum Cambrensem, he wrote in Latine Epigrammata diuersa.

Richard Wallsh master of art and student in diu- nitie. There is a learned man of the name beneficed in S. Patrikes church in Dublin, student in Cam- bridge, and now a preacher. Peter Wallsh a proper youth, and one that would haue bene an ornament to his countrie, if God had spared him life, he died of a surfet at London, about the yeare 1571. There dwelleth in Waterford a lawyer of the surname, who writeth a verie proper Latine verse. Wellesleie deane of Kildare, there liueth an other learned man of the name, who is archdeacon of saint Patrikes. Peter White borne in Waterford, fellow of Duall college in Orford, the luckie schoolmaster of Mount- ner; he bestowed his time rather in the making of scholars, than in the penning of booke, and to the in- struction of youth, he wrote Epitom. in copiam E- rasmi, Epitom. figurarum rhetoricar. Annotationes in orat. pro Ardia poeta. Annotat. in orationem pro T. A. Milone. Epigrammata diuersa. John White batchelor of diuinitie borne in Clonmell, he wrote in Latine Diuersa pia epigrammata. Andrew White a good humanist, a pretie philosopher. White, of this surname there floished sundrie learned gentlemen. There liueth one White in Waterford, that maketh verie well in the English. Andrew White a toward youth, and a good versifier. William an abbat, and (as it is thought) a soothsayer, he floished in the yeare 1298, and wrote Prophetias rerum futurarum lib. 1. David Wolfe, a diuine.

Thus far (gentle reader) haue I induoured to heape vp together a catalog of such learned Irish- men, as by diligent insearch could haue bin found,

Howbeit, I am to request the not to measure the ample number of the learned of that countrie by this briefe abstract: considering, that diuerse haue bene, yea and are yet liuing, of profound knowledge that to me are unknowne, and therefore in this regi- ster not recozded.

The disposition and maners of the
meere Irish, commonlie called
the wild Irish.

The eight chapter.

BEFORE I attempt the br- folding of the maners of the meere Irish, I thinke it ex- pedient, to forewarne the reader, not to impute anie barbarous custome that shall be here laid downe, to the ci- tizens, townesmen, and in- habitants of the English pale, in that they differ little or nothing from the ancient customes and dispositi- ons of their progenitors, the English and Welsh men, being therefore as mortallie behated of the Irish, as those that are borne in England. For the Irish man standeth so much vpon his gentilitie, that he termeth anie one of the English sept, and planted in Ireland, Bobdeagh Galteagh, that is, English churle: but if he be an Englishman borne, then he nameth him, Bobdeagh Saronnegh, that is, a Sar- on churle: so that both are churles, and he the onlie gentleman. And there vpon if the basest pezzant of them name himselfe with his superiour, he will be sure to place himselfe first, as I and Onelle, I and you, I and he, I and my master, whereas the cour- tesse of the English language is cleane contrarie.

The people are thus inclined, religious, franke, a- moxous, trefull, sufferable of infinit paines, verie glorious, manie forcerers, excellent hostemen, de- lighted with wars, great almesgiuers, passing in hospitalitie. The lewder sort, both clearkes and late men are sensuall and ouer loose in liuing. The same being vertuouslie bred vp or reformed, are such mir- rors of holinesse and austeritie, that other nations re- teine but a shadow of deuotion in comparison of them. As for abstinence and fasting, it is to them a familiar kind of chastisement. They follow the dead corpse to the graue with howling and barbarous outcries, pitifull in awarance: thereof grew, as I suppose, the prouerbe; To wepe Irish.

Crædie of praise they be, & fearefull of dishonor, and to this end they esteeme their poets, who write Irish learnedlie, and pen their sonets heroically for the which they are bountifullie rewarded; if not, they send out libels in dispraise, thereof the lords and gentlemen stand in great awe. They loue tenderlie their foster children, and bequeath to them a childes portion, whereby they nourish sure friendship: so be- neficiall euerie waie, that commonlie five hundred colwes and better, are giuen in reward to win a no- ble mans child to foster. they loue & trust their foster brethren more than their owne. The men are cleane of skin and hew, of stature tall. The women are well fauoured, cleane coloured, faire handed, big & large, suffered from their infancie to grow at will, no- thing curious of their feature and popoztion of bodie.

Their infants, they of meaner sort, are nesther swaddled nor laped in linnen, but folded by sharke naked in a blanket till they can go. Proud they are of long crisped bushes of hare which they terme glibs, and the same they nourish with all their cunning, to crop the front thereof they take it for a notable pæce

44
Virgilius So-
linus.
754

Tomo primo
conciliorum.

Uitagh.
Vltanus.

Vrgilius.

Usher.
Wadding.

Walsh.

Wellesleie.

White.

White.

William.

Wolfe.

Their diet.

people.

Collecting.
followers.

Lib. pri. Aen.
arca sineu.

Dalton.
Grame.

Kerne.

Highereen.

Calloglassie.

Hostleman.

Narrow.

A taleteller.

Latin spoken
as a bulgar
language.

The incli-
nation of the
people.

To wepe
Irish.

Ports
estimated.

Foster
children.

The names
of the people.

Indians.

Glibs.

one

of billanie. After crosses, which they tearme Cham-
 rocks, roots and other herbs they feed upon, oteameale
 and butter they cram together, they drinke wheie,
 milke, and beefe-broth. Fleth they deuoure without
 bread, and that halfe raw: the rest boileth in their sto-
 machs with *Aqua vite*, which they swill in after such
 a surfet by quarts and pottels: they let their colwes
 blond, which growne to a gellie, they bake and ouer-
 spread with butter, and so eate it in lumps. No meat
 they fanlie so much as porke, and the fatter the bet-
 ter. One of John Dnele household demanded of his
 fellow whether beefe were better than porke? That
 (quoth the other) is as intricat a question, as to aske
 whether thou art better than Dnele.

Their noble men, and noble mens tenants, now and
 then make a set feast, which they call coshering, wher-
 to stocke all their retainers, whom they name follo-
 wers, their rithmours, their bards, their harpers
 that feed them with musike: and when the harper
 twangeth or singeth a song, all the companie must
 be whist, or else he chafeth like a cutpurse, by reason
 his harmonie is not had in better price. In their
 coshering they sit on straw, they are serued on
 straw, and lie vpon mattresses and pallets of straw.
 The antiquitie of this kind of feasting is set forth by
 Virgil, where Wido intertaineeth the Troian prince
 and his companie. They obserue diuerse degrees, ac-
 cording to which each man is regarded. The basest
 sort among them are little yong wags, called Dal-
 tins, these are lackies, and are seruiceable to the
 groomes or horseboies, who are a degree aboue the
 Daltins. Of the third degree is the Kerne, who is an
 ordinarie souldior, vsing for weapon his sword and
 target, and sometimes his peece, being commonlie
 so good markemen as they will come within a score
 of a great castell. Kerne signifieth (as noble men of
 deepe iudgement informed me) a shouer of hell, be-
 cause they are taken for no better than for rakehels,
 or the diuels blacke gard, by reason of the stinking
 sturre they heape, wheresoeuer they be.

The fourth degree is a galloglashe, vsing a kind of
 pollax for his weapon. These men are commonlie
 wicelward rather by profession than by nature, grim
 of countenance, tall of stature, big of lim, burlie
 of bodie, well and stronglie timbered, chrestlie feeding on
 beefe, porke & butter. The fift degree is to be an horse-
 man, which is the chiefeest next the lord and capteine.
 These horsemen, when they haue no state of their
 owne, gad & range from house to house like arrant
 knights of the round table, and they neuer dismount
 untill they ride into the hall, and as farre as the table.
 There is among them a brotherhood of karrowes,
 that proffer to plaie at cards all the yeare long, and
 make it their onelie occupation. They plaie awaie
 mantle and all to the bare skin, and then truste them-
 selues in straw or leaves, they wait for passengers
 in the high waie, inuite them to game vpon the
 greene, and aske no more but companions to make
 them sport. For default of other stufte, they patone
 their glibs, the nailles of their fingers and toes, their
 dimittaries, which they leese or redeme at the courte-
 sic of the winner.

One office in the house of noble men is a tale-
 teller, who bringeth his lord asleepe with tales vaine
 and frivolous, wherunto the number giue sooth and
 credit. Without either precepts or obseruations of
 congruities, they speake Latine like a vulgar lan-
 guage, learned in their common scholes of leach-
 craft and law, wher at they begin children, and hold
 on fiftene or twentie yeares, conning by rote the
 aphorismes of Hippocrates, and the ciuill institutes,
 with a few other parings of those faculties. In their

scholes they growell vpon conches of straw, their
 bookes at their noses, themselves lie flat prostrate,
 and so they chant out with a lowd voice their lessons
 by peccemeale, repeating two or three words thirtie
 or forty times together. Other lawyers they haue lia-
 ble to certeine families, which after the custome of
 the countrie determine and iudge causes. These con-
 sider of wrongs offered and recoued among their
 neighbors: be it murther, felonie, or trespassse, all is
 remedied by composition (except the grudge of par-
 ties seeke reuenge) and the time they haue to spare
 from spoiling and preiding, they lightlie bestow in
 parling about such matters. The Breighon (so they
 call this kind of lawyers) sitteth on a banke, the lords
 and gentlemen at variance round about him, and
 then they proceed. To rob and spoile their enemies
 they deeme it none offense, nor seeke anie meanes to
 recouer their losse, but euen to watch them the like
 turne. But if neighbors & friends send their purre-
 ois to purloine one another, such actions are iudged
 by the Breighons aforesaid. They honour and reue-
 rence stiers and pilgrims, by suffering them to passe
 quietlie, and by sparing their mansions, what soeuer
 outrage they shew to the countrie besides them. The
 like fauor do they extend to their poets & rithmours.

In old time they much abused the honorable state
 of marriage, either in contracts vnlawfull, meeting
 the degrees of prohibition, or in diuorcements at
 pleasure, or in retaining concubines or harlots for
 wiles: yea euen at this daie, where the clergie is
 faint, they can be content to marrie for a yeare and
 a daie of probation; and at the yeares end, or anie
 time after, to retorne hir home with hir marriage
 gods, or as much in balure, vpon light quarels, if the
 gentlewoman's friends be vnable to reuegge the in-
 iurie. In like maner maie she forsake hir husband.
 In some corner of the land they vsed a damnable su-
 perstition, leauing the right armes of their infants
 vndressened (as they tearme it) to the intent it might
 giue a more vngratious and deadlie blow. Others
 write that gentlemens children were baptised in
 milke, and the infants of poore folke in water, who
 had the better or rather the onelie choise. Diuerse o-
 ther vaine and crecreable superstitions they obserue,
 that for a complet recitall would require a fenerall
 volume. Whereto they are the more stiffelie wedded,
 bicause such single preachers as they haue, reproue
 not in their sermons the pœuishnesse and fondnesse
 of these frivolous dreamers. But these and the like
 enozmities haue taken so deepe root in that people, as
 commonlie a preacher is sooner by their naughtie
 liues corrupted, than their naughtie liues by his
 preaching amended.

Again, the verie English of birth, conuerfant with
 the sauage sort of that people become degenerat, and
 as though they had tasted of Circes poisoned cup,
 are quite altered. Such force hath education to make
 or mar. God with the beams of his grace clarifie the
 eyes of that rude people, that at length they maie see
 their miserable estate: and also that such as are depu-
 ted to the gouernement thereof, bend their industrie
 with conscionable policie to red uce them from rude-
 nes to knowledge, from rebellio to obedience, from
 trecherie to honestie, from sauagenesse to ciuillite,
 from idlenesse to labour, from wickednesse to goodli-
 nesse, whereby they maie the sooner espie their blind-
 nesse, acknowledge their losenes, amend their liues,
 frame themselves pliable to the lawes and ordina-
 ces of hir maiestie, whome God with his gracious
 assistance preserve, as well to the prosperous govern-
 ment of hir realme of England, as to the happie re-
 formation of hir realme of Ireland.



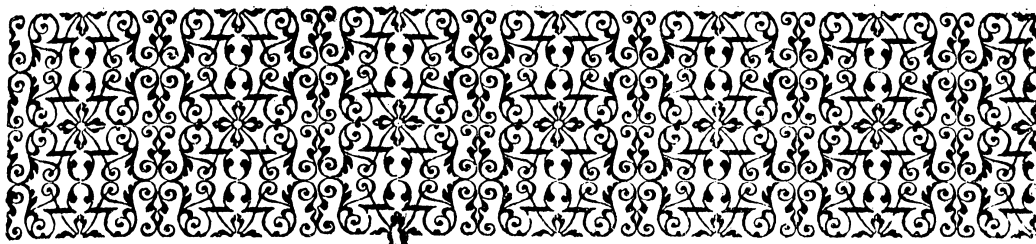
The first inhabitation of Ireland, by whome it vvas instructed in the faith, *with the seuerall inuasions of the same, &c.*

The authors preface or introduction to the
sequele of the historie.



Although (vndoutedlie) the originall of all nations for the more part is so vncerteine, that who soeuer shall enter into the search thereof, further than he findeth in the holie scriptures, may seeme as it were rather to talke with men that dreame, than to gather authorities sufficient wherevpon to ground anie warranted opinion: yet for as much as the authors (whom in this Irish historie we chieflie follow) haue set downe what they haue found in the Irish antiquities, concerning the first inhabitation of this countrie of Ireland, and because the reader also may be peraduenture desirous to vnderstand the same, we haue thought good to recite what they haue written thereof, leauing the credit vnto the due consideration of the circumspect reader; and where the errors are too grosse, giuing by the way some cautions, in like sort as our authors themselues haue doone. According therefore to the order of all other nations and people that seeke to aduance the glorie of their countries, in fetching their beginning with the furthest from some one of ancient antiquitie: so likewise the Irishmen haue registred in their chronicles, that their countrie was first inhabited by one of Noahs neeces, after the manner following.





THE FIRST INHABITATION of Ireland, &c.



In the yeare of the world, 1525: the patriarch Noah began to admonish the people of vengeance for their wickednesse and detestable sins, to build his arke to forsethew his kindfolkes and friends of that

uniuersall flood which was to come, wherewith the whole face of the earth should be couered with water; & that within few yeares, except they amended in time. This did he before the generall flood, one hundred & five and twentie yeares. But when euerie man seemed to neglect this wholesome admonition, one Cesara that was neere to Noah, hearing his vncles prophesie, doubted least the same should come to passe; and therefore determined with certeine his adherents to seeke adventures in some forren region, persuading his selfe, that if he might find a countrie neuer yet inhabited, and so with sin vnspotted, the generall sentence of Gods wrath should not there take effect. Whereupon rigging a nauie, he committed his selfe to the seas, sailing forth, till at length he arrived in Ireland onelie with three men, & fiftie women, hauing lost the residue of his companie by misfortune of sundrie shipwracks made in that his long & troublesome iourneie. The names of the men were these, Bithi, Laigria, and Fintan. The coast where he first set foot on land, and where also he lieth buried, is called *Nauicularclitus*, that is, the shipwrecking riuaige or shore. The stones wherein the monie hereof was preferred from violence of waters, haue bene scene of some (as they themselves haue reported) but how trulie I haue not to say: within fortie daies after his comming on land there, the uniuersall flood came & overflowed all that coast as well as all other parts of the world. But where as this tale betwixt it selfe too manifestlie to be a mere vntuth, if the time and other circumstances be thoughtlie examined, I will not stand longer about the prose or dispute thereof; sauing that it is sufficient (as I thinke) to bring it out of credit, to consider, how that the art of sailing was unknowne to the world before the uniuersall flood; and no part inhabited except the continent of Syria, and thereabouts. But to passe such a forged fable, with the record thereof grauen in a stone (a deuise borrowed from Iosephus, as some thinke) it shall be sufficient for the glorie of the Irish antiquitie to grant that

Ireland was discovered and peopled by some of Noahs kindred, euen with the first Islands of the world (if they will needs haue it so, as the likelihoode is great) according to that which is set forth in their histories, when about three hundred yeares after the generall flood immediatlie vpon the confusion of tongues, Japhet & his posteritie emboldened by Noahs example, aduentured to commit themselves by ship to passe the seas, & to search out the unknowne corners of the world, and so finding out diuerse Isles in these west parts of the world.

There was (saie they) in that retinue one of the same progenie named Bartolenus or Bastolenus, who encouraged with the late attempt and success of Nimrod kinsman to Ninus (then newlie intruded vpon the monarchie of Assyria) searched so far west, intending to attaine to some gouernement, where he might rule without anie partner in authoritie, till at length fortune brought him and his people vpon the coast of Ireland. Here he settled himselfe with his three sonnes Languina, Salamis, and Ruthurgus, right active and stout gentlemen, who searching the land from side to side, and from end to end, lest remembrances of their names in certeine notable places named after them; as Languinie, Stragrins, and mount Salanga, since named saint Dominicks hill, and Ruthurgus his pole. Little is remembered of Bartolenus, sauing that in short space with manie hands working at once, he rid and made plaine a great part of the countrie ouergrown with woods and thickets.

Thus was Ireland inhabited by this people vnder the gouernment of those three sons of Bartolenus and their offspring, about the space of three hundred yeares. Togither with Bartolenus arrived Ireland certeine godles people of Nimrods stocke, worthilie termed giants, as those that in bodilie shape exceeded the common proportion of others, and vied their strength to gaine souereigntie, and to oppresse the weake with rapine and violence. That lineage (Chams brood) did grow in short while to great numbers, and atwaie indented themselves where soeuer they came to beare the rule ouer others. The cause hereof was their bodilie strength, answerable to their hugeness of stature; another, the examples of Cham or Zoaostris the magician, and Nimrod grandfather to Ninus. Which two persons in themselves and their progenies were renowned through the world as victorious princes, ruling ouer two mightie kingdoms Egypt and Assyria: A third cause there was, as this: they repined at the blessings bestowed vpon Sem and Japhet, thinking it necessarie to withstand and prevent all lawfull rule and domination, least the curse of slauerie prophesied by Noah should light vpon them, as at length it did. Whereupon

An. mundi, 1557
After the best authoers make 300 yeares, and not 100 betwixt Noahs flood and Babel.

Bartolenus, or Bastolenus, aug. Clem. lib. 4. Cambred. lib. 3.

Ruthurgi stagnum.

Ireland first inhabited.

Giantes.

Bergon the sonne of Sep-tune and bro-ther to Albion (as Iohn Bale hath) conquered Ireland and the Orkneyes. Euill examples haue followed.

Cesara neere to Noah.

An. mundi, 1556

Rob. Isaac in Gen. 5.

Rebellion against governours.

A worthy resolution.

Victorie too cruellie blood.

Anno mundi.
2257

Kuanus how long he lived.

Forged tales and fables soon credit in time, to passe among the vn-skillfull people for true histories.

Gen. 10.

Upon rebelliouslie withstanding their due obedience from their lawfull governours here in Ireland, and taking head, set by a king of their owne faction, and maintaining his estate to the oppression of the subjects, by bringing them into continuall bondage. The successe was variable on both sides betwixt the lawfull governours & these vsurpers, with baille ratles and skirmishes, so much to the grieve of them that coueted to live in quiet vnder their rightfull princes, that they determined with the chance of one general battell, either wholie to subdue those proud rebellious tyrants, or else to end their liues in freedom, and so to be rid of further miserie. But first, where there had growen certeine debates and enmitie among themselves, whereby they had inweakened their owne forces, they thought good to make peace together, before they put their whole state in hazard of one battell against the giants, concluding therefore an agreement, and joining in league with promise to assist ech other to subdue their common enemies, they assemble their power forth of all parts of the land, and comming to ioine battell with the giants, after they had fought right fiercelie together for the space of certeine houres, the victorie inclined to the rightfull part, so that the lawfull kings preuailing against the wicked tyrants, great slaughter was made on the whole brood of that mischeuous generation. For the kings meaning to deliuer themselves of all danger in time to come, vsed their happie victorie with great crueltie, which turned to their owne confusion: for where they neither spared man, woman, nor child that came in the waie for more despise, & fuller satisfieng of their whole reuenge, they did not vouchsafe to burie the carcasses of their slaue enemies; but cast them out like a sort of dead dogs: whereof through stench of the same, such an infectue pestilence infused in all places through corruption of aire, that few escaped with life, beside those that got them awaie by sea.

And hereby lieth a vaine tale among the Irishmen, that one of the giants named Kuanus, chancing to be preserued from this mortalitie, liued forth two thousand and one and fortie yeares, which is more than twise the age of Methusalem. By this man (saie they) saint Patrike was informed of all the estate of the countrie: and after that vpon request he had receiued baptism of the said Patrike, he deceased in the yeare after the birth of our saviour foure hundred and thirtie, as in the Irish histories hath bin vnadvisedlie registered. But such foolish tales and vaine narrations may warne the aduised reader how to beware of yielding credit vnto the like idle fantasies and forged tales, when they hap to light vpon such blind legends. For where some of the poets vsed for inuention sake to faine such dreaming fables for exercise of their stiles and wits: afterwards through error and lacke of knowledge, they haue bene taken with the ignorant for verie true and most assured histories. But now to the matter, as we find it recorded of an infinit number of giants slaue and made awaie in manner afore rehearsed, certeine there were that got them into some lurking dens or caues, and there kept them till lacke of vitels enforced them to come forth, and make shift for sustenance; and perceiving no resistance because the land was in manner left desolat, they wared bolder; and when they vnderstood how things had passed, they settled themselves in the best part of the countrie, easily subduing the poore scellie soules that remained, and so retaining their lineage, they became lords of the whole Island, keeping the same in subiection for the space of three score yeares together.

Among Iaphets sons we read in Genesis that Magog was one, who planted his people in Scythia nere

Tanais, from whence about the yeare of the world two thousand three hundred & fourtenth. Memodius with his foure sonnes, Statius, Carbaneles, Annus, Fergusius, captains ouer a faire companie of people, were sent into Ireland, who passing by Crete, and taking there such as were desirous to seeke adventures with them; at length they landed in Ireland, inhabited the countrie, and multiplied therein, although not without continuall warre, which they held with the giants for the space of two hundred and firtene yeares, in the end of which terme the giants preuailing chased them thence againe, so that they retired into Scythia. This was about the yeare after the creation (as by their account it should seeme) two thousand five hundred thirtie and three, from which time the giants kept possession of the land without forein inuasion, till the yeare two thousand seauen hundred and fouretene; but yet in all that space they were not able to frame a common-welth: for falling at variance among themselves, and measuring all things by might, seditionlie they vered ech other. Which thing comming to the knowledge of the Crete, the sons of Deila moved five brethren, sonnes to one Deila, being notable seamen and skillfull pilots to rig a nauie, and to attempt the conquest of this Island. These were of the posteritie of Memodius, and named Gandius, Genandius, Sagandus, Rutherantius, & Slantius. When all things were readie, and their companies assembled, they took the sea, and finallye arriuing here in Ireland, found the puissance of the giants sore weakened through their owne ciuill dissention: so that with more ease they atchued their purpose, and wan the whole countrie, bitterlie destroying and rooting out that wicked generation enemies to mankind; and after diuided the Island into five parts, and in each of them they severallie reigned. Furthermore, to satisfie all sides, and avoid contention, they concluded to fix a mere-stone in the middle point of Ireland, to the which ech of their kingdoms should reach, so as they might be equalie partakers of the commodities found within that countrie soile.

These are also supposed to haue inuented the distribution of shires into cantreds, euerie cantred or baronie containing one hundred townships. At length desire of souerainie set the five brethren at variance, & greatlie hindred the growing wealth. But Slantius getting the upper hand, and bringing his foure brethren to a low eb, took on him as chiefe aboute his other brethren, incroching round about the middle stone for the space of certeine miles, which plot in time obtained the priuilege & name of one entier part, & now maketh by the number of five parts (into the which Ireland is said to be diuided) and is called Meth, and in Latine Media, taking that name (as some haue guessed) for that in respect of the other, it contained but the moitie of cantreds, that is, firtene (where ech of the other comprehended two and thirtie a peece) or else for that it lieth in the middelt of the land. This part Slantius ioined as a surplusage ouer and aboue his inheritance, to the monarchie: which part notwithstanding grew to a seuerall kingdom. Thirtie yeares the monarchie yet continued in this order, but finallye Slantius departed this life, and was buried in a mountaine of Meth, that beareth hitherto (as they saie) the name after him. When the princes subiect to him, began to stomach the matter, and denied their obedience to his successor: whereupon ensued continuall wars betwixt them, falling still at debat for the land of Meth, which strife of long time might neuer fullie be appeased. In the meane of these troubles also there arriued in Ireland a new arme of Scythians, who made claime to the land by a title of right which they pretended from their

Anno mundi.
2317
Memodius with his four sonnes

Ireland inhabited by the offspring of Japhet.
The giants were slain.
2537

The sonnes of Deila a Grecian full in them of sailing.

They passed into Ireland, and destroyed the giants.

They diuided the countie into foure parts.

Desire of the overruling cause of variance.

Slantius departed this life.

A new arme of Scythians landed in Ireland.

Memodius called into Ireland to aid one part of the famous people.

Scythians.

2436

See more of this matter in the beginning of the Scottish historie.

The river of Rhonda, now Rhondago, Wachara now Waga.

Brigantium. See more hereof in Scotland. Cathelus passed into Ireland.

The names of Ireland, & of heretofore the same were deuised, as they hold opinion.

their forefather Demobus: and so taking & making parts, they set all in an vpoze, that hanoche was made on each side with fire and sword in most miserable manner.

To be short, they spent themselves in pursuing one another with such outrage, that now they cared not what nation or what souldier they receiued to their aid, to keepe vp or beat downe a side. By which occasion the Britons also put in a foot among them, who procured Brennus the brother of Belinus to direct his course thither, with the same nauie which he had made readie to passe ouer into Gallia, now called France, to the aid of Segwin then king of the Allobroges that inhabited the countries called Saualle and the Delphinat. But his enterprise into Ireland took small effect, though there were other kings of the Britons that gat dominion there, in so much that Gurguntius, or Gurguntius, the sonne of Belinus, accompted Ireland among other his dominions to belong to him by lineall descent: notwithstanding the British princes neuer intioled the quiet possession thereof, longer than they held it by maine force, but were often repelled and put to the worse with seeking after it, finding there small gaine other than stripes, whereof they bare alwaies great plentie. But now to come to the Spaniards, that lastlie (vnder the conduct of foure capitaines) passed into Ireland from Britaine, and inhabited that Island, it shall not be impertinent in following the order which our author keepeth, to speake somewhat of their originall, that it may appeere from whence the Irish nation had their first beginning.

In the yeare of the world 2476, after the vsuerfall flood 780, whilst the Israelits serued in Egypt, Cathelus the sonne of one Heale, a great lord in Grecia, was vpon dissauis, exiled his countrie with a number of his factious adherents and friends. This noble gentleman being right wise, valiant, and well spoken, comming into Egypt, got honozable intertainment of Pharaosurnamed Nus, as in the Scottish historie more plainelie appeareth. And afterwards departing that countrie, trauesed the seas, and landing first in Portugall, after some bickering with the inhabitants; at length yet he got by their consent a portion of the countrie, lying by the banks of the riuer ancientlie called Spunda, & now Spodego, where shortly after he began to build a citie first named Brachara, but now Brasalo, as Hector Boetius hath. After this, when Cathelus his people began to increase in power, through persuasion of the Spaniards their neighbors, they removed into Gallia, where they also builded a citie named Brigantium, which is now called Coruna. Finally, when they grew into such a huge multitude, that Gallia was not able to susteine them, Cathelus with a certeine number of them passed ouer into Ireland, and there grew into such estimation with the barbarous people, that for his knowledge speciallie in all languages, he was highlie honored: for he not onelie instructed and beautified the Irish tong, but also taught them letters, fought vp their antiquities, practised their youth in warlike feats after the maner of the Grekes and Egyptians, from whence he descended.

To conclude, he was so acceptable to them, that to gratifie such a benefactor, they agreed to name the Island after him Cathelia, and after his wife Scotia. This is one opinion but yet incredible, not onelie to Humfreie Lhuid, but also to other learned men, and diligent searchers of antiquities, by reason of the sundrie arguments of improbabilitie, as well in the miscount of yeares as o her unlikelihoos found therein, when the circumstances come to be duly examined, thoughlie tried, and well considered. Yet

certaine it is, that Ireland was ancientlie named Scotia, and the people Scots, as by diuerse old writers it may be sufficientlie proued: albeit by what occasion it first took that name, or from whence they came, it is as yet doubted. But to proceed with the historie as we find it. The residue of Cathelus his people, which remained in Spaine, founded the citie of Balon in the confines of Gascoigne, and replenished the seacoasts of Spaine with stoze of inhabitants, and welnere about two hundred yeares after their first arrivall there (when they were estones pestered with multitude of people) they began to fantasie a new voiage, but whether at that time they passed ouer into Ireland, or some whither else, it is uncerteine.

Notwithstanding sure it is, that in the daies of Gurguntius king of the Britons, the chiefe gouernour of Balon with foure brethren Spaniards, of the which two are said to be Hiberus and Hermon, not the sonnes (some thinke) of Cathelus (as Hector Boetius affirmeth) but some other perhaps that were descended from him, who vnderstanding that diuerse of the westerne Isles were emptie of inhabitants, assembling a great number of men, women, and children, embarked with the same in three score great vessels, and directing their course westward, bouered a long time in the sea about the Isles of Dykenie, untill by god hap they met with Gurguntius then returning from the conquest of Denmarke (as in the British historie it appeareth) whom they besought in consideration of their want of vittells and other necessaries, being such as they were not able longer to abide the seas, incumbered with a sort of women and children, to direct and appoint them to some place where to inhabit; promising to hold the same of him, and to become liege people to him and his heires for ever.

Gurguntius adouising himselfe hereof, remembred with what trouble he held the Irish in subiecti on, and conceiuing hope that those strangers should either subdue or wholly destroye that vnraie generation, took the othes of those Spaniards with hostages; and furnishing them and their ships with all things needfull, set them ouer into Ireland, where assisted with such Britons as Gurguntius had appointed to go with them for their guides, they made a conquest of the whole countrie, & settled themselves in the same. Some write, that Ireland was before that present hold of all inhabitants: but yet they agree that these Spaniards were guided thither by the Britons: & that vnder such conditions as before is recited. So that it appeareth the kings of this our Brittain had an elder right to the realme of Ireland, than by the conquest of Henrie the second, which title they euer maintained, and sometimes preuailed in pursuing thereof, as in the daies of king Arthur, to whom the Irish (as in some histories is remembred) acknowledged their due subiecti on with paiement of their tribute, and making their appeerance at the citie called in the British tong Caer Lheon. Wherevnto when their free assent, the submission of their princes with lawfull conquest and prescription are adioined, an inuincible title must needs be inferred.

But now to our purpose. The Spaniards substantiallie aided by the Britons, settled themselves, and diuided their seats in quarters, the foure brethren reigning severallie apart in foure sundrie portions in good quiet and increase of welth, untill their pride and ambition armed two of them against the other two: as Hiberus and one of his brethren against Hermon and the other brother. In this dissention Hermon due his brother Hiberus. Of whom at the same time the countrie (as some hold) was named Hibernia, as in the description further

E. r.

appeareth,

Gurguntius.

Gurguntius appointeth the Spaniards seats in Ireland to lue vnder his subiecti on.

The arrivall of the Spaniards in Ireland, Gelfric Mon.

The Irish were subiect to St. Arthur, welchetter.

Dissention betwixt the brethren.

Such are the fruits of ambition.

See more hereof in the description.

The first inhabitation of Ireland.

appeareth: although some rather hold, that it took the name of iron, of the plentifull mines of that kind of metall wherewith that land aboundeth: and so those ancient writers which name it Ierna, named it more aptly after the speech of the inhabitants than others, which name it Hibernia. But to proceed. Hermitage hereupon to avoid the ill opinion of men, for that he had thus attained to the sovereignty by the unnatural slaughter of his brother, in that unhappy civil warre, purged himselfe to his subjects, that neither maliciously nor contentiously, but for his necessarie defense and safetie he had borne armes against his brethren: and to witness how farre he was from all desire to rule alone, he appointed certaine capitaines as kings, to rule under him severall countreies, reserving to himselfe but one fourth part, and the portion of speech allotted to the monarchie for the better maintenance of his estate.

These parts appointed forth in this wise at length grew to five kingdomes, Leinster, Connagh, Ulster, and Downe divided into two parts, and sometime to more, by usurping or compounding among themselves: but ever one was chosen to be chiefe sovereign monarch over them all. Thus it seemeth that certaine of the Spaniards of the north parts of Spaine, inhabiting the countreies about Biscaye and Galicia, came and peopled Ireland (as both their storie histories and the British do wholly agree:) but from whence they came first to inhabit those countreies of Spaine, verelie I have not otherwise to assure: for no other writers that I can remember, but (such as have registered the Scottish chronicles) make mention of the coming thither of Gathelus with his wife Scotia and their people, in manner as by the said chronicles is pretended. But now to our purpose. An hundred and thirtie chiefe kings are reckoned of this nation from Hermon to Laogirus, the sonne of Dealus Magnus, in whose time that holie esteemed man Patrike converted them to christianitie. But now in the meane time whilst the Irishmen lived in some tollerable order and rest under their severall kings, one Rodolike a Scythian prince with a small companie of men, being weather driven round about the coasts of Britaine, was by chance cast upon the shore of Ireland.

These were Picts, and the first that had been heard of in these parties (as some authors have recorded) a people from their verticrable given to dissention, landleapers, merciless, fierce and hardie. They being brought and presented to the Irish king, craved interpreters, which granted, Rodolike their chiefeine made this request for him and his, as followeth: Not as denigrate from the courage of our ancestors, but fashioning our selves to fortunes course, we are become to craves of Ireland, as humble supplicants that never before this present have so embased our selves to any other nation. Behold sir king, and regard us well, no light occasion causeth these lustie valliant bodies to stoop. Scythians we are, & Picts of Scythia, no small portion of glorie resteth in these two names. What shall I speake of the civil warre that hath expelled us from our native homes, or rip up old histories to move strangers to bemoane us? Let our servants and children discourse thereof at leisure, if perhaps you will vouchsafe to grant us some time of abode in your land, to the which effect and purpose our urgent necessity beseecheth your favors, a king of a king and men of men are to crave assistance. Princes can well discern and consider how nere it toucheth their honour and suertie, to uphold and release the state of a king, by treason decaied. And manifest it is to all men of reasonable consideration, that nothing more becometh the nature of man, than to be moved with compassion, and as it

were to feele themselves hurt, when they heare and understand of other mens calamities. Admit (we beseech you) and receive amongst you these few scattered remnants of Scythia: if your comes be narrow, we are not marie: if the soile of your countrie be barren, we are borne and enured to hardnesse: if you live in peace, we are at commandement as subjects: if you warre, we are ready to serve you as souldiours: we demand no kingdome, no state, no pompous triumph in Ireland: we are here alone, and have lost such things behind us with our enemies: howsoever you estimate of us, we shall content our selves therewith, and learne to frame our liking to yours, calling to mind not what we have borne, but what we are.

Great consultation was had about this request of these strangers, and many things debated to and fro. In conclusion, the Irish laid forth for answer the opinions of their antiquaries; that is, such as were skillfull in old histories and sayings of their elders, whereunto they gave credit, and therefore they gathered it could not be expedient to accept the Scythians into the land, for that mingling of nations in one realme breedeth quarrels: moreover, that the multitude of the inhabitants was such, as come in the whole Ile was unable to receive them, and therefore those few new comers, being placed among so manie old inhabitants, might breed quickle some disturbance to bring all out of joint. But (said they) though we may not conveniently receive you among us, yet shall you find us ready to further you to be our neighbours.

Not far hence there lieth the great Ile of Britaine, in the north part whereof, being void of inhabitants, your manhoods and policies may purchase for you comes to place your selves at ease: we shall appoint you capitaine to guide you thither, we shall assist to settle you with our forces in that countrie, make ready your ships that ye may passe thither with all convenient speed. Encouraged with this persuasion, they took their course towards the north parts of Britaine now called Scotland, where contrarie to their expectation Marius king of Britaine was ready to await their coming, and with sharpe battell vanquishing them in field, slew Rodolike with a great number of his retinues. Those that escaped with life, and sought to him for grace, he licensed to inhabit the uttermost end of Scotland. This Marius Humfric Lhuid taketh to be the same, whome the Romane writers name Arviragus, who reigned about the yere of our Lord seuentie, a prince of a noble courage and of no small estimation in his daies (as should seeme by that which is written of him.) His right name (as the said Humfric Lhuid anoneth) was Aneurig.

But now concerning the Picts, whether that those that escaped with life, got seats by king Aneurigs grant (as above is specified) or that getting to their ships, they withdrew into the Isles of Orkneye, and there remained. Whiles they wanted also to increase their issue: and because the Britons thought scoone to match their daughters with such an unknowne and new come nation, the Picts continued their first acquaintance with the Irish, and by intreatie obtained wives from them, with condition, that if the crowne should hap to fall in contention, they should yeld thus much to the prerogative of the woman, that the prince should be elected rather of the blood roiall of the female kind than of the male. Which order (saith Beda) the Picts were well known to keepe unto his time.

But howsoever we shall give credit to this historie of the first coming of Picts into this land, if we grant that to be true which Geffrie of Monmouth

Donbush consultation.

The answer of the Irish to the request of the Picts.

The Irish persuaded the Picts to place themselves in Britaine.

Marius or Marius called Arviragus king of Britons.

St Diodorus Siculus lib. 6. cap. 9. who saith they should inhabit a portion of Britaine.

Hea, Boetius.

See more hereof in England. The Picts when they first inhabited Britaine.

The Scots in Britaine.

Hum. Lhuid.

Picts married with the Irish and so became the successors of their language.

reported by the Picts, that that said king, intituled I (speaking here againe) Britaine warre for the warre with the I against I well by I was then for the I and Irish of skill, that Cefar have passed here.

lib Cefar they inhab or in some part of I they were Scotland and head: we I Scotland etius, who matters of others Picts as in this I nation of gouverner I. Scots of bounds of our sauto biting in by the I the Isles to make upon the gainst th

From or boats. Picts first freie Lhuid neffe, and they sett that the Scot west part those we their poss and Sco of Brita advised sufficient written on of I And b that wh which H thing I warran suspect hath been eloquent reported Noie for

No crime so manifest or detestable that wanteth a colourable pretence to excuse it.

Ireland divided into five kingdomes. One sovereign ruler over the rest.

Picts arrive in Ireland.

The oration of Rodolike king of the Picts king of Ireland.

republic of this victorie obtained by Marius against the Picts: yet haue I thought good to aduertise the reader, that the Britons of this Ile were disquieted by that nation long before the supposed time of the said king Marius. For Panemtinus in his oration intituled Panegyricus, Max. Dictus hath these words (speaking of the conquest which Iulius Cesar had here against the Britons.) But in that age (saith he) Britaine was neither furnished with anie ships of warre for battell on the sea, and the Romans after the warres of Affrike and Asia, were well practised with the late warres against pirats, and after that against Spithridates, in which they were exercised as well by sea as land. Moreover, the British nation was then unskillfull, and not trained to feats of war, for the Britons then being onelie used to the Picts and Irish enemies, people halfe naked through lacke of skill, easilie gaue place to the Romans force, so that Cesar might onelie as it were glorie in this, to haue passed in that iourneie ouer the ocean sea.

Whereby it should seeme that the Picts and Irish did disquiet the Britons, before the comming of Iulius Cesar into this Ile of Britaine. But whether they inhabited at that time in some part of Ireland, or in some of the out Isles by Scott land, either in anie part of Germanie, or Scandinavia; or else whether they were already settled in the furthest parts of Scotland, as in Cathnesse, towards Dungenbie head: we haue not to affirme, other than that which in Scotland we haue written, in following Hector Boetius, whose opinion how farre it is to be suspected in matters of antiquitie, I leaue to the consideration of others. But for the first comming as well of the Picts as Scots (whom he maketh inhabitants with in this Ile so long before) either the name of the one nation or the other is remembred to haue had anie gouernement here, by anie ancient or approved writer. I cannot persuaide my selfe, that either Scots or Picts had anie settled seats within the bounds of this Ile of Britaine, till after the birth of our sauour: but that rather the Scots, as yet inhabiting in Ireland, and in the westerne Isles called by the Romane writers Hebrides, and the Picts, in the Isles of Orkney called in Latine Orchades, did vse to make often inuasions vpon the Britons, dwelling vpon the coasts that lie nere to the sea side ouer against those Isles.

From whence they comming ouer in such vessels or boats, as the fishermen doe yet vse, at length the Picts first about the yere of our Lord 290, as Humfreie Lhuid hath noted, entred generallie into Cathnesse, and other the north parts of Britaine, where they settled themselves, and remoued the Britons that there inhabited before that time: and shortly after the Scots likewise came ouer and got seats in the west parts ouer against the north of Ireland, and in those westerne Isles, which Isles they first got into their possession. And in this sort those nations Picts and Scots came first to inhabit here in this our Ile of Britaine, as the said Humfreie Lhuid, not without aduised coniectures grounded vpon good reason and sufficient authoritie to lead him so to esteeme, hath written in his short commentaries of the description of Britaine.

And verelie I thinke we may more safely beleue that which he auoucheth in this behalfe, than that which Hector Boetius setteth downe, sith for anie thing I can perceiue, his authorities bring no such warrant with them, but we may with good reason suspect them. But for the man himselfe, euē as he hath verie orderlie, and with no lesse cunning than eloquence set downe diuerse things incredible, and reported some other contrarie to the truth of the historie for the glorie of his nation, as we may take it;

so in his excuse it may be alledged, that he was not the author of those matters, but wrote what he found in Cambell, Veremound, Cornelius Hibernensis, and such other, in like case as Gefferie of Monmouth wrote what he found in old ancient British monuments, & was not the deuiser himselfe (as some haue suspected) of such things as in his booke are by him expressed. But now to returne to the Picts. It may be that they came at severall times in like manner as the Scots did out of Ireland, of whom the first is remembred to be Fergus, the son of Fergus, a man right skilfull in blasoning of armorie, himselfe bare a lion gules in a field of gold. The marble stone wherof in the Scottish historie is mentioned, brought into Ireland by Simon Brechin, and kept till those daies as a pretious iewel, this Fergus obtained towards the prospering of his iourneie: for that it was thought, who so had the same in possession, could not but obtaine soueraintie and rule ouer others as a king, namelie those of the Scottish nation. This stone Fergus bringing into Scotland, left it there. But although that Fergus be put in ranke among those Scottish kings that should reigne in Britaine, yet he bare small rule there, & was diuers times beaten backe into Ireland, where finally he was drowned by misfortune in the creeke of Knockfergus.

That he incountred with Collus king of the Britons (as the Scots write) is not possible, as our author hath verie well noted; except they mistake the name of Collus for Cailus, with whom the age of Fergus might well meet: the rather, for that in the first yere of Cailus reigne the Picts entered, Fergus immediatly after them, 330 yeres yet Christ was boine; where Collus reigned in the yere after the incarnation 124, about which time befell the second arriuall of the Picts in Britaine. And thus it may be they mistake, by error of the name, Collus for Cailus, and the second arriuall of the Picts for the first. But now to the course of the historie. Whilst the Picts were seated in the north of Britaine, and grew to a great multitude; the Irish made sundrie errands ouer to visit their daughters, nephews, and kinsfolks, and by their often comming and going they were aware of certeine walle corners, and small Islands void of inhabitants, as that which seemed rather neglected and suffered to lie waste.

Whereof they aduertised their princes, namelie Keneth or Keuda, who being descended of Fergus, determined to inuest himselfe in certeine portions of land beside the Picts. He therefore well appointed passed ouer, and partlie by composition, and partlie by force, got possession of those quarters which were desolate, & began to erect a kingdome there, by little and little increasing his limits: and finally got betwixt the Picts and Britons, possessing that countrie which toke the name of him called Keuderdaball, and now Kildesdale (as you would saie) Keudas part; for Dahall in the Scottish tong signifieth a part. In these quarters he could not settle himselfe, but that he was oftentimes assailed by the Britons that bordered next vnto him, and at length his chance was to be slaine, but the kingdome continued still in the hands of his successors: and the Picts and Scots grew in friendship together, permitting each other to liue in quiet.

The Scots nestled themselves in the Isles and coasts alongst the sea side. The Picts held the middle part. But shortly after, the peace began to hang doubtfull betwixt them: for the diuersitie of people, place, custome and language, together with the memorie of old grudges, moued such gelousie and inward hate betwixt those nations, that it seemed they were ready to breake out into open dissention vpon the first occasion. And as in such cases there neuer

Gefferie Monmouth the translator not the author of the British historie.

The doubt of the time of the comming of Picts and Scots into Britaine. Fergus king of Scots. The marble stone.

Knockfergus

Keneth or Keuda.

The amitie betwixt Scots and Picts.

Their falling out.

The first instruction of Ireland

wanteth one deuise or other to raise tumults: it chanced that certeine of the Scottish nobilitie had got out of Grece (as some write) a Molossian hound, which both in swiftnesse of foot, and pleasantnesse of mouth, was accounted percelle. This hound being flollen by a Pict, was cause of the breach of peace; so that cruell wars thereof ensued, as in the Scottish historie more at large appereth. But where some write, that Eugenius should reigne ouer the Scots when this quarell fell out for stealing of this hound, Hector Boetius saith, it was in king Crathlinth's daies. Morouer it shuld seme by that which the same Boetius writeth, that the hound or grehound for the which this trouble rose, was not fetched so far as out of Grece, but rather bred in Scotland: notwithstanding because the Latinists call such kind of dogs *Molossi*, for that the first generation of them, or the like, came from a citie of Grece called Molosse; it may be, that some haue thought that this grehound came from thence, for that he was so called after the name of that place from whence the breed of him first came. But to returne to the historie.

After the Scots and Picts had tugged together a while, at length one Carausius a Briton laboured a friendship betwixt them, and bringing his purpose to passe, perswaded them to lend him their helpe to expell the Romans out of Britaine: but his hap was shortlie after to be slaine by the Romane capitaine Alcedus. And so new sturs were in hand betwixt the Britons and Romans, the Scots & Picts for the most part taking part with the Britons, till at length Maximus the Romane lieutenant found means to set the Scots and Picts at variance, and joining with the Picts in league, used their aid against the Scots, whome he so earnestlie pursued with all the power he might make, that in the end they were vtterlie expelled out of all the coasts of Britaine, so that they fled some into one part, some into another, but the most number got them ouer into Ireland, and the Isles, where they remained for the space of fourtie three yeares, and then at length returned thither, vnder the leading of their prince Fergus, being the second of that name, as they account him. From thenceforth the Scots kept such sort in Britaine, that they incroched vpon their neighbors, in such wise as they waxed stronger than the Picts, whome in the end they quite rooted forth, and nestled themselves in their seats, although now at their first returne they concluded a firme amitie with the same Picts, that joining their forces together, they might the better make head against both Romans and Britons, whome they reputed as common enemies to them both.

Thus the Scots a liuelie, cruell, vnquiet, ancient and victorious people, got place within this Ile of Britaine, mixed first with Britons, secondlie with Picts, thirdlie and chiefe with the Irish, which after this time left their name of Scots vnto those in Britaine, and chose rather to be called Irish: and then came by the distinction of the name, as *Scotia maior* for Ireland, *Scotia minor* for the countrie inhabited by the Scots within Britaine. But Cambrensis saith, that the Scots chiefe preuailed vnder the leading of sir vallant gentlemen, sons to Muridus king of Ulster, who in the time of Iseale, turnamed the great that inioied the monarchie of Ireland, passing ouer into Scotland to succour their countriemen there, at length took vp for themselves certeine parcels of ground, which their posteritie were owners of in the time that Cambrensis liued, to wit, about the yeare of our Lord 1200, who treateth hereof more largelie in his booke intituled *Topographia Britannia*. Since which time they haue bene euer taken, reputed and named Scots, the Pictish nation being dzien into

corners, albeit the mountaine parts and out Isles, uen vnto this date are inhabited with a wild kind of people called Redshanks, esteemed by some to be mingled of Scots and Picts.

The Scots write, that their king Gregorie the sonne of Dongall, who began his reigne in the yeare of our Lord 875, pretending a title to Ireland, as belonging to him by right of lawfull succession, made a iourneie thither, and within a small time made a conquest of the countrie. This Gregorie lieth buried in one of the out Isles called Iona, or Colme-hill, where they speake naturalie Irish: and therefore some of the Scots would seme to make the conquest of Henrie the second in Ireland, a reuolting from the right inheritors: although they doe confesse they can not tell how they came from the possession of it, otherwise than by forging a tale that they willingly forewent it, as reaping lesse by retaining it, than they laid forth, and so not able to discharge that which was to be defraied about the keeping of it they gaue it ouer, perswading themselves that the kings of England haue gained little or nothing by the hauing of Ireland. And yet in the time whilst sir Henrie Sidneie was gouernour there, when the countie of Ulster was aouched to belong vnto the crowne: it was proued in open parlement, that the reuenues of that earldome, in the daies of Edward the third were reckoned, and found to amount vnto the summe of one and thirtie thousand marks yearelie, the same being but a fift part of Ireland: so that if things were well looked vnto, and such improvement made as might be, Ireland would suffice to beare the necessarie charges, and yeld no small surplusage vnto the princes coffers.

But now as it falleth forth in the historie. We haue thought good here to shew in what sort Ireland came to receiue the christian faith. We find in deed that immediatlie after Christs time, saint James the apostle, & other travelling into these west parts, did first instruct the Irish people, and teach them the glad tidings of the gospell, so that diuerse amongst them euen then were christened, and beleued, but not in such numbers (as may be thought) whereby it should be said, that the countrie was generallie conuerted. Notwithstanding, the Scottish chronicles aouch, that in the daies of their king Finco-marke, who departed this life in the yeare of our redemption three hundred fiftie and eight, Ireland was conuerted to the faith by this meanes.

A woman of the Pictish blood chanced (saie they) to serue in those daies the queene of Ireland, which woman being a christian hir selfe, first instructed hir mistresse in the faith and true points of christianitie; and the queene hir husband, who conuerted the whole Irish nation. Howbeit, by the report of the Irish writers themselves, this should not seme altogether true: for they affirme, that their countrie was rather still esteemed as one of the vnchristened Isles, till about the yeare foure hundred twentie and six, whilst Celestine the first of that name gouerned the see of Rome, who vpon conference had with his cleargie, touching the restoring of the christian faith in the west parts of the world, greatlie decayed there by the heresie of Pelagius, vnderstood that Ireland also by reason of distance from the hart of christendome, and rudenesse of the nation, had receiued little fruit at all of true religion, a thing much to be lamented.

Among other that then were assembled to treat of those matters was one Paladius archdeacon of Rome, who offered his charitable trauell towards the conuersion of anie of those lands whither it shuld please them to appoint him to go. Celestine knowing the sufficiency of the man consecrated him bishop, authorized his iourneie by letters vnder his

Gregorie
king of Scots
subdueth
Ireland.
875

Paladius
landed in
Ireland.

Sir Henrie
Sidneie.

Patrike sent
into Ireland.

Paladius ap-
pointed to go
into Scotland.

The towards-
nesse of the
Irishmen to
heare Pa-
tricks prea-
ching.

where saint
Patrike was
borne.

Ireland in-
structed in the
faith by saint
James the
apostle.

The life of
saint Patrike
in breue.

S. Patrike
was taken pri-
soner when
he was young.

Sanctimon
with men re-
ligious.

Paladius ob-
serueth to go
into Ireland.

He passed in-
to France.

Write about
875.

Carausius
agreeth them.
Anno Christi.
288

The Scots
expelled.
See more of
this matter in
Scotland.
326

The Picts
rooted forth
by the Scots.

Giraldus
Cambrensis.

scale, furnished his wants, and associating to him such religious persons and others as were thought necessarie to assist him, deliuered to him the bible with great solemnitie, & other monuments in furtherance of his good speed. At length he landed in the north of Ireland, from whence he escaped right hardlie with his life into the Isles adjoining, where he preached the gospell, and converted no small number of Scots to the christian beliefe, and purged that part that was christened from the infection of the Pelagians, as in the Scottish historie more at large appereth. He was required by the Scots that inhabited here in Britaine, to leaue the Isles and come ouer into them, there to instruct the people in the waie of true saluation, to the which with the popes licence he seemed willing enough: and the bishop of Rome the more readilie condescended thereto: for that in the instant time, when Paladius was to depart, one Patrike attended at Rome, suing for licence to be sent into Ireland.

The pope therefore granted that Paladius might passe ouer to the Scots in Britaine, and appointed Patrike to go with authoritie from him into Ireland; where, vpon his arriuall he found the people so well bent to heare his admonitions, contrarie to their accustomed stouardnesse, that a man would haue thought that had seene their readines, how that the land had bene reserved for him to conuert. And because it pleased God to bestow such an vniuersall benefit to this land by his meanes, we haue thought god in following our author herein, to touch some part of the course of his life. This Patrike in Latine called *Patricius*, was borne in the marches betwixt England and Scotland, in a towne by the sea side called Ciburne, whose father hight Calphurnius, a deacon and sonne to a priest: his mother named Conches, was sister to saint Martine that famous bishop of Towers in France.

Patrike of a child was brought vp in learning, and well instructed in the faith, and much giuen to deuotion. The Irishmen in those daies assisted with Scots and Picts were become archpirats, soze disquieting the seas about the coasts of Britaine, and vsed to sacke little small villages that late scattered along the shoze, and would often lead awaie captiue the inhabitants home into their countrie. And as it chanced, Patrike being a lad of sixteen peares old, and a scholer then in secular learning, was taken among other, and became slave to an Irish lord called Machuaine, from whome after six peares terme he redeemed himself with a peece of gold which he found in a clod of earth, that the swine had newlie turned vp as he followed them in that time of his captiuitie, being appointed by his maister to keepe them. And as affliction commonlie maketh men religious, the regard of his former education printed in him such remorse and humilitie, that being thenceforth wearied from the world, he betooke himselfe to contemplation, euer lamenting the lacke of grace and truth in that land: and herewith not despairing, but that in continuance some god might be wrought vpon them, he learned their tongue perfectlie. And alluring one of that nation to heare him companie for exercise sake, he departed from thence, and got him into France, euer hauing in his mind a desire to see the conuersion of the Irish people, whose babes yet unborn seemed to him in his dreames (scam out of their mothers wombs) to call for christendome.

In this purpose he sought out his uncle Martine, by whose means he was placed with Germanus the bishop of Auerre, continuing with him as scholer or disciple for the space of forty peares: all which time he bestowed in like studie of the holie scriptures, psalmes, and such godlie exercises. When at the age of

threescore and two peares, being renowned through the Latine church for his wisdom, vertue and skill, he came to Rome, bringing letters with him in his commendation from the French bishops vnto pope Celestine, to whom he vttered his full mind and secret vot, which long since he had conceiued touching Ireland. Celestine inuested him archbishop and primate of the whole Island, set him forward with all fauour he could deuise, and brought him and his disciples onward to their countrie.

In the three and twentieth yeare therefore of the emperor Theodosius the younger, being the yeare of our Lord 430, Patrike landed in Ireland, & because he spake the tongue perfectlie, and withall being a reuerend personage in the eyes of all men, manie listened and gaue god care to his preaching, the rather for that (as writers haue recorded) he confirmed his doctrine with diuerse miracles: but speciallie those regarded his words before all others, that had some taste of the christian faith aforehand, either by the coming into those partes of Paladius, and his disciple one Albion an Irish bishop, or otherwise by some other: for it is to be thought, that continuallie there remained some sparke of knowledge of christianitie euer since the first preaching of the gospell (which was shortly after the ascension of our saviour) by saint James (as before is mentioned.) In continuance of time Patrike wane the better part of that kingdome to the faith.

Laugerius sonne of Deale the great monarch, although he receiued not the gospell himselfe, yet permitted all that would to embrace it. But sith he refused to be baptised, & applie to his doctrine; the bishop denounced against him a curse from God accordinglie, but tempered yet with mercie and iudgement, as thus: What during his life he should be victorious, but after him neither the kingdome should stand, nor his lineage inherit. From thence he toke his waie vnto Connell lord of Connagh, who honourablie receiued him, and was conuerted with all his people; and after sent him vnto his brother Logan king of Leinster, whome he likewise conuerted. In pounster he found great friendship and fauour by means of an earle there, called the earle of Daris, who honoured him highlie, and gaue him a dwelling place in the east angle of Armagh called Sozta, where he erected manie celles and monasteries, both for religious men and women. He travelled thirtie peares in preaching through the land, planting in places conuenient bishops and priests, whose learning and vertuous conuersation by the speciall grace and fauor of God, established the faith in that rude nation. Other thirtie years he spent in his prouince of Armagh among his brethren, placed in those houses of religion, which by his meanes were founded, and so he liued in the whole about one hundred twentie two peares, and lieth buried in Downe.

Of saint Patrikes purgatorie ye shall find in the description of the countrie, and therefore we doe here omit it. But yet because we are entered to speake of the first foundation of churches and religious houses here in Ireland, in following our author in that behalfe: we will speake somewhat of such other holie men and women as are renowned to haue liued in Ireland, as ornaments to that Ile, more glorious than all the triumphs & victories of the world, if their zeale had bene seasoned with true knowledge of the scriptures: as it maie well be that in some of them it was, howsoeuer mistaken by the iudgement and report of the simple, which hath raised not onlie of these persons, but also of the vertie apostles themselves, certeine fantasticall tales, which with the learned are out of all credit. But this matter I will leaue to diuines to discusse, trusting that the reader will

Patrike is inuested archbishop of Ireland.

Albion an Irish bishop, disciple to Paladius.

Laugerius sonne of Deale the great monarch of Ireland, permitteeth the Irishmen to become christians.

Connell lord of Connagh. Logan king of Leinster.

The earle of Daris.

S. Patrikes purgatorie.

Religious houses & churches founded.

Odens doings mistaken.

Paladius landed in Ireland.

Patrike sent into Ireland.

Paladius appointed to go into Scotland.

The forwarding of the Irishmen to heare Patrikes preaching.

where saint Patrike was borne.

The life of saint Patrike in briebe.

S. Patrike how he came to the world when he was young.

Conversion made by men religious.

Odens doings mistaken.

The fundrie inuasions of Ireland.

tent himselfe to heare what we find recorded by old writers, which we shall set downe, and offer to their considerations to thinke thereof as reason maie best moue them.

Giral. Camb.

Giraldus Cambrensis telleth, that in saint Patrike time flourisheth saint Bide the virgine, and saint Colme, which two, with the same Patrike, were buried in Dolone (as in the Scottish historie ye maie find) and (as the same Giraldus saith) their three bodies were found there hozilie after the conquest. Sir John Contweie being president of Ulster, in viewing the sepulture, testified to haue seene three principall towels, which were then translated, as honourable monuments worthy to be preferred. Of saint Colme it is doubted in what age he liued. Bideget, otherwise called Bide, was base daughter to one Dubtactus, a capteine in Leinster, who perceiving the mother with child, sold hir secretlie (fearing the gealousie of his wife) to an Irish Deet, reseruing to himselfe the fruit of hir wombe. She was there deliuered of this Bideget, whome the Deet trained bp in learning, and vertuous education, and at length brought hir home to hir father.

Deet, that is, Magus in Latine, or (as we may say) a magician or sorcerer in English, An. Dom. 439.

The estimation wherein the was had.

The king of Leinster.

The damsell also was instructed in the faith by saint Patrike, that preached then in those quarters, whereupon she became so religious and ripe in iudgement, that not onlie the multitude of people, but also a whole synod of bishops assembled nere to Dublin to heare hir aduise in weightie causes, such estimation they had of hir. One fact of hir being yet a child, made hir famous. The king of Leinster had giuen to hir father Dubtactus as a token of his good liking towards him for his valiant seruice, a rich sword, the furniture whereof was garnished with manie costlie iewels. And as it chanced, the damsell visiting the sicke neighbours dinnerlie distressed for want of necessarie reliefe (hir father being a sterne man, and his ladie a cruell she-w) she could deuise no other shift to helpe to releue the want of those poore and needie people, but to impart the same iewels of that idle sword among them. This matter was heinouslie taken, and being brought to the kings eares, it chanced that hozilie after he came to a banquet in hir fathers house, and calling the maid asote him that was not yet past nine yerres of age, he asked hir how she durst presume to deface the gift of a king in such wise as she had don this? She answered that the same was bestowed vpon a better king than he was, whom (quoth she) finding in such extremitie, I would haue giuen all that my father hath, and all that you haue, yea your selues too, all, were ye in my power to giue, rather than Christ should starue. She professed virginittie, and allured other noble yong damselfs vnto hir fellowship, with whome she continued in hir owne monastrie, where she was first professed, untill the yeare of our Lord 500, and then departing this life, she was buried in Dolone in saint Patrikes towne.

She professed virginittie.

An. Dom. 500. Bideget departed this life.

A concordance of the four euangelists.

Conanus first an of war, and after a bishop. Abbat Brendan.

Giraldus Cambrensis reporteth of his owne knowledge, that among other monuments of hirs, there was found a concordance of the four euangelists, seeming to be written with no mortal hand, beautified with myrrour pictures in the margin, the colours and cunning workmanship whereof at the first blush appeared darke and nothing delectable, but in the heedfull view of the diligent beholder vertie liue and wonderfull artificiall. Conanus that was first a souldier, succeeded saint Patrike in the see of Armagh, after he had certeine yerres followed the warres. Brendan abbat at the age of ten yerres was of such incomparable holinesse (as they saie) and therewith so wise and learned, that his father and mother, thinking themselves to haue gained the most worthy fruit that might inue of their marriage, by

mutuall consent professed continencie, and abandoned matrimoniall companie. He flourished in the daies of saint Bideget, and liued in familiar societie with saint Arons the bishop, and Fintan the abbat.

Hadoc abbas Conan of noble parentage taken prisoner by the king of Temore, and kept in his court with diuerse yong men his scholefellows, openlie adured the king to licence him and them to depart, that they might serue God as they were accustomed, the which being now kept in sunder and restrained of libertie, they were forced to discontinue. Whereupon immediatlie they were dismissed. He died bishop of Fernes, and laid the foundation of that burrow. His successor Melingus, although he was bishop, gaue himselfe yet to voluntarie labour, and with his owne hands desiered and brought a running spring to his monastrie, induring that trouble daily after praier and studie for the space of eight yerres together.

Fintan abbat was had in such reuerence, that whereas Colme king of Leinster kept Conmake the kings son of Tensill prisoner, he went boldlie with twelue of his disciples through the pzease of all the souldiers, and in sight of the king was suffered to baptize the yong prince. For the Irish are not sterne against those of whom they haue conceived an opinion of holinesse. I remember (saith our author) that Cambrensis writeth himselfe merillie to haue objected to Porice then archbishop of Cashill, that Irel and in so manie hundred yerres had not brought forth one martyr. The bishop answered pleasantlie (alluding to the late dispatching of Thomas archbishop of Canturburie) Our people (quoth he) notwithstanding their other enozmities, yet haue spared euery the blood of vertuous men. Marie now we are delinered to such a nation that is well acquainted with making martyrs, so that from henceforth I trust no complaint shall need for want of martyrs. Palachias was borne in Armagh of a noble progenie, brought bp in vertue by the example of his mother, and trained forth in learning, professed greatlie in deuotion: so that being yet but a verie babe, he was espied diuerse times to steale awate from his companions to praie in secret. He was so graue and modest, that of himselfe he chose the most graue and seuer scholemaister, refusing an excellent cleerke, because he saw him somewhat lightlie demeaning himselfe at game. In the beginning of his youtie full yerres, he became the disciple of Imarius an old recluse, whose auerittie of conuersation the whole towne had in great reuerence. Where he became a deacon, and at five and twentie yerres a priest.

The archbishop, for the same and the opinion of his worthinesse, receiued him to be assistant to him in office, in the which he so behaued himselfe, that he reformed superstitions, and reuined the force of religion, namelie in the vniuersitie of their church seruice, wherein before time they tarred. The famous monastrie of Banchor he reedified of the patrimonie and legacies by his vnckle left him. The same monastrie was of old time gouerned by Congellus, and after him by Colimbannus the father of manie religious houses in France. This abbey being spoiled and nintie of his brethren murdered in one day by the prior, the possessions whereof being come to the hands of Palachias by his vnckles assignement, he restored forthwith, and advanced the foundation. At the age of thirtie yerres he was by canonicall election forced to accept the bishopricke of Conereth, a people of all the Irish then most savage and wild, whome with inestimable trauell he reclaimed from their beastlie maners. In the meane while died Celstis bishop of Armagh, after whome succeed

Hadoc.

Melingus.

Colme king of Leinster.

The answer of the archbishop of Cashill to Giraldus Cambrensis.

Palachias.

The monastrie of Banchor repaired.

Married bishop held the succession of one family, neither would the Irish haue had any other than of the house. For saint Bernard in his epistle to the pope, he saith and saith.

For lineall descent of bishops.

Palachias.

Discord betweene the king of Downe and his brother.

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ded Galachias at the age of eight and thirte peares. But before this, nere hand the space of two hundred peares together, a custome had crept into the countrie, that the metropolitane see was conferred vpon such bishops as were married, and were of the blood royal, in manner by way of inheritance. Wherefore Sigellus or Peale the next of kindred, animated by the parcialitie of some princes, and getting into his custodie the bible and staffe, and other monuments of saint Patrike, whereunto opinion of the common people tied the prelacie, came to his palace with a band of souldiours to haue slaine the bishop. When all the people wept and howled for his perill, he alone stepped into the bosome of his enemies, demanding what was their purpose? The bloudie souldiours letting fall their weapons, in stead of executing the pretended murder, fell to reuerence him, and at length departed from him as friends.

Thise peares he sat in the primasie rather to discontinue the horrible corruption before used, than with intent to settle himselfe there. After he had removed the abuse, he procured Blasius to succeed him in the archbishops see, and he returned to his former see of Downe, to the which as then was annexed the bishopricke of Coner. But Galachias vnderstanding that in times past they were six seuerall sees, he diuided them againe, and ordeined an other to the bishopricke of Coner, desirous rather to lessen his cure than to enlarge the fruits by taking more charge vpon him. Galachias being demanded of his brethren the monkes of Benchor, where and when he would wish to die and to be buried, if it late in his choice? He answered: If in Ireland, beside the bodie of saint Patrike: if beyond the seas, at Clareuale where saint Barnard was then resident, and in the feast of Allsoules. He purposed within few daies to sue to pope Eugenius for increase of the number of metropolitans, which request was shortly after accomplished. And in this viage which he thus made, he staid at Clareuale, and there diuerse times openlie foreshewed, that the yeare of his departure forth of this world was come; and accordingly when he had taken leaue of saint Barnard and the brethren, he went downe from his chamber to the church and there did communicat. Which done, he returned to his lodging, and there on Allsoules daie in the yeare of his age 54 he gaue vp the ghost, so mildly and quietlie, that it seemed rather a sleepe than a death.

Galchus, though borne in Ireland, yet he spent the most part of his time in the monastrie of Winchester in England, and from thence was taken and admitted bishop of Lismore. Saint Barnard remembreth of him, by occasion he cited a lunatique child in confirming, else (as they termed it) in bishopping him. This miracle scene and confessed by manie hundreds of people, was blowne through the world. The same time happened discorde betwixt the king of Mounster and his brother, and as the matter was handled, the king was overmatched and fled into England, where he visited Galchus in his abbeie, and would by no meanes depart from him; but remained there vnder his rule and government, so long as it pleased God to denie him quiet returne into his countrie: he contented himselfe with a poore cell, used bathie to bath himselfe in cold water, to allwaie the wanton motions of his flesh, and for his diet receiued none other delicats than bread, water, and salt, day and night, sobbing and bewailing with great remorse of conscience his former incontinent life. At length the other kings and people of Ireland began to repine at the usurper, set vpon him with open war, vanquished him in a pitch field, and called home the rightfull prince his brother

again, to resume his kingdome, who with manie earnest persuasions of Galchus and of Galachias could vneth be brought to forsake that trade of life and companie, the which he had with such delectation inured himselfe vnto.

Thus far of the Irish saints. Of the which, as some of them are to be esteemed right vertuous and godlie men, so other of them are to be suspected as persons rather holie by the superstitious opinion of the people, than indued with anie such knowledge of true godlinesse and sincere religion, as are worthy to be registred in the number of those that of right ought to passe for saints, as by certeine late writers may appeare. But this we leaue to the iudgement of the aduised reader, for that in such matters we mind not to preiudice anie mans opinion, but onelie with the reader to take heed how he giueth credit to that which oftentimes is found written by authors touching feigned miracles, and other vaine superstitious dealings, wherethrough manie zealous persons haue often bene deceived. Now therefore to leaue saints, and returne to other matters touching the Irish historie. In the yeare 586: the Norwegians had got dominion ouer the Islands in the north-west ocean called the Isles of Orkneye, and scowred the seas, that none other nation durst vneth appeare in sight for dread of them. A people giuen greatlie to seeke the conquests of other realmes, as they that could not faile to find more warme and fruitful places for to inhabit than their owne. These hot fellows chanced to light into Ireland by this meanes. Careticus the king of Britaine ran into such hatred of his people, that they raised warres against him. The Saxons that possessed now six seuerall kingdomes in the Ile of Britaine, reioiced not a litle at this ciuill discorde betwixt the Britaine king and his subiects.

Wherevpon meaning to make a full conquest of the Britains, & utterly to expell them forth of all the Ile, he assembled their powers, & ioined to the same Curmundus, a notable rouer of the Norwegians, who hauing at all times a naule in a readinesse, and men to furnish it, holpe the Saxons to chase the Britains into the marches of Wales. For from thence (being retired into the mountains and woods) they could not drue them. This Curmundus (as some thinke) builded at the same time the towne of Curmondchester, and after being assisted by the Saxons, made a viage into Ireland, where he sped not greatlie to his desire, and therefore the Irish account not this for anie of their conquests, as some of their antiquaries informed our author. Curmundus therefore finding but forie successe, built a few slight castles and forts in the frontiers, and so left the land, and sailed from thence into France, where at length he was slaine. Our chronicles in deed name him king of Ireland; but the Irish affirme that before Turgesius, there was none of the easterne people that obtained dominion in their countrie.

Giraldus Cambrensis to make the matter whole (a Gods name) thinketh Turgesius to haue conquered the land, as lieutenant or deputie vnder Curmundus. But this being granted, there ariseth a more manifest contradiction than the former: for he himselfe numb'reth betwixt Laogtrius king of Ireland that liued in the yeare foure hundred and thirte, and Columding, whome Turgesius vanquished, 33 monarchs, whose reigns comprehended foure hundred peares, so that Turgesius liued in the yeare after the incarnation eight hundred and thirte. When it is so plaine that he could not haue anie doings with Curmundus, who ioined with the Saxons against Careticus, in the yeare six hundred foure score and six. This knot (saith our author) might be untwisted

Fox, Bale.

586 The Norwegians scowre the seas, and inuade the Isles of Orkneye.

They inuade Ireland.

Curmundus an archpirat of the nation of Norware.

Campion.

Turgesius.

Laogtrius, 430

The doubt resolved.

Galachias held the see of Downe, and was one of the first that had anie other than of the house.

For inuall present of his brother.

Galchus.

Discord betwixt the king of Mounster and his brother.

The sundrie inuasions of Ireland.

butted more facilitie thus. Curmundus made much of that little he got, and wrote himselfe king, which title our histories doe allow him, because he made the wale plaine, intred it a while, and set open the gate vnto his countreymen. Turgesius atchieued the whole exploit, and brought it to perfection, and in these respects either of them may be called king and conqueror of Ireland.

Turgesius
what he did.

He buildeth
fortresses.

Turgesius
being in
the and there
he perished.

Malaghlil
king of
Ulster.

The policie of
Malaghlil
king.

Turgesius therefore with his Norwegians the second time inuaded Ireland, sustained diuerse losses and overthrowes: but in the end fortifying himselfe by the sea coasts, & receluting thereby his friends at his pleasure, waxed so strong that he subdued the whole Ile, still erecting castles and fortresses as he wan ground, so to maister the Irish that with such manner of strengthe of wals and rampires had not as yet bene acquainted: for till those daies they knew no defense but woods, bogs, or strokes. Turgesius so subdued the Irish kings, and kept them in awe, that without interruption he reigned like a conqueror thirte yeres. He cried hauocke & spoile where anie rich preie was to be had, sparing neither those of the laitie nor of the clergie, neither church nor chapell, abusing his victorie verie insolentlie. Malaghlil king of Metch was in some trust with the tyrant. His onelie daughter Turgesius craved for his concubine. The father hauing a readie wit, and watching his time, began to breake with Turgesius in this wise: Hauing your fanse my lord (quoth he) there are diuerse ladies of bloud in this countrie meete befallowes for a king than that browne gristle: and therewith he began to reckon vp a number of his neeces and cousines, indowd (as he set them forth) with such singular beautie, as they seemed rather angels than mortall creatures. The tyrant as it were rauished, and doting in loue of those perelous pieces befoze he saw them, by reason of such exceedingly praises as he thus heard of them, doubted yet least Malaghlil extolled them to preterue his daughter out of his hands: and the subtil father clocked his wit with modest behauior, lingering time to inflame the leachers follie, as he that witheld anie thing more to be suspected, than that which he meant most earnestlie to bring to passe.

At length, when Turgesius seemed to take his dealing thus of time somewhat displeasentlie, he vsed this or the like speech: If I should saie (quoth he) that I gaue you my sole daughter with goodwill to be deuoured, your high wisdom would some ghesse that I did but flatter you; and yet if ten daughters were deerer to me than your good pleasure and contentation, by whose bountifull goodnes both she, & I, and we all are supported, I were unworthie that secret and nere friendship wherein it liketh you to vse me. As for the twench, it will be in part honorable for hir to be requited to the bed of such a prince, sith queenes haue not sticked to come from farre, and yeld the vse of their bodies to noble conquerors, in hope by them to haue issue. And howsoeuer it be taken, time will weare it out, and redeme it; but such a friend as you are to me and mine, neither I nor mine shall liue to see. And verelie I meane not to hazard your displeasure, if it were for a greater matter than the value of twentie maidenheads; seeing fathers haue not sticked to giue vp their owne wiues to quench the lusts of their sons. Therefore am I thus agreed, name the daie and place, separat your selfe from the view of your court, conferre with those that haue a deintie insight, & skillfull eyes in discerning beauties; I will send you my daughter, & with hir the choise of twelue or sixtene gentlewomen, the meanest of the which may be an emperesse in comparison. When they are before you, make your game as you like, and then if my child please your fantastic bitt, she is not

to good to be at your commandement: onelie my request is, that if anie other shall presume vpon your leanings, your maiestie will remember whose child she is.

This liberall proffer was of Turgesius accepted (whose desire was most insatiable) with manie good words, thanks, & faire promises. To be short, the same daie Malaghlil put his daughter in prince-like apparell, attired after the trimmest wise, and with hir sixtene proper yong men beautifull and amiable to behold: and so being sent to the king were presented vnto him in his priue chamber, hauing none about him but a few dissolute youthfull persons; wherupon those disguised yong striplings drew forth from vnder their long womanish garments their sheins, and valiantlie bestirring themselves, first stabbed their weapons points through the bodie of the tyrant, and then serued all those youths that were about him with the like saluoe, they making small or no resistance at all. The byrte of this murder was quicklie blowne abroad through all Ireland: and the princes readie to catch hold on such advantage, rose in armes with one assent, in purpose to deliuer themselves from bondage, and recover libertie.

All Metch and Leinster were speedilie got together, resorting vnto Malaghlil the author of this practise, who lightlie leapt to horse, and commending their forward redinesse in so naturall a quarell, said: My lords and friends, this case neither admitteth delay, nor requireth policie; hart and hast is all in all. Whilist the matter is fresh and greene, and that some of our enemies lie still and sleepe, some lament, some curse, some are togither in counsell, and all the whole number dismaied: let vs present their furie, dismember their force, cut off their sight, seise vpon their places of refuge and succour. It is no victorie to plucke their feathers, but to breake their necks; not to chase them in, but to rotte them out; to weed them, not to rake them; not to tread them downe, but to rot them vp. This lesson the tyrant himselfe did teach me. I once demanded of him as it were in a parable, by what good husbandrie the land might be rid of certaine rauening foules that annoied it. He aduised vs to watch where they bred, and to fire their nests about their eares. So we then vpon these conuizants which shewd themselves in our possessions, and let vs so destruye them, that neither nest nor roost, neither seed nor stalke, neither branch nor stumpe shall remaine of this inuagations generation. Scarce had he ended his tale, but that with great shoutes and clamours they extolled the king, as defender of their liues and liberties; assuring them both of their hold and hardie stomachs and speedfull expedition loosened with their confederats, and with a running campe swept euerie corner of the land, rased the castles to the ground, chased awaie the strangers, slue all that abode baffell, ech man recovering his owne, with the state of gouernment.

Thus in effect haue the Irish writers reported of Turgesius a Norwegian, whether he did reigne befoze the supposed time of Curmund, or whether that he came thither as lieutenant to him: which if it shuld be true, no doubt the same Curmund was some king of the Danes, or Norwegians, and not of the Africans (as some of our countreymen name him.) Which error is some committed, in taking one heathenish nation for another, as those men haue done that haue named the Hungarians (when they did inuade Gallia befoze they were christians) Saracens. And so likewise might that author (whosoener he was) whome Geffrie of Monmouth followeth, finding Curmund written to be a king of the miscrants, mistake the Norwegians for Africans, be-

The like
practise
by Alexander
son to Darius
king of
Persia
against the
Grecians
ballad in
Cato's
fol. 127.

The priuie
son of
Malaghlil.

Saxo Gram.
Alber. Crantz.

Fridlenus.

Dublin be-
sieged.

Dublin set on
fire, and won
by the Danes.

Frotho the
third.

Calrops
drawes by
the Irish to
annale the
Danes.

Kernill go-
uernour of
Irishmen
Gaine.

The fundrie inuasions of Ireland.

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cause both those nations were infidels: and therefore
sith happilie the Affricans in the daies when that au-
thor liued, bare all the hute aboue other heathenish
nations then, as the Turks do now, he named them
Affricans. Whosoeuer it was, certeine it is that
the Danes or Norwegians made fundrie inuasions
into Ireland, and that at severall times. But for
Turgesius, whether he were an absolute king, or
but a lieutenant of some armie, vnder some other
king named Gurmound, or peradventure Gormo,
(as such names are soon corrupted) I cannot affirme,
because that no certeine time is set downe in the
chronicles which are writtten of those nations, where-
by they may be so reconciled togither, as sufficeth to
warrant anie likelie conecture in this behalfe.

But if I should saie (with the readers licence) what
I thinke, this Gurmound whatsoeuer he was, made
no such conquest of Ireland, nor of this our Ile of
Britaine (as by some writers is supposed) but yet
might he peradventure land in Wales, and either in
fauor of the Saxons then enemies to the Britons, or
in hatred of the chrisstian name persecute by cruell
wars the British nation, and vse such crueltie as the
heathenish nations then were accustomed to practise
against the chrisstians in all places where they came,
and chanced to haue the vpper hand. The chiefest
cause that moueth me to doubt thereof, is for that I
find not in anie of our approued ancient English
writers, as Beda, Malmesburie, Huntingdon, Houe-
den, or such like, anie plaine mention made of him;
whereby I may be thoroughlie induced to credit that
which I find in Geffrie Monmouth and others reco-
ded of him, except his name be misfaken, and so
thereby some error crept in, which I am not able to
resolue.

But sith we are entred to speake thus farre of
the Norwegians, here by the waie I haue thought
it not impertinent to the purpose of this Irish histo-
rie, to write what we find recorded in the chronicles
of those northerne regions, Denmarke, Norweie,
and Sweden, writtten by Saxo Grammaticus, Al-
bertus Crantz, and others, concerning the fundrie in-
uasions made by the Danes, Norwegians, or Nor-
mans (whether we list to call them) into Ireland.
Fridele or Frideleus king of Denmarke that suc-
ceeded Dan the third of that name, surnamed the
Swift, arraiuing in Ireland, besieged the citie of
Dublin, & perceiuing by the strength of the walles,
that it would be an hard matter to win it by plaine
force of hand without some cunning policie, he deu-
ised to catch a sort of swallows that had made their
nests in the houses within the towne, tied wild fier
to their wings, and therewith cast them vp, and su-
fered them to flie their waies, whereupon they com-
ming to their nests, set the houses on fier, which whiles
the citizens went about to quench, the Danes entred
the citie and wan it.

Secondlie, Frotho king of Denmarke, the third
of that name, after he had subdued the Britons here
in this Ile, made a voiage into Ireland also, where
he landed with some danger: for the Irishmen had
strawed all alongest the shore a great number of cal-
trops of iron, with sharpe prickes standing vp, to
wound the Danes in the feet, as they should come
forth of their ships to follow them, for they meant to
slee of a pretended policie for that purpose. But Fro-
tho perceiuing their deceitfull craft, followed them
more aduisedlie than rashlie, and so put their cap-
taine named Heruill to fight, and slue him in the
field; whose brother remaining in life, & mistrusting
his owne puillance, yielded himselfe to Frotho, who
diuiding the preie amongst his souldiers and men of
warre, shewed thereby that he onelie sought for glo-
rie and not for gaine, reseruing not a pennie of all

the spoile to his owne vse. After this, in the daies of
king Frotho the fourth of that name, which reigned
ouer the Danes, one Starcater a giant, in compa-
nie of Haco a Danish capteine, made a tourne like
wise into Ireland, where in the same season, one
Huglet reigned as monarch ouer that Ile: who ha-
uing plentie of treasure, was yet so giuen to coue-
tousnesse, that by such vnprincipellie parts as he plaib,
to satisfie his greedie desire to fill his coffers, he be-
came right odious, and farre out of all fauor with his
subiects. Yet there were of his nobles, verie valiant
and worthie men, namelie two, Gegathus, & Sulb-
dauus: whereupon, when it came to passe that he
should soine in battell with his enemies the Danes,
the most part of all his people fled out of the field, so
that Gegath and Sulbdaue were in maner left a-
lone. For they regarding their honoz and dutie that
appertained to men of their calling, would not flie,
but manfullie did what laie in their powers to beat
backe the enemies, insomuch that Gegathus raught
Haco such a wound, that the vpper part of his liver
appeared bare. He also wounded Starcater in the
head right sore, so that in all his life daies, he had not
before that time receiued the like hurt: in the end
yet Huglet the monarch of Ireland was slaine, and
Starcater obtaining the victorie, did make great
slaughter of the Irish subiects, the which had followed
their king to this battell, being men (thorough his
corrupt example and slothfull trade of life) degene-
rat from all warlike order and vse of manlike exer-
cise.

After this, the Danes went vnto Dublin, which
towne they easilie toke, and found such store of ri-
ches and treasure therein, that euerie man had so
much as he could wish or desire; so as they needed not
to fall out among themselves for the partition, sith
there was so much for each mans share as he could
conuenientlie carrie awaie. Thus hath Saxo Gram-
maticus writtten in effect of Starcaters comming
into Ireland: of whome the Danish writers make
such mention, both for his huge stature and great
manhood. Some haue thought, that Starcater was
the verie same man which the Scots name Finma-
cole, of whome in the Scottish historie we haue made
mention: but whereas the Scottish writers affirme
that he was a Scottish man bozne in Castland, among
the people called Ossones. Reignirus the sonne of
Silwardus the second king of Denmarke, hauing
achieued fundrie victozies in England and Scotland,
and subdued the Isles of Orkney, he passed likewise
into Ireland, slue Helbricke king of that land, and
toke the citie of Dublin by siege, where he remained
the whole tearme of twelue moneths before he de-
parted from thence.

After this, Gormo the third of that name king
of Denmarke, although an infidell himselfe, and a
cruell persecutor of the chrisstian religion, yet toke to
wife a chrisstian ladie named Thira, daughter to C-
thelzed king of England, who had issue by him two
sonnes Inaught, or Canute, and Harold, prouing
men of high ballancie and notable prowesse, inso-
much that after the atchieuing of diuerse worthie vic-
tozies against the enemies neare home, they made a
voiage into England, not sparing to inuade the do-
minions of their grandfather king Cthelzed: who
rather reioissing, than seeming to be offended with
those manlike enterprizes of his cousins, proclaimed
them his heires to succeed after him in all his lands
and dominions, although of right the same were to
descend first vnto their mother Thira. The yong
men being incouraged with their grandfather his
bountifull magnificence, attempted the inuasion of
Ireland, where at the siege of Dublin, Canute or
Inaught

Frotho the fourth.

Starcater a giant.

Huglet king of Ireland.

Gegathus & Sulbdaue.

Haco wounded.

Starcater wounded.

Huglet slaine.

Dublin won.

Reignirus.

Helbricke king of Ire-land slaine.

Gormo the third of that name king of Denmarke. He marrieth Thira daughter to Cthelzed king of England. Canute and Harold.

They inuade Ireland. Canute is slaine.

Saxo Gram-
maticus.

Frideleus.

Dublin be-
sieged.

Dublin set on
fire, and won
by the Danes.

Frotho the
third.

Caltrops
drawn by
the Irish to
annoy the
Danes.

Heruill go-
uernour of
Irishmen
slaine.

The fundrie inuasions of Ireland.

Wrought the elder brother was shot into the bodie with an arrow, and died of the wound: howbeit his death was kept close by his owne commandement given befoze he died, till his people had got the citie into their possession. But the gaine was small in respect of the losse, which was thought to rebound vnto the whole Danish nation by the death of that noble young gentleman Canute, who for his high prowesse and valiance was most tenderlie beloued of all men; but namelie of his father king Gormo, inso-

much that he swore to kill him with his owne hands, whosoever should first tell him newes of his death. This Gormo was now a man far stricken in age, and blind; hauing small soie of anie worlde pleasures, otherwile than to heare of the welfare and prosperous proceedings of his sonnes. When therefore his wife queene Thira had perfect aduertisement of his sonnes death, and that neither she nor anie other durst breake the matter vnto his husband, she deuised a shift how to signifie that vnto him by outward signes, which by word of mouth she was afraid to expresse, as thus. She caused morning apparell to be made for his husband, & putting off his roiall robes, clad him therewith, and other things appertaining to moyners she also put about him, and prepared all such furniture and necessaries as were used for funerall exequies, witnessing the lamentable grieve conceiued for the losse of some friend, with that kind of morning weed and funerall ceremonies. Which when Gormo perceiued: Who is me (saith he) you then signifie the death of my sonne Canute. Where- to she made answer, that he and not she did discouer the truth of that which was meant by those morning garments; and with that speech ministred cause of his husbands death, whereby she became presentlie a widow, not openlie moyning for his sonne, befoze she moyned likewise for his husband: for he took such grieve for Canutes death, that immediatlie he died thorough sorow and dolor: so as Thira was thus dauen to lament, as well the death of his sonne, as of his husband both at once. But now to the purpose of the Irish historie.

We haue thus partlie heard what the Danish writers do record in their histories, touching the conquests which their people made in Ireland; but whether the same be meant of that which goeth befoze, or rather of that which followeth, touching the trade which the Norwegians merchants used thither; or whether the Irish writers haue passed these iournies ouer with silence, which the Danish writers in forme (as befoze is toucht) do make mention of, I cannot affirme. But like it is that as the Danes, or Norwegians, whether you will call them, did inuade Ireland as well as England, France, and Scotland, in those daies according to the report of their writers, and that by waie of open warre as well to conquer the countrie, as to take preies, prisoners, and booties, and not for trade of merchandize onelie: albeit that they might peraduenture so get entrie at the first, as by the Irish histories it should seeme they did shortly after the slaughter of Turgesius. And afterwards when they saw themselves settled, and perceiued that they began to grow to be enuied of their Irish neighbours, who thereupon would not sticke to molest them as occasions serued, they saw no better meane to assure themselves against their aduersaries, than to send vnto their countrymen, which in those daies roured abroad (as befoze I haue said) in euerie quarter of this our west ocean, waiting for oportunitie to aduance their conquests in each countrie where anie thing might be gotten. And so this mate agre vnto well with the Irish writers, whom as I do not take vpon me to controll, but rather to report the storie as I find it by them written, I will

proceed with the order which they follow. After the countrie was deliuered of the tyrannie wherewith it was oppressed by the same Turgesius & his people, Danes or Norwegians whether they were (for so Cambrensis esteemeth them) the Irish deliuered of seruile bondage, fell to their old wonted habit, in persecuting each other: and hauing latelie defaced their fortified towne and castles, as receptacles and couerts for the enimie, all sides laie more open to receiue harme.

This being perceiued and thoroughlie considered, the princes that in the late rule of Turgesius had espied some towardnesse to wealth & ease, fell in hand to discourse the madnesse & follie of their ancestors, which saw not the vse of that which their enimies abused: they began to loze their vniuersal trade of life, to with either lesse discord, or more strength in each mans dominion; to cast the danger of naked countries, readie to call in the enimies, as the strength of forts & castles was a meane to preserve them from losse. If aine would they haue provided remedie in this case, if they had knowne how. The former suggestion, though it seemed intollerable, yet they felt therein proceeding steps towards peace. The gaine that rose of merchandize, rest and suertie to the whole estate of the countrie. For the difference was great betwixt the inuaders of the two nations, Norwegians and Irish. The first knew the waie to thriue, might they get some commodious seats and soile. The other had commodities plentie, and cared not for them.

While the princes and potentats staied vpon such a good consideration, certein merchants of Norwate, Denmarke, and of other those parties, called *Ostmanni*, or (as in our vulgar language we learne them) *Gasterlings*, because they lie East in respect of vs, although indeed they are by other named properlie *Norrmans*, and partlie *Saxons*, obtained licence safelie to arrive here in Ireland with their wares, and to bitter the same. Hereupon the Irish, thorough traffike & bartering with these *Norrmans* or *Danes* (for so they are called also in our English chronicle) by exchanging of wares and monie, finding them ciuill and tractable, and delisting also with gaine conceits, brought into them by those merchants (such as till they saw them they neuer esteemed needfull) they began to enter into a desire that a trade might be open betwixt them & the other nations, whereupon to allure other, they licenced these merchant strangers to build (if they thought good) haue towne in places most commodious. This was no sooner granted, than begun, and with speed finished.

Amilanus founded Waterford; Sutaricus, Limerike; Quorus, Dublin; and so by others diuers other towne were built as leisure serued. When by the helpe and counsell of these men, manie castles, forts, temples, and churches, euerie where were repaired. And thus are the Irish mingled also with the blood of the Danes, Norwegians, or *Norrmans*, who from thenceforth continually stocked into Ireland, to the great commoditie of the inhabitants, lining amongst them obedientlie, till wealth pricked and moued them to raise rebellion: but they could not haue holden out, had not the conquest insuing determined both their quarrels. In the meane while they became lords of the hauens and burrow towne, planted men of warre in the same, and oftentimes skirmished with their aduersaries; but yet measured their fortune with indifferent gaires, and crept no higher than the same would giue them leaue. Whelie a memorie is left of their field in Clontars, where diuerse of the Irish nobilitie were slaine, that lie buried befoze the crosse of Kilmastinam. These are by our authoz, not without good iudgement, reported to be Danes,

The policie of Thira to signifie to his husband the death of their sonne Canute.

Gormo dieth of sorow.

The severall names of the strangers which in these daies called France, England, Scotland and Ireland.

The Gasterlings which will be called Norrmans.

Harinus was the great king of the north of Ireland.

Gasterlings began to trade into Ireland.

They built towne on the sea coast.

Waterford, Limerick, Dublin.

The merchants stirred up rebellion.

The field of Clontars.

Danes they called the Conquerors of Ireland. The huge rebellion by commandment about Scotland. The great of the fogith indeed there the late from there would from London was by some and rethome that is Regem name else to be riter, allowa

No

The sundrie inuasions of Ireland.

59

Danes, which people then being pagans, sore afflicted England, and after that France, from whence they came againe into England with William Conqueror. So that those people called *Ostomanni*, *Csterlings*, *Normans*, *Danes*, *Swedes*, *Bozwegians*, & *Suedeners*, are in effect all one nation, borne in that huge region called *Scandinavia*; and as it appeareth by conference of times and chronicles, much about one season, vered the Frenchmen, afflicted Scotland, subdued England, and multiplied in Ireland. But in the yeare of Christ 1095, perceiving great enuie to remaine and lurke in the distinction of the names *Casterlings* and *Irish*, that were altogether westerne; and the *Casterlings* not easterne indeed, but rather simple northerne: in consideration thereof, and because they magnified themselves in the late conquest of their countreymen, who from *Normandie* comming over into England ruled there at their pleasure, these strangers in Ireland would algate now be also called and accounted *Normans*.

Long before this time (as ye have heard) Ireland was befolwed into two principall kingdomes, and sometime into more, whereof one was ever elected and reputed to be chiefe, and as it were a monarch, whome in their histories they name *Maximum regem*, that is, the greatest king, or else without addition, *Regem Hibernie*, the king of Ireland: the other they name *Reguli* or *Reges*, that is to wit, small kings or else kings, by limiting the places whereof they were to be reputed kings, as of *Leinster*, *Connagh*, *Ulster*, *Mounster*, or *Weth*. To the monarch, besides his allowance of dominion, titles of honor, and other pri-

uileges in iurisdiction, there was granted to him a negatiue in nomination of bishops, when they were vacant: for the cleargie and laetic of the diocesse commended one, whom they thought conuenient vnto the king, the king to the monarch, the monarch to the archbishop of Canturburie: for that as yet the metropolitans of Ireland had not receiued their palles.

In this sort was nominated to the bishopricke of Dublin then void, in the yeare of Christ 1074, at the petition of Godertius king of Leinster, by suffrage of the cleargie and people there, with the assent of Terdenatus the monarch, a learned prelat called Patricius, whome Lanfranke of Canturburie consecrated in Pauls church at London, and swore him to obedience after the manner of his ancestors. Christian bishop of Lismore, legat to Eugenius the third, summoned a prouinciall councell in Ireland, wherein were authorized foure metropolitans, Armagh, Dublin, Cathill, and Tuene; of the which places were bishops at that present, *Celastus*, *Gregorius*, *Donatus*, *Edonius*. For hitherto though they yielded a primacie to the bishop of Armagh in reuerence of saint Patrike the first bishop there: yet the same was but of good will, and confirmed rather by custome than by sufficient decree; neither did that archbishop take vpon him to inuest other bishops, but sent them to Canturburie (as before is mentioned) which from henceforth they vsed not to do, inso much that the next bishop named Laurence, sometime archbishop of saint Beuins in Scotland, was ordered and installed at home by *Celastus* primate of Armagh.

The power of the monarch in election of bishops.

Godertius king of Leinster.

Terdenatus the monarch Patricius consecrated bishop of Dublin by Lanfranke.

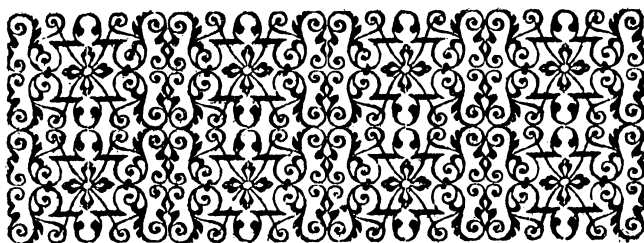
1152 Christian bishop of Lismore.

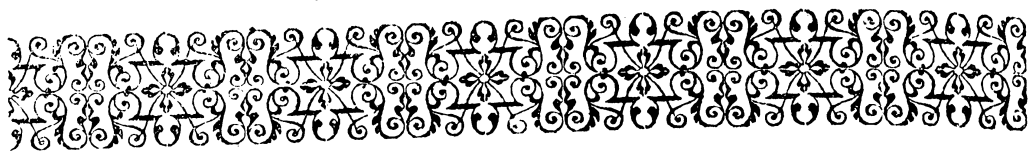
Foure metropolitans in Ireland. The bishop of Armagh.

Laurence archbishop of saint Beuins. 1162

FINIS.

Not well vnderstanding what the writer of this part of the Irish historie ment to fall vpon so blunt a conclusion; but supposing it was vpon some reasonable inducement: we thought it conuenient to leaue it as we found it: intending (without anie addition herevnto) to set downe the conquest of Ireland, as the same was left recorded by Girald of Cambria: whose prefaces and historie, right worthie the reading, doo immediatlie follow.





The names of the gouernors, lieutenants, lord iustices, and deputies of Ireland, since the conquest thereof by king Henrie the second.

The yeare of
our Lord.

1174



Richard Strangbow earle
of Penbroke gouernor,
hauing Reimond le
Grace ioined in com-
mission with him.

1177

Reimond le Grace lieute-
nant by himselfe.

William Fitz Aldelme
lieutenant, hauing Iohn de Curcie, Robert
Fitz Stephans, and Miles Cogan ioined in
commision with him.

Hugh Lacie lieutenant.

1182 Iohn Lacie constable of Chester } gouernors.
and Richard de Peché

Hugh Lacie againe lieutenant.

Hugh Lacie the yoonger, lord iustice.

1227 Henrie Loandoris archbishop of Dublin, lord
iustice.

1228 Maurice Fitzgiralde lord iustice.

1253 Iohn Fitzgeffreie knight, lord iustice.

Alain de la Zouch lord iustice.

1258 Stephan de Long Espel lord iustice.

William Deane lord iustice.

1261 Sir Richard Rochell or Capell lord iustice.

1267 Dauid Barrie lord iustice.

1268 Robert Vfford lord iustice.

1269 Richard de Excester lord iustice.

1270 Iames lord Audleie lord iustice.

1272 Maurice Fitzmaurice lord iustice.

Walter lord Genuille lord iustice.

Robert Vfford againe lord iustice.

1281 Fulborne bishop of Waterford lord iustice.
Iohn Samford the archbishop of Dublin, lord
iustice.

William Vescie lord iustice.

1295 William Dodingfels lord iustice.

Thomas Fitzmaurice lord iustice.

1298 Iohn Wogan lord iustice.

1314 Theobald Verdon lord iustice.

1315 Edmund Butler lord iustice.

1317 Roger lord Mortimer lord iustice.

Alexander Bignor archbishop of Dublin lord
iustice.

1319 Roger lord Mortimer second time lord iustice.

1320 Thomas Fitziohn earle of Kildare lord iustice.

1321 Iohn Birmingham earle of Louth lord iustice.

1323 Iohn lord Darcie lord iustice.

1327 Roger Outlaw prior of Kilmainan lord iustice.

Anthonie lord Lucie lord iustice.

1332 Iohn lord Darcie second time lord iustice.

1337 Iohn lord Charleton lord iustice.

1338 Thomas bishop of Hereford lord iustice.

1339 Iohn lord Darcie ordeined lord iustice by pa-
tent during his life, by Edward the third.
Rafe Vfford lord iustice.

1346 Robert Darcie lord iustice.

Iohn Fitzmaurice lord iustice.

Walter lord Bermingham lord iustice, his de-
puties were Iohn Archer prior of Kilmainan
& Baron Carew, with sir Thomas Rokesbie.

Maurice Fitzthomas earle of Desmond had
the office of lord iustice for terme of his life,
of king Edward the third his grant.

Thomas Rokesbie knight lord iustice.

1355

Almericke de saint Amand } appointed L. I. 1357

Iohn Butler earle of Ormond } by turnes.

Maurice Fitzth. earle of Kild.

Lionell duke of Clarence lord iustice.

1361

Gerald Fitzmaurice earle of Desmond L.I. 1367

William lord Windsor the first lieutenant in
Ireland. 1369

Richard Ashton lord iustice.

1372

Roger Mortimer } Iustices and lieutenants 1381

Philip Courneie. } speciallierecorded in Ri-

Iames erle of Orm. } chard the seconds daies.

Robert Vere earle of Oxford marques of Du-
blin created duke of Ireland.

Roger Mortimer earle of March lieutenant. 1394

Roger Mortimer earle of March and Vlster
lieutenant.

Roger Greie lord iustice.

Iohn Stanleie knight lord lieutenant.

Thomas of Lancaster brother to king Henrie 1401

the fourth lord lieutenant, whose deputies at
fundrie times were Alexander bishop of
Meth, Stephan Scrope knight, and the pri-
or of Kilmainan.

Iames Butler earle of Ormond lord iustice. 1403

Girald earle of Kildare lord iustice.

Iames Butler earle of Ormond, sonne to the 1407
foresaid Iames, lord iustice.

Iohn Stanleie againe lord lieutenant. 1413

Thomas Crauleie archbishop of Dublin lord
iustice.

Iohn lord Talbot of Sheffield lieutenant. 1414

Iames Butler erle of Ormond the second time 1420
lieutenant.

Edmund earle of March, Iames

earle of Ormond his deputie.

Iohn Sutton lord Dudleie, sir

Thomas Strange knight his

deputie.

Sir Thomas Stanleie, sir Chri-

stopher Plunket his deputie.

Lion lord Welles, the earle of

Ormond his deputie.

Iames erle of Ormond by him-

selfe.

Iohn earle of Shrewesburie, the

archbishop of Dublin in his

absence lord iustice.

Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, father to
king

Lieutenants
to king Hen-
rie the sixt.

The yeare of
our Lord.

1470

1546

1546, 1547

1548

1549

1550

1551

1553

1555

1556

1557

1558

king
lieu
pat
drie
cha
mo
dar
Thom
in k
the
Ge
ha
& r
Thom
Iohn
Thom
Henr
Sir R
Richa
Edw
his
Iasper

Sir
Sir E
lis,
Sir F
Sir V
Sir A
guy
Sir la
Sir A
Thom
Sir H
Doct
Sir H
arj
Thom
Sir V

L. deputies and iustices of Ireland.

61

king Edward the fourth, had the office of lieutenant by king Henrie the sixt his letters patents for ten yeares. His deputies at sundrie times were, the baron of Deluin, Richard Fitzestace knight, James earle of Ormond, and Thomas Fitzmoris earle of Kildare.

Thomas Fitzmoris earle of Kildare, lord iustice in king Edward the fourth his daies, vntill the third yeare of his reigne. After which George duke of Clarence brother to the K. had the office of lieutenant during his life, & made his deputies by sundrie times these:

Thomas earle of Desmond, } Deputies
John Tiptoft erle of Worcester, } to the duke
1470 Thomas earle of Kildare, } of Clarence.
Henrie lord Graie of Ruthine.
Sir Rouland Eustace lord deputie.
Richard duke of Yorke, yoonger sonne to king Edward the fourth, lieutenant.
Edward sonne to Richard the third lieutenant, his deputie was Girald earle of Kildare.
Isaper duke of Bedford and earle of Penbroke,

lieutenant, his deputie was Walter archbishop of Dublin.

Edward Poinings knight, lord deputie. 1494

Henrie duke of Yorke, after king by the name of Henrie the eight, lieutenant, his deputie Girald earle of Kildare.

Girald Fitzgirald earle of Kildare, lord deputie.

Thomas Howard earle of Surreie, after duke of Norfolk, lieutenant. 1520

Piers Butler earle of Ossorie, lord deputie. 1523

Girald Fitzgirald earle of Kildare againe lord deputie.

The baron of Deluin lord deputie.

Piers Butler earle of Ossorie againe lord deputie. 1529

William Skeffington knight, lord deputie.

Girald Fitzgirald earle of Kildare, againe lord deputie.

William Skeffington againe lord deputie.

Leonard lord Graie, lord deputie. 1534

Sir William Brereton knight, lord iustice. 1540

Sir Anthonie Sentleger knight, lord deputie. 1541

The names of all the lords deputies and iustices in Ireland,

since the death of king Henrie the eight 1546, who died in Januarie.

1546 Sir Anthonie Sentleger knight by patent, dated 24 Martij, Anno primo Edw. 6.

1546, 1547 Sir Edward Bellingham lord deputie, 22 Aprilis, Anno eodem.

1548 Sir Francis Brian lord iustice.

1549 Sir William Brabeston lord iustice.

1550 Sir Anthonie Sentleger lord deputie, 3. 4 Augusti.

1551 Sir James Crofts lord deputie, 29 Aprilis.

1553 Sir Anthonie Sentleger lord deputie, 1 Sept. 4.

1555 Thomas lord Fitzwalter lord deputie, 27 April.

1556 Sir Henrie Sidneie } Lords iustices.
Doctor Coren }

1556 Sir Henrie Sidneie lord iustice alone, 18 Ianuarij.

1557 Thomas erle of Suffex L. lieutenant, 19 Martij.

1558 Sir William Fitzwilliams lord iustice.

Thomas earle of Suffex lord deputie, 6 Maij. 1559

Sir Nicholas Arnold lord iustice. 1564

Sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie. 1565

5 Doctor Weston lord chancellor } 1567

5 Sir William Fitzwilliams } 1568

Sid Henrie Sidneie lord deputie. 1570

Sir William Fitzwilliams lord iustice. 1571

Sir William Fitzwilliams lord deputie, 11, 1571

Decemb. Anno 14 Elisab.

Sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie 3. 5 Augusti 3. 1572

Sir William Drurie lord iustice, 14 Septemb. 1579

by patent, 18 Maij. 1580

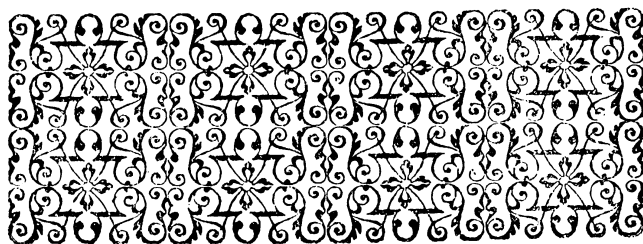
Sir William Pelham lord iustice. 1580

The lord Arthur Graie. 1582

5 Adam archbishop of Dublin } Lord iustices 1584

5 Sir Henrie Wallop }

Sir Iohn Perot lord deputie. 1584





TO THE RIGHT WOR- thie and honorable gentleman fir

Walter Raleigh knight, seneschall of the
duchies of Cornewall and Excester, and lord warden of the
stannaries in Deuon and Cornewall : Iohn Hooker
wisseth a long, a happie, and a prosperous life, with the
increase of honour.



Mong all the infinit good blessings, right honorable, which the Lord God hath bestowed vpon vs, I thinke none more expedient and necessarie, than the vse and knowledge of histories and chronicles : which are the most assured registers of the innumerable benefits and commodities, which haue and daileie doo grow to the church of God, and to the ciuill gouernment through out all nations. The vse of them began and was receiued euen from the first beginning, and immediatlie vpon the dispersing of the sonnes of Adam through out the world : for they were no sooner diuided into seuerall nations, but they did (as Cicero saith) make choise of some one man among themselves, who surpassed the rest in wisedom, knowledge and vnderstanding, *Ad quem confugiebant*. These kind of men for the most part in those daies were preests and philosophers, and for their great knowledge, wisedom and credit, had the charge to commend to their posteritie such notable and good acts as were wor-
thie the memorie. And as all other nations had such men, so the re-
more llands in the great Ocean had the like. For Britaine, now containing England, Scotland and Wales, had their Druides and Bardos, and Ireland had their Odalies or Rimers, who being verie wise men & of great credit, did deliuer all their saings in meeter, and were therefore called Poets. And these for the better alluring of the people to attention, and to frame them to the knowledge of vertue, did vse to sing with an instrument such les-
sons and instructions as they were wont to giue, whether it were concerning manners and common conuer-
sation, or matters of policie and gouernment, or of prowesse and martiall affaires, or of the gifts of their an-
cestors, or of anie other thing thought meet to be learned and worthie the knowledge, by which meanes they
made men the more apt, readie, and willing to applie themselves to vertue and to a commendable course of life,
both concerning God how he was to be honored, the magistrate how he was to be obeyed, & the common soci-
etie how it was to be conserued ; and finallie how the whole course of mans life was to be ordered and directed.
These and manie other like comodities when Cicero had considered, did grow by these means, which is the
verie substance of an historie : he described the same to be the witnesse of time, the light of truth, the life of
memorie, and the mistresse of life : willing and aduising euerie man at all times and in all matters to haue their
recourse to the same, and to be well exercised in the knowledge thereof, because the things past are set downe
therin, and by them a man may learne what to doo in the life to come. For as the wise man saith, There is nothing
new vnder the sunne : for the thing which is now hath bene, and by the things past we are taught the things
to come. And so saith Augustine : *Historia magis vel certe non minus pronuntiandis futuris, quam enuntiandis
preteritis inuenitur intenta*. Histories doo teach and aduertise vs as well of the things to come, as of the things
past : and the knowledge thereof is so no necessarie that Melancthon would haue no man to be vnlearned in hi-
stories, because *Sine qua nulla in re quispiam lucem habet*. And Thucidides the old ancient historiographer of
Grecia would that euerie man should haue about him a booke of histories, as a thing most necessarie for him in
all matters whatsoeuer : and this did he draw and learne (as it should seeme) from Moses, who when he had
faithfullie and diligentlie written and set downe the whole course of the world, the woonderfull works of God,
and all the most necessarie precepts and rules for mans life, either concerning matters of religion or causes of ci-
uill policies, or of common societie : then he and Iosua assembling all the people together, did deliuer vnto them
the whole Pentateuchon of Moses to be daileie read & taught, with a commandement that they should neuer haue
that booke out of their hands, but to haue alwaies their continuall recourse to them, as well for their life, as also
for their direction in all their causes. Which thing they did most diligentlie obserue and keepe, and not onelie in
matters of religion, but in all doubtfull matters, as to the most true oracles, they would make their recourse for
their full resolutions. As the enemies of Iehuda, when they saw the prosperous successe of the building of the
temple in the times of Ezras and Nehemias, and they much maligning the same, made sute to king Artaxerxes
that he would reuoke the decree which king Cyrus had made vnto the Iewes, licencing them to build the tem-
ple, alledging manie great and sundrie matters against them. Wherevpon the king commanded the chronicles
to be searched, whether it were true that had bene informed against them. Likewise when Hamon had gree-
uousslie complained vnto king Ahasuerus against Mardocheus and the Iewes, charging them with sundrie hai-
nous offenses worthie death, the king commanded the chronicles to be searched. Also when Paule and Syllas
first preached the gospell at Thessalonica and Bærea, a doctrine then accounted strange and new, they searched
and examined the books *Num hac ita se haberent*. For as they found things there recorded, so gaue they credit,
and by the same they did proceed in the like. For it was a common thing among the Romans, that not onelie
A.ij. they

The first vse of
histories.

The first chro-
nographers.

The first chro-
nographers in
England and
Ireland.

Poets were
the first chro-
nographers
in Britaine.

The definition
of an historie.
Cicero de oratore.

Ecclesiast. 1.3.

*August. de ciuit.
Dei.
Chronica Ca-
rionis.
Thucidides.*

Deutero. 5.
Iosue. 1.

1. Esdras. 4.
Nehemias.

Esther. 6.

Acts. 17.

The epistle dedicatorie.

they would make recourse in all doubtfull matters to their owne annales: but what so euer they found in the like in anie other nation or commonwealth, which might further them in anie thing touding their owne affaires, they would draw the same into an example for themselves to follow, which was no small benefit to their commonwealth.

Alexander. Likewise Alexander the great, notwithstanding he were brought vp in all good letters vnder Aristotle, yet when he was to enlarge his empire, he gaue himselfe to the diligent reading of Homer, the most exact chronographer of the Troian wars: and so he esteemed that booke, that in the daie time he caried it about him, and in the night time he laid it vnder his beds head; and at all times conuenient he would be reading of it, and in the end was so perfect therein, that he could verbatim repeat the whole without booke; the stratagems, the policies, and the manie deuises vsed in those warres he practised in his owne warres, which stood him in great steed. Iulius Cæsar also in his wars searched the ancient bookes and histories of the citie of Rome: and did not onelie thereby draw a paterne for his owne direction, both for his ciuill and his martiall affaires: but also, he being then the greatest monarch of all the world, thought it not preiudiciall to his imperiall estate and maiestie, to commend vnder his owne hand writing vnto his posteritie, the historie of his owne age and doings. Manie like princes hath England bred, who haue bin verie carefull, that the memoriall of the good things done in their times should be commended to their posteritie, to follow in the like. And therefore euerie king for the course of hundreth hundreds of yeares, was wont to retaine and keepe some wise, learned, and faithfull scribes, who should collect and record the things done in euerie their feuerall times, and all which as time and course of yeares did serue, were published; and what great good benefits haue growne thereby to this present age, and like to serue to the future time, all the world maie easilie see and iudge: for this I dare boldly saie and affirme: No realme, no nation, no state, nor common wealth throughout all Europa, can yeeld more nor so manie profitable lawes, directions, rules, examples & discourses, either in matters of religion, or of ciuill gouernment, or of martiall affairs, than do the histories of this little Isle of Britaine or England. I would to God I might or were able to saie the like, or the halfe like of Ireland, a countrie, the more barren of good things, the more replenished with actions of blood, murder, and lothsome outrages; which to anie good reader are greuous & irksome to be read & considered, much more for anie man to pen and set downe in writing, and to reduce into an historie. Which hath bene some cause whie I was alienated and vtterlie discouraged to intermedle therein: for being earnestlie requested, by reason of my some acquaintance with the maners and conditions of that nation during my short abode therein, to continue the historie of that land, from the death of king Henrie the eight vnto these presents, which hitherto hath not bene touched; I found no matter of an historie woorthie to be recorded: but rather a tragedie of cruelties to be abhorred, and no historie of good things to be followed: and therefore I gaue the matter ouer, and was fullie resolved not at all to haue intermedled therewith. Neuerthelesse, being againe verie earnestlie requested, and no excuse neither of my age, nor of my often sicknesse, nor of my calling in the seruice of the commonwealth, nor of my small learning and skill, sufficient to compas such a matter, could be accepted: then (but with an euill will) I entred into it, and the more I bethought my selfe of the matter, the more I began to consider, and at length to behold the two great and wonderous workes of God, both of his seuerie iudgement against traitors, rebels, and disobedient; and of his mercie and louing kindnesse vpon the obedient and dutifull. Whereof, though there be infinite examples both in the sacred histories and humane chronicles: yet I find none more apparant and effectuall, nor more fit for vs, and for this our time and age, than the histories of our owne nation, which yeeld vnto vs most infinite examples, how yong princes rebelling against the kings their fathers, noble men against their soveraignes, and the commons against the kings and rulers, some by the mightie hand of God swallowed vp in the seas, some deuoured with the sword, some by martiall and some by ciuill lawes executed to death: and few or none which haue escaped vnpunished. But of all others, none to be compared to this tragical discourse of Ireland, and the most vnnaturall wars of the Desmonds against hir sacred maiestie. Whose disobedience the Lord hath in iustice so seuerelie punished and reuenged, as the like hath not in our age bene scene nor knowne; which albeit somewhat at large it be set downe in the historie, yet briefe and in effect is as followeth.

The earle of Desmond, named Girald Fitzgirald, was descended of a yonger house of the Giraldines of Kildare, and both of them descended from one and the same ancestor Girald of Windsor, a noble gentleman of Normandie; who after his arriuall into England, trauelled into Wales, and there married the ladie Nesta daughter to the great Roelines prince of south Wales, and by hir among others had issue Moris Fitzgirald, ancestor to these the foresaid Giraldines; and he being assistant to Derman mac Morogh king of Leinster in Ireland, was one of the cheefest and most principall seruitors in the conquest, or rather one of the conquerors of that land vnder king Henrie the second. The issue and offspring of this Moris as they were honourable in blood, so they were no lesse honorable in all their actions: they being verie famous for their good gifts of the mind, in wisdom and policie in their ciuill gouernment, and renowned for their valiantnesse and prowesse in martiall affaires, in both which they had well tried themselves, and therefore manie times they had the cheefe gouernment of the whole realme, being sometime lord iustices, sometime lord lieutenants, and sometime lord Deputies of the whole land. And for their truth and fidelitie were aduanced to honor. For Thomas Fitzgirald being the elder house, was created earle of Kildare in the eighteenth yeare of king Edward the first, in the yeare one thousand two hundred foure score and nine. And in the beginning of king Edward the third his reigne, in the yeare one thousand three hundred twentie and seuen, Moris Fitzthomas a yonger brother of that house was created earle of Desmond; and from thence as before, they continued verie honourable, dutifull & faithfull subiects, for the course of hundreth hundreds of yeares: vntill that this brainede and breake danse Girald of Desmond, and his brethren, alies and complices, forgetting the honour of his house, and forsaking their faith, dutie and allegiance, did breake into the impeach of hir most sacred maiestie, and the destruction of the commonwealth: the price whereof in the end ing verie few Giraldines in the prouince of Mounster left to bemone or bewaile their deaths. For first the earle himselfe, the cheefe of his familie, after his long repast in his traitorous follies, was driuen in the end to all extremities and penuries, and at the last taken in an old cotage, and his head was cut off and sent to London, and there set vpon London bridge, and his lands and inheritance confiscated and discontinued from his house and name for euer. Sir James one of his yonger brethren, in taking of a preie, was taken and made a preie; he was hanged as a theefe, quartered as a traitor, and his head and quarters disperfed and set vpon the gates and walls of the citie of Corke. Sir Iohn of Desmond, another of his yonger brethren, and next to himselfe the cheefe ringleader of this rebellion, was taken, his head cut off and set vpon the castell of Dublin, and his bodie hanged by the heeles at Corke. His onelie sonne and heire being whole disinherited, is prisoner in the Tower of London. His ladie and wife destituted of all honour and liuings, liueth a dolefull and miserable life. His captains, soldiers, and men of warre, put all for the most part to the sword. The popes two prelates and nuncios, the one slaine in the field, and the other died most miserable in the woods. The Italians and strangers few or none left alieue to returne to aduertise of their successe vnto their holie father. The common people such as escaped the sword, all for the most part are perished with famine, or fled the countrie. The land it selfe being verie fertile, is waxed barren, yeelding nor corne nor fruits; the pastures without cattell, and the aire without fowles, and the whole prouince for the most part desolate and vnhabited, sauing townes and cities: and finally, nothing there to be scene but miserie and desolation.

Sir James of Desmond taken & hanged.
Sir Iohn of Desmond killed & hanged.
The earles sonne a prisoner in the Tower of London.
The countesse of Desmond liueth a wofull life.
D. Allen slaine.
D. Sanders dieth miserable.
The land left altogether barren.

The epistle dedicatorie.

A notable and a rare example of Gods iust iudgement and seuer punishment, vpon all such as doo resist and rebell against the higher powers and his annointed: which is so greuous an offense in his sight, that next to the capitall offenses against the first table, this is accounted the greatest and in the highest degree. For as it is written, Who resisteth against the higher power, resisteth against Gods ordinances, and he shall receiue iudgement. And the Lord shall root him from out of the face of the earth that shall blasphem his gods, and curseth the prince of the people. Euen as of the contrarie, when the people liue in all subiection, humblenesse, and obedience, the Lord defendeth and keepeth them, and with his manifold blessings prospereth them; as hir maiesties good victuall dwelling within the English pale, and inhabiting within hir cities and townes can witnesse. They sow and till the land, and doo reape the fruits. Their fields are full of sheepe, and they are clothed with the wooll. Their pastures are full of cattell, and they inioice them. Their cities and townes are well inhabited, and they liue in safetie. All things go well with them, and peace and plentie resteth in their houses. Two notable examples (I saie) and worthie to be throughlie obserued; the one of Gods iust iudgement against the rebels and traitors, and the other of mercie and loue towards the obedient and dutifull subiect. Which examples the later they are, the more should they imprint in vs an inward affection and an vndoubted resolution, to yeeld to the superiours all dutie and obedience; and by the examples of the rebels, to shun as a pestilence all disobedience and rebellion; least in doing the like, we doo receiue the like iust iudgements with them. Let therefore the examples of the elders be sufficient perswasions and instructions to the posteritie, to follow that which is good, and to eschew that which is euill. For albeit good counsell of our friends, and conferences with the good men, maie much preuaile with vs, yet none can so much preuaile nor be of such vertue and effect, as the examples of our ancestors, and the actions of our forefathers when they be laid before vs: *Magis enim exemplis potest persuaderi, quam argumentis extorqueri.* And therefore in times past, the surest course which our forefathers tooke, either in ciuill gouernment or in martiall affaires, was that which they drew from the examples of their ancestors before them. And for as much as such is the value and vertue of the footsteps of our forefathers, I trust it shall not be offensive vnto you, that I doo a little digresse and speake somewhat of your selfe and of your ancestors; who the more honourable they were in their times, the greater cause haue you to looke into the same: that what in some of your later forefathers was conspited, maie not in you be conspited, but rouzed and raised vnto his former and pristinat state. And for as much as I am somewhat acquainted in their descents, let me make bold with you to laie the same downe before you.

Rom. 13.

The prosperitie and quietnes in the English pale.

Patric. de insit resp.

There were sundrie of your ancestors by the name of Raleigh, who were of great account & nobilitie, and alied as well to the Courtneis earls of Deuon, as to other houses of great honour & nobilitie, & in sundrie succeeding descents were honoured with the degree of knighthood. One of them being your ancestor in the directest line, was named sir John de Raleigh, who then dwelled in the house of Furdell in Deuon, an ancient house of your ancestors, and of their ancient inheritance: and which at these presents is in the possession of your eldest brother. This knight married the daughter and heire to sir Roger D'amerie, or de Amerie, whome our English chronicles doo name lord de Amerie, who was a noble man and of great linage, and descended of the earls de Amerie in Britaine, and alied to the earls of Montfort in the same duddie and prouince. This man being come ouer into England, did serue in the court, and by the good pleasure of God and the good liking of the king he married the ladic Elisabeth, the third suster and coheire to the noble Gilbert earle of Clare and of Glocester, who was slaine in the battell of Banokesborough in Scotland, in the time of king Edward the second. This earle died sans issue, he being the sonne and the said ladic Elisabeth the daughter to Gilbert de Clare earle of Glocester, by his wife the ladic Iane de Acres or Acon, daughter to king Edward the first. This Gilbert descended of Robert earle of Glocester, sonne to king Henrie the first, and of his wife the ladic Mawd, daughter and heire to Robert Fitzhamon, lord of Aftrouill in Normandie, cosen to the Conqueror, knight of the priue chamber to king William Rufus, and lord of the lordship of Glamorgan in Wales. So that your ancestor sir John de Raleigh married the daughter of de Amerie, Damerie of Clare, Clare of Edward the first, and which Clare by his father descended of king Henrie the first. And in like maner by your mother you maie be deriued out of the same house. These all were men of great honour and nobilitie, and whose vertues are highlie recorded sparsum in the chronicles of England; some greatlie commended for their wisdomes and deepe iudgements in matters of counsell, some likewise much praised for their prowesse & valiantnesse in martiall affaires, and manie of them honored for both.

The descent of the lord warden.

But yet as nothing is permanent in this life, and all things variable vnder the sunne, and time hath deuoured and consumed the greatest men and the mightiest monarchs, and most noble commonwealths in the world, according to the old countrie saing; Be the daie neuer so long, yet at length it will ring at euensong: so this honorable race, though for so manie descents, and for the course of so manie yeares it continued in great honor, nobilitie, and reputation, yet in proceesse of time the honour became to be of worship (neuerthelessse alied alwaies and matched in houses of great honour and nobilitie) and so euer since possessed by knights of your owne name, vntill by little and little the honour and estimation of your noble and worthie ancestors seemed at length to be buried in obliuion, and as it were extinguished and to be vtterlie forgotten as though it had neuer beene. And now when all was past anie hope and vnremembred to the world, it hath pleased God to raise the same euen as it were from the dead, and to looke vpon you the yongest sonne of manie, as he did vpon Ioseph, one of the yongest sonnes of Iacob; and in you hath left a hope to restore the decayed house of your sept and familie. He hath brought you into the good fauour of your prince, who hath pleased to reward and honour in you the approued faithfull seruice of your late ancestors and kindered decessed, and inclined hir princelie hart, conceiuing a great hope of your owne sufficiencie and abilitie to restore you againe, being the last branch remaining of so manie noble and famous houses descended. And whereof commeth this, that the Lord hath thus blessed you, and so bountifullie hath dealt with you? but onelic (as the wise man saith) *Vt noscas in omni virtute omnibus prodesse*, and that you should be beneficiall and profitable to all men. And therefore in all our actions, *Semper aliquid ad communem utilitatem est afferendum*: for we are not borne to our selues alone, but the prince, the countrie, the parents, freinds, wiues, children and familie, euerie of them doo claime an interest in vs, and to euerie of them we must be beneficiall: otherwise we doo degenerate from that communitie and societie, which by such offices by vs is to be conserued, & doo become most vnprofitable: *Nam inutilis prorsus est, qui nullam utilitatem reipublice ac communi societati possit afferre*, and euerie such man, as a member vnprofitable is to be cut off. And as the bee is no longer suffered to haue a place in the hieue, than whiles he worketh; no more is that man to haue place in the publike weale than whiles he dooth some good therein, because through idlenessse they doo not onelic no good, but as Cato saith, they doo euill: *Nihil agendo homines male agere discunt*. Idlenessse therefore the mother of all wickednesse, and idlers the sonnes of so bad a mother, are vtterlie to be exiled and expelled out of all well gouerned commonweales; and they onelic to be fostered, nourished and cherished, who as they are borne to the countrie, so if they doo good and be beneficiall to the same.

All things haue an end.

Cicero de offic.

Cicero.

Cato. Idlers ought not to haue place in the commonwealth.

And how great your care hath beene heerein, the course of your life hitherto dooth manifest it. For after that you had seasoned your primer yeares at Oxford in knowledge and learning, a good ground and a sure foundation to build therevpon all your good actions, you travelled into France, and spent there a good part of your youth in the warres and martiall seruices. And hauing some sufficient knowledge and experience therein, then after your returne from thence, to the end you might euerie waie be able to serue your prince and commonweale, you were desirous to be acquainted in maritimall affaires. Then you, together with your brother sir Humfreie Gilbert, travelled the seas, for the search of such countries, as which if they had beene then discovered, infinit commodities in

The epistle dedicatorie.

fundrie respects would haue infused, and whereof there was no doubt, if the fleet then accompanieng you, had according to appointment followed you, or your selfe had escaped the dangerous sea fight, when manie of your companie were slaine, and your ships therewith also sore battered and disabled. And albeit this hard beginning (after which followed the death of the said woorthie knight your brother) was a matter sufficient to haue discouraged a man of a right good stomach and value from anie like seas attempts; yet you, more respecting the good ends, wherevnto you leuelled your line for the good of your countrie, did not giue ouer, untill you had recovered a land, and had made a plantation of the people of your owne English nation in *Virginia*, the first English colonie that euer was there planted, to the no little derogation of the glorie of the Spaniards, & an impeach to their vaunts; who bicause with all cruell immanitie, contrarie to all naturall humanitie, they subdued a naked and a yeelding people, whom they sought for gaine and not for anie religion or plantation of a commonwealt, ouer whome to satisfie their most greedie and insatiable couetousnesse, did most cruellie tyrannize, and most tyrannicallie and against the course of all humane nature did seord and rolt them to death, as by their owne histories dooth appeare. These (I saie) doo brag and vaunt, that they onelic haue drawne strange nations and vknowne people, to the obedience of their kings, to the knowledge of christianitie, and to the enriching of their countrie; and thereby doo claime the honor to be due to themselves onelic and alone. But if these your actions were well looked into, with such due consideration as apperteineth, it shall be found much more honorable in sundrie respects, for the aduancement of the name of God, the honour of the prince, and the benefit of the common wealth. For what can be more pleasant to God, than to gaine and reduce in all christianlike manner, a lost people to the knowledge of the gospell, and a true christian religion, than which cannot be a more pleasant and a sweeter sacrifice, and a more acceptable seruice before God? And what can be more honorable to princes, than to enlarge the bounds of their kingdoms without iniurie, wrong, & bloudshed; and to frame them from a savage life to a ciuill government, neither of which the Spaniards in their conquests haue performed? And what can be more beneficiall to a common weale, than to haue a nation and a kingdome to transerre vnto the superfluous multitude of frutelesse and idle people (heere at home daileie increasing) to trauell, conquer, and manure another land, whiche by the due intercourses to be deuised, may and will yeeld infinit commodities? And how well you doo deserue euerie waie in following to honourable a course, not we our selues onelic can witnesse, but strange nations also doo honour you for the same: as dooth appeare by the epistle of *Basimerus* of France, to the historie of Florida: and by *Julius Caesar* a citizen of Rome in his epistle to his booke intituled *Cyllombeados*. It is well knowne, that it had benee no lesse easie for you, than for such as haue benee aduanced by kings, to haue builded great houses, purchased large circuits, and to haue vsed the fruits of princes fauours, as most men in all former and present ages haue done; had you not preferred the generall honour and commoditie of your prince and countrie before all priuat gaine and commoditie: wherby you haue benee rather a seruant than a commander to your owne fortune. And no doubt the cause being so good, and the attempt so honorable, but that God will increase your talent, and blesse your doings, and euerie good man will commend and further the same. And albeit the more noble enterprises a man shall take in hand, the more aduersaries he shall haue to depraue and hinder the same: yet I am perswaded, as no good man shall haue iust cause, so there is none so much carried with a corrupt mind, nor so enuious of his countries honour, nor so bent against you, that he will derogate the praise and honour due to so worthie an enterprise; and that so much the sooner, bicause you haue indured so manie croses, and haue through so much enuiings and misfortunes perseuered in your attempts, whiche no doubt shall at last by you be performed when it shall please him, who hath made you an instrument of so worthie a worke. And by how much the more God hath pleased thus to blesse you, so much the more are you bound to be thankfull vnto him, and to acknowledge the same to proceed from his grace and mercie towards you. Giue me leaue therefore (I praie you) to be bold with you, not onelic to put you in mind hereof, but also to remember you, how it hath pleased God to bring you into the fauour of your prince and souereigne: who besides his great fauour towards you manie waies, she hath also laid vpon you the charge of a gouernement in your owne countrie, where you are to command manie people by your honourable office of the stannarie, and where you are both a iudge and chancellor, to rule in iustice and to iudge in equitie. Wherin you are so much the more to be circumspect and wise, bicause vpon your iudgement (and such as you shall appoint to be vnder you) the determinations of all their causes dooth rest and depend, knowing that a hard iudgement abideth for such as be in authoritie, if they iudge not vprightlie, and doo not yeeld iustice to euerie man indifferetlie. Be you therefore carefull in this respect, that you be well reported for your vpright dealings, both herein, & in euerie of all your other actions to all men. Be you a patterne of vertue, & an example of true nobilitie, which is grounded & hath hir foundation vpon vertue, for as the poet saith, *Ex virtute nobilitas nascitur, non ex nobilitate virtus: virtus sola nobilitat, non caro nec sanguis*. And therefore saith Demosthenes; If thou draw thy descent & pedegree euen from Iupiter himselfe, yet if thou be not vertuous, iust & good, *Ignobilis mihi videris*. In my opinion thou art no gentleman. It is a noble thing to be borne of noble ancestors (as Aristotle saith) but his nobilitie faileth, when his ancestors vertues in him faileth, *Hic enim vere nobilis est descendus, cui non aliena sed sua virtus ad gloriam opitulatur*. Your ancestors were verie ancient, and men of great nobilitie, beneficiall to their princes and countrie manie & sundrie waies. And as in nature you are descended from them, so it hath pleased God to blesse you with knowledge in learning, with skill of warlike seruice, and in experience in mariuall causes, and besides hath placed you among the nobles, and in the good grace and fauour of your prince. Wherefore you are so much the more to be carefull to restore the house of your decayed forefathers to their ancient honor and nobilitie, which in this later age hath benee obscured, abiding the time by you to be restored to their first and primer state: which you are not onelic taught by their old and good examples, but also by the ensignes of their and your nobilitie. For the fusils, being an instrument of trauell and labour, doo aduertise you, that you are one of the sonnes of Adam, borne to walke in a vocation, and therein to be a profitable member in the church of God, and in maintenance of the common societie: which when you behold and looke vpon, you must so endeavour your selfe, euen as Agathocles king of Syracusa, whose cupbords, though they were well furnished with great store and varietie of rich plate, yet he thought not the same sufficientlie fraughted, vnlesse he had also his earthen pitchers and stone cups, in which he vsed to drinke, to teach & remember him in the middle of his roialtie, to be mindfull of his origin estate and durie.

The white colour or siluer mettall dooth teach vnto you vertue, sinceritie & godlinesse. For as siluer is a most excellent mettall, and next vnto gold excelleng all others, and with which for the excellencie thereof, the Lord God would haue his tabernacle and his temple to be adorned and beautified with vessels and ornaments thereof; and as the white colour, if it be spotted and foule, dooth lose his grace: euen so it teacheth you to be a man of an honest and of a godlie conuersation, to lead a life in all vprightnesse, without reproch and disgrace: and that you should be seruiceable to God and your countrie in all good actions; and therewith also (which by the gulie colour is meant) you be bold and valiant for the defense of your countrie, and for the safetie thereof to spend both life and goods, that you should be beneficiall to all men, hurtfull and iniurious to no man. And such kind of men were your ancestors, who for the same were beloued and honoured, and their names for euer registred in immortal fame and memorie. And so shall it be with you, if you doo the like, and follow their steps and examples, God shall blesse you, & you shall prosper & flourish as did Ioseph; you shall be honored, as was Daniell; and you shall be in fauor before God & man, as were your ancestors; the whole people shall speake good of you, the honour of your house shall be restored, & your talent shall be augmented & increased, & all things shall go well with you. But to returne where we left. When I had waded as far as I could in the discourse of this historie, according to such

Palingenius.
Demosthenes.

Fusils, instruments of labours.

Agathocles.

White colour.

Gules.

The epistle dedicatorie.

such instructions as partlie by my selfe, but more by other mens helps, I had collected and gathered; and thought to haue continued the same from the death of King Henrie the eight, vnto these presents: it came vnto my mind and I thought it verie expedient, to make a new review of that, which by others had bene doone in the interuall betwene *Cambrensis*, and my doings, wherein I found great paines had bene taken, and that the authors had well deserued great praises and commendations. And yet in this they were much to be blamed, that all of them were beholding vnto *Giraldus*, and not one of them would yeeld that curtesie either to publish his historie, or vsing the same to acknowledge it. For some misliking both method and phrase, framed it into another forme, and penned it in a more losstie stile; and vnder that colour haue attributed vnto themselves the honour and fruits of another mans doings. In which, their discourtesie was the more, because they iniured so noble and woorthie a personage. For *Giraldus* was a noble man by birth, he being the sonne vnto Mauricius, the sonne vnto Giraldus de Windsor, and to his wife the ladie Nesta, daughter to the great Roefius prince of south Wales. He was from his youth brought vp in learning, and proued verie well learned in all good letters both diuine and likewise humane: and by profession he was a man of the clergie, and liued by the patrimonie of the church. He was chapleine to king Henrie the second, and to king Iohn his sonne, and both of them he attended in their iourneys into Ireland, and at the request and commandement of the king the father, he wrot the historie of this land according as what he saw and knew to be true. The more noble then that this man was by birth, the more reuerend in calling, the more painfull in trauels, and the better learned he was: euen so much the more is their fault, that will borrow of him and not acknowledge it, nor thinke themselves beholding vnto him. For as *Plinie* saith, *Ingeniū pudoris est, fateri per quos profecerimus*; it is the part of a good nature not to be ashamed to acknowledge and confesse by whom he is the better, and benefited. I know it hath bene an old vsage in all ages, and among all the auncient writers, both Græcians & Latinists, that they would borrow of other mens writings, and enlarge their owne therewith: as Plato did of Socrates and Pythagoras, Aristotle out of Plato, Cicero of them both; and so likewise others: and these men would not onelie confesse the same, which was accounted to be some part of recompense, but also they accounted their owne doings to be so much the better, as that they were confirmed by the authoritie of such wise, graue, and well learned men. The like reason might suffice to perswade such in this later age, as which be so curious that they will not haue anie father, doctor, or anie other writer to be named nor alleaged in sermons, readings, predings, or writings; and yet they will not sticke to vse & recite verbatim, whole sentences, yea & whole pages out of other mens writings, and attribute the same to themselves, as of their owne inuention. A great fault and a point of ingratitude, not allowed among the gentiles: much lesse should it be so among christians, especiallie among them of the highest profession, *Non profiteri per quos profecerunt*.

The ingrate-
fulnesse vnto
Cambrensis.

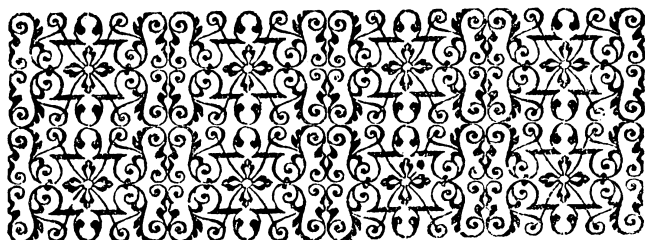
The genealo-
gie of *Giraldus*.

But leauing euerie man to himselfe, for as much as all histories are to be doone with all sinceritie & truth, which in this cannot be so well doone, vnlesse the first writer and author of this historie of Ireland haue his place: I haue thought good to publish and set forth *Giraldus* his owne workes as they are, which, leauing all other translations, I haue as faithfullie translated as the historie requirith, and in as fit an English phrase as is most meete and conuenient for the reader. And because the same so long hence written, hath sundrie obscure things, which doe require some further opening, for the better vnderstanding of the reader; I haue subiected and added to euerie chapter (so requiring) such notes and obseruations, as he shall be therewith the better instructed and satisfied. This thing thus by me doone, together with so much as I my selfe haue penned from the death of king Henrie the eight vnto these presents: which although it maie seeme to be verie imperfect, and to want that fulnesse as the course of so manie yeares might afford; or that some things maie be misreported and set downe, otherwise than the truth is, or that some things maie be mistaken, &c: let this be imputed vnto them, through whose default the same is so befallen; for manie things were promised and little performed; and some, who had and haue an interest in the matter, haue refused and would doe nothing. But for my selfe, according to such instructions and collections as are come to my hands, I haue after the method and nature of an historie, most sincerelie and faithfullie set downe what is materiall and woorthie the writing. And for as much as your selfe was a partie and a doer in some part of the Desmonds wars, in which you were a painfull and a faithfull seruitor, and therefore can giue some report and testimonie to this discourse, and also for the loue and honour which I doe owe and beare vnto you, I thought it my part and dutie to offer and present, and presentlie in most humble maner I doe offer and present the same vnto your good fauour and protection. And albeit the thing it selfe be verie slender, and too farre an inferior present to be offered to one of your estate and calling; yet let your courtesie couer that, and accept my good will, which as time and occasion hereafter shall serue, I shall & will be most willing (as your lordships most deuout and assured) to supplie in all the good seruices I maie or shall be able to doe at your commaundement. The Lord blesse you and multiplie your daies, to the honor of God, the good seruice of hir maiestie, the benefit of the commonwelth, the comfort of your friends, and to your owne increase in all honour. Exon. Octob. 12.

1 5 8 6.

Your L. verie good friend and alie
at commandement,

JOHN HOOKER.



The first preface of Giraldus Cambrensis vnto his historie of the conquest of Ireland.

IForsomuch as in our Topographie we haue at large set forth and described the site of the land of Ireland, the natures of sundrie things therein contained, the woonderous & strange prodigies which are in the same, and of the first origin of that nation, euen from the first beginning vntill this our time: it resteth, that at the request of sundrie men, and of some of great estate, we do now in a particular volume declare & set forth the conquest of the same land in these our daies, together with the noble acts & gests therein doone. For if we haue well discovered the old & ancient times long before vs, how much more should we doo that which we haue seene, and for the most part are witnesses thereof, & which are yet in our fresh & perfect memorie? Our Topographie discovereth the things done in times past and long ago; but this present historie intreateth of the things presently doone, and in our daies. But me thinketh I see some man to shrinke vp the nose, and as it were to snuffe, because I haue written all things so plainelie and euidentlie; and therefore in great scorne he reacheth the booke to one, & with as great disdain casteth it to another. But let him know this, that I haue now written this chieflie for the laie people, and for such princes as be not of greatest learning, and are therefore desirous to haue things to be vttered in such a plaine and sensible speech as they may best vnderstand the same. For whie, most plaine terms are most meet to be vsed, when the noble acts of noble men & worthie seruitors are to be published and set forth to the notice and knowledge of all men. For this cause therefore haue I written this historie in as plaine & sensible maner as I can (leauing as much as may be) the darke & obscure maner of writing vsed in times past. And forsomuch as euerie age hath his peculiar manner, I haue according to the mind of the philosopher (whose aduise is, that the liues of the old men, and the pleasant speeches of yoong men should be receiued and followed) I haue (I saie) of purpose written in that order and phrase of speech as now is most in vre. For sith that words are but messengers of a mans mind, and giuen onelie to that end he should without close couering and couching plainelie disclose his mind and meaning: I haue purposelie indouored my selfe, that seeing what others doo not see, and knowing what others doo not vnderstand, I might so write as I might of all men be vnderstood. For whie, Seneca saith: It is better to be dumbe and not to speake at all, than so to speake as not to be vnderstood, so that the speech be framed in such phrases & order as are most meet to be vsed, & with the wise and learned do most affect. But forsomuch as some men haue maliciouslie and slanderouslie depraued my Topographie, I haue thought good by the waie here to interlace a few words in defense therof. All men generallie concerning the beginning of a good or a learned matter, doo consider and haue respect speciallie to three things; the first is, the author of the thing, then the matter it selfe, and lastlie, the ordering and well handling of the thing so begun. Concerning the first and last of these three, the enuious man being afraid to vtter his malice, euen against his will giues praise & commendation to both. But yet as a staged man can not alwaies dissemble and cloke himselfe, so this man, who to haue his will ouer me & to deprauie me, inueigheth against the second point, thinking and meaning by reproouing me to be a lier therein, to condemne all the rest; he obiekteth therefore and laieth to my charge the strange prodigies which I wrote, namelie how the wolfe spake and talked with a priest; of the man that in the hinder parts was like to an ox; of a woman that had a beard like a man; and a man like an horse; of a gote & a lion, which resorted and accompanied with a woman. But who so misliketh hereof, let him read in the booke of Numbers, & he shall find that Balaams asse spake and reprooued his maister. Let him examine the liues of the fathers, and he shall learne how that a satyre in the wildernesse did talke with Anthonie the heremite; and how Paule the heremite was fed in the desert by a rauen. Let him read also the workes of Jerome, the Exameron of Ambrose, and the dialog of Gregorie. Let him likewise read saint Augustine his booke of the

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The first preface.

citie of God, especiallie the xv. and xxi. bookes, which are full of strange prodigies and woonders: let him read Isodorus in the xi. booke of his Etymologies, concerning woonders, his xij. booke of beasts, & his xvi. booke of pretious stones, and of their vertues; let him also read Valerius Maximus, Trogius Pompeius, Plinius, and Solinus, & in euerie of these he shall find manie things which he may mislike and thinke to be vntruths, & so condemne the residue of all the writings of so noble and woorthie men. But let him be better aduised, & consider well, how that as S. Ierome saith, there are manie things contained in the scriptures which seeme to be incredible, and to carie no truth in them, and yet neuerthelesse are most true. For whie, nature dooth not, nor can preuaile against the Lord of nature: and therfore euerie creature ought not loth, but to reuerence, and haue in great admiration the works of God: & as S. August. saith, How can that be against nature which is doone by the will of God? Bicause the will of so great a creator is the nature and beginning of euerie thing created. A portent then or a monster is not against nature, but against it which proceedeth from nature. And therfore as it is not impossible to God to ordeine and creat what natures or things he listeth; no more is it impossible to him to alter and change into what forms he listeth the things alreadie created. And yet I would not that euerie thing by me written, should forthwith be credited and receiued as an vndouted truth: for whie, I my selfe do not so firmlie beleue of them, as of things most certeine and true, sauing of such things which by experience I know to be true, and which also euerie other man may by prooffe so find it to be. For as for all other things, I so account of them, that I neither do nor will stand either in the deniall or affirmation of them. The iewellers & such as haue, & be acquainted with the pretious stones come out of India, do not so strangelic think or haue admiration of them, as they who neuer saw them afore: & yet they hauing had once experience of them, do the lesse muse & wonder at the strangenes of them. For whie, the dailie vse taketh awaie all strangenes & admiration; and euerie thing be it neuer so strange & maruellous at the first, yet by dailie viewing of them they wax to be contemned and the lesse esteemed: euen as the Indians themselues do litle value or esteeme their commodities, which we do so much maruell & wonder at. S. Augustine therfore vpon the gospell, how the water was turned into wine hath these words: Maruellous great is the power of God in the creation of the heauen & earth, & of the gouerning of the same; & as great it is to see how the raine water, by the nature of the vine is turned into wine, and how of litle and small seeds great trees and fruits do spring and grow; and yet because we do see it this daie as it were by a naturall course, we do lesse esteeme & consider of them. But yet God aboue the common course hath reserved to himselfe some small things, & which seeme to be of no value, to the end that his power might appeare in greater things, and driue vs the more to consider of them. Wherefore let the malicious & enuious be contented, & not to enuie against the Lord of nature, who of purpose in the sight of man hath doone manie things against the common course of nature: because it should be apparant, & euerie man should well see, that Gods power far exceedeth mans reach & knowledge, & his diuinitie surpasseth mans vnderstanding. Cassiodorus therfore saith: It is a great point of knowledge in man to vnderstand & haue the knowledge, that God can and dooth such great and woonderfull things as do far exceed and passe the capacitie & vnderstanding of man. For God alwaies of purpose dooth transpoe and alter his great things into strange forms, that albeit men may in some respect discern the same: yet fullie they can not comprehend the same. If then the old and ancient writers haue diligentlie and with good allowance noted & registred in their writings the strange prodigies in their times; whie are we doing the like (vnlesse the whole world be set in wickednesse) maligned and backbitten? For if there be anie new and strange thing in our worke, and which heretofore hath not beene heard of: yet let not the malicious & spitefull man forthwith, without further allowance condemne and depraue it, but rather suffer to remaine as it is. For as the poet saith: If our forefathers had reiected (as we do) all new things, what shuld now be old? Let him therfore cease to blame or carpe at new things, because in course of time they ceasse to be new, and wax to be old. He may therfore take his pleasure, and depraue the same, & yet no doubt our posteritie will allow therof. He may do what he can to hurt it, yet they will accept and read it. He may do what he can to disprooue and blame it, yet will they loue it. He may do what he can to reiect it, yet will they receiue and allow of it.

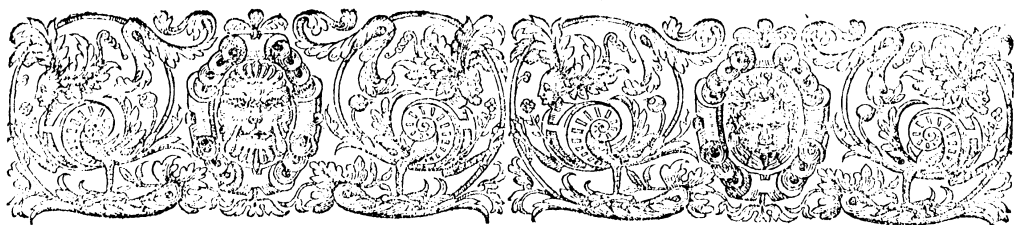


The second preface of Giraldus Cambrensis vnto the noble Earle of Poitiers.

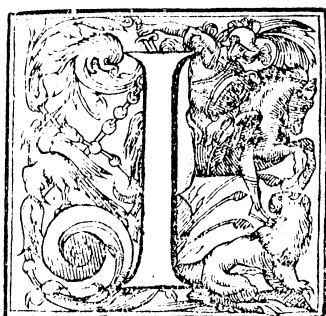
HAuing bene eftfoones, and by manie requested, to register and write the historie of fuch noble acts doone in our times, which I haue either feene my felfe, or haue heard it crediblie reported; I was for my excufe woont to alleage the wickedneffe of the time, wherein, by realon of the exceffive riotoufneffe which fo aboundeth, all things are fo farre out of order, and men fo carefull to pamper vp the bodie, that the mind, which of his nature is free, is now in captiuitie, and cannot haue his libertie. Neuertheleffe, confidering, and diligentlie aduifing with my felfe, how neceffarie the knowledge of thofe things will be to our pofteritie, and how nothing is more pernicious and hurtfull to a good wit, and an honest difpofition, than to lie wallowing in idleneffe and floth; I did at length with much adoo yeeld my felfe to thofe requests, and refolued my felfe to fatisfie the fame. But yet what can be more prefumptuous than to write when time ferueth not, & leifure wanteth? Or to defire our owne bookes to be commonlie read, and yet at no leifure to read our felues? Or that we fhould be fubieft to the examination and lifting of a malicious reader, and an enuious iudge, and yet we not at leifure to examine our felues? Tullius, the founteine and wellspring of all eloquence, being on a time requested to make an oration, is faid he did excufe himfelfe, becaufe he had not studied nor read the daie before. If fo famous a man, and the father of all eloquence, did fo eftime the benefit of studieng, what fhall others of a farre meaner eftate and learning thinke of themfelues? For true it is, the wit of man if it be not reuiued with continuall and dailie reading waxeth faint and dull, and with reading it is increafed and nourifhed as it were with a naturall food and fufenance. For as the full barns are foone spent, if they be not new stored; and the stocke of great wealth and treafure foone wafte & confumed, if it be not repared; euen fo the knowledge of man being not dailie renewed by reading and perufing of other mens works dooth foone perifh and decaie. We are compact and doo confift of two natures, the one temporall, the other eternall; and hauing refpect to both, are to nourifh both, the earthie part with things tranfitorie and earthie according to the time, the heauenlie part with things perpetuall and euerlafting. The bodie for the time hath his cares; but the mind, which of his nature is free, and which cannot be shut vp, and as it were imprifoned, is neither vnder the power of vs, nor of anie others; let it therefore inioie his owne and proper libertie which to it apperteineth, and inioie the freedome to it belonging. As for the outward man, let him wander and ftraie, and be troubled about manie things, let him follow vaine and trifling toies, and doo all things as will lufteth, & let him be fubieft to the miserable condition of the flefh: but the inward man, which as the kernell is inclofed in the fhell, let him inioie that right and priuilege which God hath giuen vnto it; let it be fo warded and defended, that being in troubles, it be not troubled; and being folitarie, it be not deftituted. God and the king haue each of them their feuerall power and empire ouer vs: the king hath power onelie ouer the bodie, but the fecret and incomprehenfible part within vs, namelie the foule, God onelie poffeffeth, and he alone knoweth and fearcheth the fame. For it is a moft noble and excellent thing, paffing all other the gifts of God vnder heauen, being incomprehenfible, and yet comprehending all things, and moft euidentlie declaring the diuine power which is in it. For by a certeine naturall agilitie which is in him he comprehendeth all the foure corners of the world, and in a maruellous fecret celeritie dooth difcerne the whole world and all that therein is: it hath the knowledge and vnderftanding of all arts, fciences & knowledges: he is onlie known to him that is vnknown, feene of him that is not feene, & cōprehended of him which is incomprehenfible. God forbid therefore, that the continuall exercifes of this foule fhould be hindered with vaine and worldlie cares, whereby things for a time omitted or fet afide fhould perifh or be forgotten: for what is the bodie to the foule but a heauie burthen, a paine, & as it were a prifon, which though not holding him, yet hindring him? For what the fhell is to the kernell, the fame is the flefh to the fpirit, both of them carrieng his owne impediment and burthen. Wherefore right noble now earle of Poitiers, but fhortlie which fhall be king of England, & duke of Normandie, hauing the force and helpe of this, I haue yeelded my felfe, and haue now written and drawn out the historie of the conquest of Ireland, and the fubduing of the barbarous nation of the fame in thefe our daies, and haue dedicated the fame vnto your highneffe: that by recording the gifts thereof, and feeing how your father did grow in renowme and honor, fo the fame alfo may increafe in you: and as you are knownen to be the right heire of your fathers inheritance, fo you may fucceed him alfo in his vertues and victories to your great honor. I haue hitherto traueled in this rude and rough matter after a groffe manner, but hereafter more fullie, and in better order to be expreffed and fet foorth, as time and yeares fhall increafe, and as I fhall be more at full instructed.

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To his most reuerend lord and beloved
in Christ, Iohn the noble and wvorthie
king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Normandie and
of Aquitaine, and earle of Aniou: Giraldus offereth this
his simple worke, and wisheth all health both of bodie
and of soule, and a prosperous successe in all things
according to his hearts desire.



IT pleased your noble and excellent father king Henrie, to send me being then attendant upon him, ouer with you into Ireland, where when I had noted sundrie notable things, and which were strange and unknowne to other nations: then at my returne, I made a collection and choise of the chiefest matters therein: and within three yeares, I made my booke of Topographie, of the woonders of Ireland, and of the description of that land, doone in and for the honor of your father; who hauing good liking, and being well pleased with those my trauels (for why, he was a prince (a thing rare in our times) verie well learned) his desire and pleasure was, I should also write out the historie of the last conquest of the same land, made by him and his. Which renewing my former trauels I did: but neither it, nor these my paines were considered. For vertue commonlie is more commended than rewarded. But because by negligence, or rather by reason of the great businesse, wherewith I was incumbred: I had almost forgotten the site, nature, and maner of the west parts of the said land, which I had not seene a long time. I thought it good to ouerrun, and peruse againe my said worke, and being better corrected, to dedicat the same vnto your highnesse. Wherein our historie taketh his beginning from the time that Dermot mac Morogh prince of Leinster was driven out of his countrie by his owne men, and fled to your father then being in Aquitaine: most humblye craving, and at length obtaining aid and succor, vntill your first comming into that land, when I was with you: and haue faithfullie declared in order, what things were there doone by euerie of these noble men and captains, which then passed thither; euen from the first to the last; and what good or euill was doone by them.

In which historie as in a glasse, a man may most apparantlie and euidentlie see and discern truth; who, and what they were which deserued the most honor in this conquest; whether the first aduenturers out of the diocesse of saint Dauids my cousins and kinsmen; or they of the diocesse of Landaff, who came next, and who in verie deed are gentlemen, but more in name than valiant in act; and who vpon the good successe of the first, hoping to haue the like themselves, went ouer: or else they which passed ouer the third time, who were well and fullie furnished at all points with good store of armor, vittell, and other necessaries. Surelie they deserued well, who gaue the first aduenture: and they also are much to be commended, which continued the same: but they deserued best, who went ouer last. For they not onelie did establish and confirme the authoritie and dooings of the first and second, but also made a small end, and brought the whole countrie into subiection. But alas, by reason of their too hastie returning from thence, and of the vnnatural warres and rebellion of the sonnes against their father, the land could not be brought to a perfect order, nor the things begun could haue his full perfection. Wherefore, O noble king, despiſe not the great trauels and labors of your father, nor yet my poore paines herein. Do not impart your honor and glorie to the vnworthie and vnthankefull: neither for the coueting of an Iland of siluer to hazard the losse of one of gold: the one far passing and exceeding the other in value. For the gold of Arabia and the siluer of Achaia doo both fill a mans cofer alike: but the one more in price and value than the other. Besides this, there is another thing which might persuaide you to be mindfull, and haue some regard of the land of Ireland. It hath pleased God and good fortune to send you manie children, both naturall, and also legitimat; and more hereafter you may haue. It were therefore verie good as you may, to appoint and place in those two kingdomes, two of your sonnes to be gouernors and rulers of them: and vnder them to appoint a great number of your men, and endow them liberallie with great liuings and linehoods; and especiallie in Ireland, which as yet is rude, vnmurtured, and nothing to the purpose by our men inhabited. But if so be that neither for the increasing of your owne honor, the enriching of your treasurie, nor for the aduancing of your children, you will haue respect to your realme of Ireland; yet haue some consideration of your poore veterans and old seruitors, who haue most faithfullie and trustilie serued both you and your father, and by whose seruice that realme of Ireland was first conquered; and is yet kept and reteined; and yet are supplanted by such yong nouices and yoonkers as are of late gone thither

thither, to inioy and to succeed into the fruits of other mens travels, fortune better fauoring them, than vertue commending. And the follie of these men is growne to such a pride and arrogancie, that as it is said, they are greatlie to be suspected to aspire and to vsurpe the whole seignorie and dominion to themselves, which it lieth you vpon to see to be quailed and abated.

And in following these your Irish affaires, you are to haue great care and regard, that when so euer you doo march and take anie iourneie, either for the vanquishing of the enimie, or for the reuenging of anie wrongs and iniuries; that you haue alwaies an eie backward, and leaue all things behind you in such safe and sure order, that no danger thereof doo insue vnto you. For why, the household enimies be alwaies working swiles, and waiting for an aduantage; and doo but looke when time and place may serue for them: to rebell: and therefore you are to haue great care and good regard, that you doo leaue all things behind you in safetie, and out of danger: and that you doo not suffer the serpent to lurke and hide himselfe, as it were in your bosome: nor to nourish and rake vp the fire as it were in your lap, the same being ready to breake out into great flames: for this shall not onelie be counted a great rechelesnesse, but also a great fault in you, and to your great reproch. It is verie expedient therefore to euerie prince, that in his land he doo not foster and mainteine anie such Hydras and venomous serpents. And for princes of Ilands, it should be good for them, that they in their dominions and realmes haue in no side anie other marches than the seas it selfe. But if it be so, that you will not be perswaded for anie of the foresaid reasons, to haue regard or remorse to your said land, being so oftentimes desolated, and almost utterly destroyed; that it may be reduced to some better order and state, whereby it may be more profitable to your selfe and vnto yours: then I praise you to pardon vs Welshmen, notwithstanding we be of nature somewhat rash; and giue vs leave to put you in remembrance touching which your father, for the aduancement of himselfe and of his posteritie, did promise to pope Adrian, when he first procured licence and libertie to invade and to conquer the realme of Ireland. The first is, that you would set vnto the true religion, and reforme the church of God in that realme: and then, as you doo now in England, so also in Ireland, you doo cause to be paid out of euerie house the Peter pence, according to the tenure of the said priuilege by your father obtained, and which remaineth in the treasure of Winchester; that you maie so deliuer your fathers soule, and satisfie his promise. For why, as Salomon saith: Alieng toong besecmeth not a king, especiallie when he shall liue to God, and being a creature, wittinglie to offend his creator; for that is an offense verie heinous and dangerous.

And forsomuch as you are to answer before the high and strict iudge, hauing nothing for your excuse and defense than as before is said, for the so much innocent bloud by your father and your selfe alredie shed, and which hereafter maie be shed: you ought to be verie carefull and diligent, that Gods anger maie be appeased, and your fathers promise be performed: that God being thus honored for this conquest, you maie haue a prosperous successe, and all yours in this world: and also after this life inioie that perpetuall felicitie, which surpasseth all ioy and felicitie. And because you haue not kept nor performed these promises, these two defects by Gods iust iudgement are befallen vnto you. The one is, that this conquest could neuer be brought to his full effect and perfection. The other is, that they which were the cheefest and most principall seruitors in this conquest, namely Robert Fitzstephans, who first entered into the land, and made waie vnto others, Henrie of monte Moris, Reimond, Iohn de Courcie, and Meilerius, neuer had anie lawfull issue of their bodies begotten. And no maruell: for notwithstanding the happie and fortunat successe of the conquest, the poore cleargie was neuer considered, but were driuen to beg; and the cathedrall churches which were richlie indued with great liuelehoods, possessions, and territories, were altogether wasted and spoiled. These things a good prince of his honor ought to see to be redressed, and to provide that the cleargie, who are and ought faithfullie to assist and serue him in all weightie causes of counsell and importance, should be releued, and inioie the honor vnto them belonging, and that small portion which was promised vnto them; that God in some things maie be appeased and satisfied for these cruell and bloudie conquests. And moreover, vnder your patience we saie also, that for the perpetuall memorie of this conquest made by Englishmen, and because in proceesse of time, and course of yeares, there happeneth great change of lords, and manie times the inheritance commeth to such as are furthest remoued in kinred, that therefore there be a yearelie tribute rated and yeelded vnto the king, to be paid in gold or such commodities as that land best yeeldeth: and that this be comprised in a publike instrument, that the whole world maie know how the realme and land of Ireland is subiect to the crowne of England. And forsomuch as things doone, being put and registred in writing, and to be read by an interpreter, are not sensible, nor so well understood of the hearer, as when he maie or dooth read the same in his owne speech and language: it were verie good (in my opinion) that some learned man, and skilfull in the French toong, should translate the same into French.



SYLVESTER GIRAL-

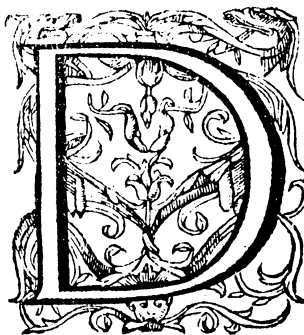
dus Cambrensis, his vaticinall

historie of the Conquest of Ireland.

The figures of (1) (2) (3) &c. set before certeine words of the chapters, are to be conferred with the like in the scholies or interpretations following euerie chapter, whereby the authors meaning is opened: this by the waie of a necessarie caueat to the reader in breuitie.

How Dermon Mac Morogh king of
Leinster fled out of his countrie vnto Henrie
the second king of England for
aid and succour.

Chap. I.



Dermon (1) Mac
Morogh prince of
(2) Leinster & go-
uernour of the fift
part or portion of
Ireland, did in our
time possesse & in-
ioie the east part of
the land, which boz-
dereth and lieth to
wards England:
being disieuered
from the same by

the maine seas. This man from his verie youth, and
first entrie into his kingdome, was a great oppressor
of his gentlemen, and a cruell tyrant ouer his nobles:
which bred vnto him great hatred and malice. Be-
sides this, there befell to him an other mischæse: for
Morike prince of (3) Meth was gone in a iornie, lea-
uing his wife the daughter of Dinolaghlin behind,
in a certeine Iland in Meth: there to remaine and
tarie vntill his returne. She (4) late and this Der-
mon had bene long inamourèd and in loue the one
with the other: and she watching a time how to haue
loue and lust satisfièd, taketh the aduantage of hir
husbands absence, and yeldeth hir selfe to be rauish-
ed, because she would be rauished: for by hir owne
procurement and intisings, she became and would
needs be a partie vnto the preier. Such is the variable
& fickle nature of a woman, by whome all mischieses
in the world (for the most part) doe happen and come,
as mate appeare by (5) Marcus Antonius, and by
the destruction of (6) Troie. King Morike being ad-
uertised hereof, was forthwith maruellouslie trou-
bled & in a great choler, but more grieved for shame
of the fact than for sorrow or hurt; and therefore is ful-
lie determined to be auenged: and forthwith assem-
bleth all his people and neighbors, as also procu-
red into his aid and for his helpe Mothorike king of
(6) Connagh and then monarch of all Ireland. The
people of Leinster considering in what distresse
their prince was, and how on euerie side he was be-

set of his enemies, they also call to mind the old sores
and griefes, which they of long time had dissembled: &
to be auenged & wreched the reof, they make league
and become friends with their enemies, and utterlie
leauè and forsake their king. Dermon seeing him-
selfe thus forsaken and left destitute, and that for-
tune frowned vpon him (for he had oftentimes in-
countered with his enemies and euer had the worst)
determined at length, as to his last refuge to flee o-
uer the seas, and to seeke for some better chance. By
this euent and sequele of this man, as also by manie
other like examples it appeareth, that it is better for a
prince to rule ouer a people, which of a god will and
loue doe obeie him, than ouer such as be froward and
stubborne. This (6) Pero well felt and (7) Domitia-
nus well knewe (8) and Henrie duke of Saronie and
Baire well tried. It is more necessarie and expedi-
ent for a prince to be rather beloued than feared. In
deed it is good to be feared; so that the feare doe pro-
ceed rather from a good will than of compulsion. For
that soeuer is outwardlie onelie and to the shew lo-
ued and receiued, the same of consequence must be
feared: but that soeuer is feared, that is not forthwith
loued. Wherefore feare must be so tempered with
loue, that neither a remisse good will doe war into a
coldnesse, neither feare grounded vpon a rash insu-
lencie be turned and become tyrannie. Loue did in-
large the empire of (9) Augustus, but feare shorte-
ned the life of (10) Julius Cesar. Well, was Morogh
following fortune, and yet in hope that once againe
he will turne hir whele, hauing wind and wether
at will, taketh ship, passeth ouer the seas, and went
vnto Henrie the second king of England, and most
humble and earnestlie prayeth his helpe and succor.
Who being then in the remote places in France and
Aquitaine, and busied in great and weightie affaires,
yet most courteously he receiued him and liberallie
rewards him. And the king hauing at large and or-
derlie heard the causes of his erile and of his repaire
vnto him, he toke his oth of allegiance and swore
him to be his true vassall and subiect: and there vpon
granted and gaue him his letters patents in maner
and forme as followeth. Henrie king of England,
duke of Normandie and Aquitaine, and earle of An-
jou, vnto all his subjects, Englishmen, Normans,
Scots, and all other nations and people being his
subjects sendeth greeting. Whensoever these our let-
ters shall come vnto you, know ye that we haue re-
ceiued Dermon prince of Leinster into our protec-
tion,

Henrie the 2.
king of Eng-
lands this
and letter.

tion, grace, and fauour : wherefore whosoever within our iurisdiction will aid and helpe him, our truſtie ſubiect, for the recouerie of his land, let him be aſſured of our fauour and licence in that behalfe.

(1) Derman is in Latine *Dermotus*, and *Horogh* is in Latine *Murchardus*, and are mere Irish names: and for a difference giuen commonlie to a child at his birth or christening: *Mac Horogh* is a word compounded of *Mac* which is a sonne and of *Horogh* the proper name of a man, and so *Mac Horogh* is the sonne of *Horogh*: the Latine name is *Murchardides*, which is to ſaie *De Murcharde*, or of *Horogh*: according to the Welsh phrase in which the word is used in the same sense. And this is common to the Irish & Welsh, for they call not any man by the name of his familie or nation as is used in England: but by the name of difference giuen to his father, as in this example: Derman being *Horoghs* sonne is called Derman *Mac Horogh*. But this name of *Mac Horogh* is since turned and become the name of a familie or nation: for by reason that this *Mac Horogh* was a noble and valiant man about all the rest of his nation in his daies: therefore his sequele and posteritie haue euer since and doe yet keepe that name. Some are of the mind that *Horogh* and *Maurence* are one name: but the Latine differences importeth the contrarie, and the one is a mere Irish name, and the other a Welsh, and borrowed out of Wales.

(2) Leinster in Latine *Lagenia*, is one of the five parts or portions of Ireland (for into so manie is the whole land diuided.) It lieth vpon the east seas, and extendeth in length from the further point of the territorie of Dublin, which is at the riuer of the Boine by Drogheda in the north, vnto the riuer of the Sorie which sketeth by the citie of Waterford in the south. In it are one and thirtie cantreds otherwise named baronies or hundredes. It was sometimes diuided into five, but now into seauen counties, that is, Dublin, Kildare, Catherlogh, Kilkenny, Wexford, Leax, now called the quenes countie, and Offalie called the kings countie. There are also in it one archbishop; namely Dublin, and foure bishops; that is, Kildare, Fernes, Leighlin, and Ossorie.

(3) Meth in Latine *Media* is one of the five portions of Ireland according to the first diuision. It is the least portion being but of eightene cantreds, but yet the best and most fertile, and lieth for the most part all within the English pale: and euer since the conquest of king Henrie the second, hath bene subiect and obedient to the English lawes and gouernment: and because it lieth as it were in the nauill or bowels of the land, it taketh the name accordingly, being called *Media*, which is the middle. In it is but one bishop and the suffragan, and vnder the primate or archbishop of Armagh. His see is at Trim and his house at Arbraghin. There was no prince sole gouernour of this as was of the other portions: because it was alwaies allowed & allotted to the monarch, whome they called *Maximum regem*, or *Regem Hibernie*, as a surplus towards his diet.

(4) Marcus Antonius was a famous and a noble Romane, excelling in wisdom, knowledge and learning all the Romane princes in his daies; as also a verie noble and a valiant man in the fields, hauing attained to great victories and atchieued to sundrie conquests. And yet notwithstanding being married to Cleopatra queene of Egypt, he so doted vpon hir, and was so bewitched in loue of hir: that leauing all his wonted manners, he consumed his whole time in hir companie, and in the end was more infamous for his vicious, disordered, and loose

life, than before commended for his proweſſe and vertue.

(5) Troia called also Ilion, was an ancient and a famous citie in Asia the lesse, and situated in the prouince of Dardania, builded by Tros the sonne of king Erichonius, who called it after his owne name. It was a citie verie large, strong, and rich, and in those daies thought impregnable; & yet by means that Helena was rauished, the same was in the end utterly subuerted and destroied: the historie is this. Priamus the king of Troie had by his wife Hecuba a sonne named Paris or Alexander: he dreamed on a time that Mercurius should bring vnto him the three ladies, Venus, Juno, & Minerva, that he should giue his iudgement which was the fairest and most beautifull of them. Then Venus, to haue the iudgement for hir and in hir behalfe, did promise him that he should haue for the same the fairest woman in all Greece. Not long after, Paris being in his fathers court in Troie, there were great speeches made of Helena and of hir passing beautie. She was wife to Menelaus king of Sparta in Greece. Where vpon Paris calling to memorie his former dreame, and also inflamed with a feruent desire to see so faire a ladie, maketh preparation both of ships and of men to saile into Greece. Whobeit, some write that he was sent by the king his father in an ambassage to king Menelaus: but whether it was so or not, certaine it is he went thither, and was receiued with all courtesie, and had his intertainment in king Menelaus house. Paris hauing viewed and beheld the queene Helena, he was not so much warmed before vpon the onelie report of hir, as now inflamed with hir passing forme and beautie; and taking the aduantage of king Menelaus absence, perforce taketh Helena, spoileth the kings house, and carrieth all awaie with him. Menelaus at his returne home, being dismasted at so sudden a change and chance, and grieved with such an iniurie, sendeth his messenger first to Paris, and then his ambassadours to king Priamus for restitution and amends. But when no intreatie could take place nor requests be heard, the Grecians not minding to beare with such an iniurie, doe all consent to be auenged thereof: and therefore with all their force and power doe prepare to giue warres vnto Troie, and make choise of Agamemnon the kings brother to be their captaine. The warres were cruell and long, and endured for the space of ten yeares, but in the end Troie was taken, spoiled, and also destroied.

6 Nero, whose name at the first was Claudius Domitianus, was in his youthfull yeares well disposed to good letters, & giuen to honest exercises. And Claudius the emperor hauing good liking of him, adopted him to be emperor, and married him vnto his daughter. After the death of Claudius, he being emperor, did gouerne well enough the first five yeares: but thenceforth he waxed so vicious, and became so horrible in all dissolute wantonnesse, prodigalitie, monstrous lecherie, couetousnesse, and all other most wicked vices: that he seemed to be bozne to the destruction of the whole world. And in the end he was and became so odious to the whole world, that it was decreed by the senat, and sentence giuen, that he should be beaten and whipt to death. Which thing he perceiuing, fled out of Rome, and finding none that would kill him, did runne himselfe thorough with his owne sword, fateng; & so with wickedlie haue I liued, and most shamefullie shall I die.

7 Domitianus, the brother of Titus, and sonne of Vespasian the emperor, was nothing like vnto them, but altogether resembled & was of the nature and

and disposed the empire; but it was so cruell a man, that all men, some of them, had a menial chamber.

(8) The third of the king of the next a young, and pressed his and gone he himselfe sentions contemned himselfe to the had many depose h also and bates and he was s ing thus tempora rowland.

(9) The nato; in Julius C. lius C. made h cesso; in us, the s was m this D. Cefars ueruen the citie increas fions. dome, i tie, and raufthe of all n And ha larged selfe the him no to him no; & C. pater and em posing nat and a p. ude lone an

(10) The king a ancie; Aenea brought liant a in the notab wealth which tious i and to the go the na him, a consp

and disposition of Nero: for at the first entrie into the empire, he did to his commendation sundrie good acts; but in the end he became so wicked a man and so cruel a tyrant, that he generallie was hated of all men, and abhoyred of his owne familie, of whom some of them, to rid the common wealth from so wicked a member, did murder and kill him in his owne chamber.

(8) His Henrie was the sonne of Henrie the third of that name, and emperor of Rome, he was king of the Romans in his fathers time, and emperor next after him. His father died, he being verie young, and left him to the gouernement of the emperesse his mother; who during his minozitie did rule and gouerne the empire in verie good order: but when he himselfe came to the sole gouernment, great dissensions fell betwene him and his nobles, because he contemned, despised, & oppressed them. He gaue himselfe to wantonnesse and pleasure, and little esteemed the execution of iustice; by means whereof, he had manie enemies, who sought what they might to depose him both of empire and of his life. The pope also and he were for the most part in continuall debates and strifes, and who was the cheefe cause why he was so ouerset and hated of his nobles. And being thus ouermatched and in the hatred both of the tempozall and ecclesiasticall estates, he for verie sorrow languished and pined awaie, and so died.

(9) Augustus was the sonne of Octavianus a senator in Rome, who married Accia the daughter of Julius Cesar, and was first named Octavianus Julius Cesar. His uncle hauing no son, adopted him, made him his heire, and appointed him to be his successor in the empire. After the death of the said Julius, the state by reason he was so cruellie murdered, was maruelouslie troubled and in great perils. But this Octavianus hauing attained to sit in Julius Cessars seat, did so prudentlie order and direct his gouernement, that he did not onelie reduce and restore the citie and empire of Rome to a quietnesse; but also increased the same with the conquests of sundrie nations. Such also were his excellent vertues in wisdom, magnanimitie, courtelie, stabilitie, & liberalitie, and such others; that all people were not onelie raiſed in loue with him, but also came and resorted of all nations vnto Rome, to visit, see, and heare him. And hauing stablished the empire in quietnesse, enlarged it with manie nations, & increased vnto himselfe the vniuersall loue of all people, the senat gaue him not onelie the name of Augustus, but gaue vnto him also the titles of the highest and greatest honors, and was called *summus pontifex perpetuus dictator & pater patrie*, and yelbed vnto him the whole power and empire of the sole monarch of the world, now reposing that in him alone, which rested before in the senat and people of Rome. These be the fruites when a prudent magistrat and a wise gouernour ruleth in loue and gouerneth in wisdom.

(10) Julius Cesar was the sonne of Lucius Iulius a noble Romane, and came and descended of the ancient house of the Iulies, who were of the race of Aeneas: he was as noble a man as euer Rome brought fourth, and excellent in all respects: most valiant and fortunate in the warres, and verie prudent in the ciuill gouernement, verie well learned, and a notable orator: he deserved well of his common wealth, for he enriched the same with the conquests which he made ouer sundrie nations. But his ambitious mind and immoderate desire to reigne alone, and to be the sole monarch of the world, drowned all the good vertues which were in him, and for which all the nations feared him, the citizens of Rome hated him, and the senators enaied him: and in the end a conspiracie was made for the murdering of him,

and by the senators executed. For he on a certeine daie, vpon occasion being come into the senat house, and mistrusting nothing, although he wanted not sufficient warnings before giuen him, was there wounded in two and thirtie places to death, and so murdered.

The returne of Dermont Mac Morogh
from king Henrie through England, and of
his abode at Brilflow and other
places in Wales.

Chap. 2.

Dermont Mac Morogh, hauing receiued great comfort and courtelie of the king, taketh his leaue, and returneth homeward through England. And albeit he had bene verie honourable and liberallie rewarded of the king: yet he comforted himselfe more with the hope of good successe to come, than with liberalitie receiued. And by his daillie longing he came at length vnto the noble towne of (1) Brilflow, where because ships and botes did daillie repaire and come from out of Ireland, and he verie desirous to heare of the state of his people and countrie, did for a time sojorne and make his abode: and whilest he was there he would oftentimes cause the kings letters to be opened, and did then offer great intertainment, and promised liberal wages to all such as would helpe or serue him; but it serued not. At length Gilbert the sonne of Gilbert, earle of Cheyſtore (2) came to see him and to talke with him: and they so long had conferred together, that it was agreed and concluded betwene them, that the erle in the next spring then following, should aid and helpe him: and in consideration thereof, the said Dermont should giue him his onelie daughter and heire to wife, together with his whole inheritance, and the succession into his kingdome. These things orderlie concluded, Dermont Mac Morogh being desirous (as all others are) to see his naturall countrie, departed and toke his iourneie towards S. Davids head or Stone (3) in south Wales: for from thence is the shortest cut ouer into Ireland, the same being not a daies sailing, and which in a faire daie a man may ken and discern. At this time Ríce Fitzgriffith was cheefe ruler vnder the king in those parties; and Dauid the second, then bishop of S. Davids, had great pitie and compassion vpon his distresse, miserie, and calamitie.

Dermont thus languishing and lieng for passage, comforted himselfe as well as he might, sometime drawing and as it were breathing the aire of his countrie, which he seemed to breath and smell, sometimes viewing and beholding his countrie, which in a faire daie a man may ken and discern. At this time Robert Fitzstephans vnder Ríce had the gouernement, & was constable of Aberteſſe the cheefe towne in Carretica (4) and by the treacherie and treason of his owne men was apprehended, taken and deliuered vnto Ríce, and by him was kept in prison three yeares, but now deliuered, vpon condition he should take part and iourne with Griffith against the king. But Robert Fitzstephans, considering with himselfe that on his fathers side (who was a forman) he was the kings naturall subject, although by his mother the ladie Beſſa, daughter to the great Ríce Fitzgriffith, he were cosen germane to the said Fitzgriffith, chose rather to aduenture his life, and to seeke fortune abroad and in forren countries, than to hazard his faith, credit, and fame, to the slander, reproch, and infamie of himselfe, and of his posteritie. At length by the earliest mediation and intercession of Dauid then bishop of S. Davids, and of Dauid Fitzgriffith.

Fitzgerald, which were his halfe brothers by the mothers side, he was set free and at libertie: and then it was agreed and concluded betwene them and Mac Morogh, that he the said Mac Morogh should giue and grant vnto the said Robert Fitzstephans, and Maurence Fitzgerald, the towne of (5) Wexford, with two (6) cantreds of land adioining, & to their heires in fee for euer: and they in consideration thereof, promised to aid and helpe him to recouer his lands the next spring then following: and to be then with him without all faile if wind and weather so serued. Whereupon being wearie of his exiled life and distressed estate, and therefore the more desirous to draw homeward for the recouerie of his owne, and for which he had so long trauelled and sought abroad: he first went to the church of St. Dauids to make his orisons and prayers, and then the weather being faire, and wind good, he aduentured the seas about the middle of August; and hauing a merrie passage, he shortly landed in his ingratfull (7) countrie: and with a verie impatient mind, hazarded himselfe among and through the middle of his enemies; and coming safelie to (8) Fernes, he was verie honorable receiued of the cleargie there: who after their abillitie did refresh and succour him: but he for a time dissembling his princelie estate, continued as a priuat man all that winter following among them.

(1) Bisslow in the old time was named Bocræ, afterwards Benta, and now *Bristolium*, and standeth vpon the riuer Hamnum which is nauigable, & flieth into Seuerne or the Seuerne seas: in it there are two rodes, the one named Kingrode, five miles distant from Bisslow, in which the ships doe ride. The other is named Hongrode, a place where the ships lie bedded, and this is three miles from Bisslow. It standeth vpon the borders or confines of the prouince of Gloucestershire and Summersteshire: some should haue it to be in the marches and vnder the principallitie, but in the old times it was parcell of the bailie of Bath, which was the metropole of Summersteshire. It is verie old, ancient and honorable, and sometimes named but a towne: but since for defect and other good considerations, honoured with the name and title of a citie, as also is made a seuerall prouince or countie of it selfe, being distinct from all others; hauing a maior and aldermen according to the ancient times, as also two shiriffes according to the latter grants, by whome the same is directed and gouerned. It is the chiefe estemporium in that part of England, the inhabitants being for the most part merchants of great wealth, aduentures, and traffikes with all nations: great delings they haue with the Camber people and the Irish nation, the one of them fast bordering vpon them, and the other by reason of the nearnesse of the seas, and pleasantnesse of the riuer, daillie resorting by water to and from them.

(2) Chepstow is a market towne in Wales, in that prouince named in old time Benta, being now vnder the principallitie of Wales. In times past it was named Strigulla, whereof Richard Strangbow being earle he took his name, being called *Comes Strigulensis*.

(3) St. Dauids head or stone is the promontorie in west Wales, which lieth and reacheth furthest into the seas towards Ireland: and the same being a verie high hill, a man shall the more easilie discern in a faire daie the countrie of Wexford: for that is the neerest part of Ireland vnto that part of Wales. Not farre from this promontorie or point is the cathedral church of saint Dauids, which is the see of the bishop there: it was and is called *Penentia*, and was in times past an archbishoplike. But as it is written

in the annales of the said church, that in the time of Richard Carew and two of his predecessors bishops there, they were by the kings commandement made to yeld, and submit themselues vnto the metropolitane see of Canturburie.

(4) Aberteife is an old ancient towne standing vpon the mouth of the riuer of Teife, and thereof it taketh his name, that is to saie the mouth of Teife, but now it is called Cardigan. The countrie about it was in times past named Caretica, but now Cardiganshire, so Aberteife is Cardigan towne, and Caretica Cardiganshire.

(5) Wexford in Latine named *Guesfordia*, is next after Dublin the chiefe towne in Leinster, it lieth full vpon the seas, but the haven is a barred haven and dangerous: from it is the shortest cut out of Ireland into England, if you doe touch and take land either at saint Dauids or at Milford.

(6) A cantred (as Giraldus saith) is a word compounded of the British and of the Irish twongs, and containeth so much ground as wherein are one hundred villages: which in England is termed a hundred. Men of later time to declare the same more plainelie, doe saie that it contained thirtie villages, & euerie village contained eight plough lands. Another saie that a cantred containeth twentie townes, and euerie towne hath eight plough lands arable, besides sufficient pasture in euerie for three hundred kine, and none to annoie another; and euerie plough land containeth six score acres of land Irish, and euerie Irish acre farre exceedeth the content of the common acre.

(7) The place where Wexford landed is named Glaskecarge, it is a creeke or a baie lieng vpon the open seas, and in the countie of Wexford, since there was builded a monasterie which was and is dissolved.

(8) Fernes is the see and cathedral church of the bishop, whose diocesse is the countie of Wexford, it lieth nere in the middle of the prouince of Leinster, and was sometimes a church well adorned and maintained, but now in great ruine and decaye, the bishop & chapter not remaining there at all. There is also a strong fort of the princes, wherein sometimes was kept a garrison at the princes charges, but now one lie a constable is placed therein, and he hath the sole charge thereof.

The going ouer and landing of Robert Fitzstephans and of his companie in Ireland, and of the winning of the towne of Wexford,

Cap. 3.

In the meane time Robert Fitzstephans, not vnmindfull nor carelesse of his word and promise, prepareth and prouideth all things in a readinesse, and being accompanied with thirtie gentlemen of seruice of his owne kinsfolks & certaine armed men, and about three hundred of archers and footmen, which were all of the best chosen and piked men in Wales, they all ship and imbarke themselues in three sundrie barkes, and sailing towards Ireland, they land about the callends of Maie at the (1) Banne. Then was the old prophesie of Merlin fulfilled, which was, that a knight biparted should first enter with force in arms & breake the bounds of Ireland. If you will vnderstand the myserie herof, you must haue respect to his parents, for his father was a Norman and an Englishman, his mother the noble ladie Nesta was a Camber or a Britaine, in his companie also was Beruete of Mont Maurence, a man infortunat, vnrmed,

* which from other in which

armed, and in the belly vncle, the next daie lustie and west Wales a good man two ships thus land assured was blood with all sing him that count who when waite stood red him a coiding

As for Mac and com gentle verie the great so newed the sworne and to be contrarie and all o and with of Wex from the of, they much tr about ti to wage aduerfa times p with ar new cha set on fir the tow

Fitz assault, his arch the wal and for being r great p hurting Among bert W nothing to hon wals: the hea the dit do did About the for which i places drew t selues set on there f latelie corne, nie of the pu ners p sed by blouy pouth,

The Conquest of Ireland.

armed, and without all furniture: but he travelling in the behalfe of the earle Richard, to whome he was uncle, was rather a (3) spie than a souldier. On the next daie following Maurice of Desmondgast a (4) lustie and a hardie man, and boine about Milford in west Wales, he with ten gentlemen of service, and a good number of archers imbarke themselves in two ships, and arrive also at the Banne. These men thus landed at the Banne, and not standing well assured of their safetie, by reason their coming was blown abroad through the whole countrie, they with all hast sent messengers to Derron, advertising him of their coming. Whereupon diverse of that countrie, who dwelling upon the sea coasts, and who when fortune frowned had and did shrinke away from Derron, now perceiving that the favour was againe, returned and fawned upon him; according to the saying of the poet in these words:

As fortune to the faith of man doth stand or fall,

Maurice of Desmondgast, as soon as he heard of their landing and coming, sent his bafe son Donold, a valiant gentleman unto them with five hundred men: and verie shortly after he himselfe also followed with great loie and gladnesse. And then when they had renewed their former covenants and leagues, and had sworn each one to the other, to observe the same and to keepe faith: then, though they were people of contrarie dispositions, yet now being good friends and all of one mind, they joine their forces together, and with one consent do march towards the towne of Waterford, which is about twelve miles distant from the Banne. When they of the towne heard thereof, they being a fierce and unrulie people, but yet much trusting to their wonted fortune, came forth about two thousand of them, and were determined to wage and give battell. But when they saw their adversaries armed to be better set in order than in times past, and that the horsemen were well armed with armour and shield shining bright: then upon new chances & changes taking new counsels, they set on fire and burned their suburbs, and retired into the towne.

Fitze Stephens minding and preparing to give the assault, filled the ditches with armed men, and setteth his archers to marke and watch well the turrets of the wals: which things done, he with great shoutes and force giveth the assault. The townesmen within being ready to stand at defense, cast over the wals great peeces of timber & stones, and by that means hurting many, made the rest to give over and retire. Among whom a lustie young gentleman named Robert Barrie, being hot and of a lustie courage, and nothing afraid of death, so he might achieve unto honour, giveth the first adventure to scale the wals: but he was stricken with a great stone upon the headpiece, wherewith he fell headlong downe into the ditch and escaped verie hardlie, for with much ado did his fellowes draw & pull him out of the place. About sixtene yeares after, all his great teeth with the force and violence of this stroke fell out; and that which is verie strange, new teeth grew up in their places. Upon this repulse they all retired and withdrew themselves from the wals, & assembled themselves upon the sea strands, where forthwith they set on fire all such ships and vessels as they could there find. Among whom was one merchant ship lately come out of England laden with wines and corne, which there lay then at anchor, and a company of these lustie youths having gotten votes for the purpose, would have taken hit: which the mariners perceiving, suddenly cut their cables and hoisted up their sailes, & the wind being westerlie and blowing a good gale, they recovered the seas. These youths still following them, had almost lost all and

marred the market: for if others their fellows had not made good shift and rowed a good pace after them they would scarce have recovered the land againe. Thus fortune, which is onlie constant in inconstancie, seemed to have forsaken Maurice and Fitz Stephens, and to have left them destitute of all hope and comfort: nevertheless, on the next morow having heard divine service through the whole campe, they determine with better advise and circumspection to give a new assault, & with lustie courages drew to the wals. The townesmen within seeing this, began to distrust themselves, & to consider how most unnaturally and unchristianly they had rebelled against their prince & soveraigne: wherupon being better advised, they send messengers to him to intreat for peace. At length by the earnest intercession and mediation of two bishops, and certelie good and peaceable men which were within the towne, peace was granted, and foure of the best & chiefe men within the towne were delivered and given for pledges and hostages, for the true keeping of the peace and their fidelitie. Maurice of Desmondgast, to gratifie his men in their first successes, and to acquit the first adventures, did according to his former promise and covenant give unto Robert Fitz Stephens and Maurice Fitz Gerald the towne of Waterford, and the territories thereunto adjoining and appertaining, and unto Heruic of Mount Poice he gave in fee two cantreds, lying on the sea side betwixen Waterford and Waterford.

(1) The Banne is a little creeke lying in the countrie of Waterford, next to either a fisher towne, which is belonging to the bishop of that diocesse, the open seas being on the east and not farre from the haven mouth of Waterford on the south: and as it should seeme, Fitz Stephens and his companie mistooke the place or were driven in there, the same being verie unapt for a harborow: but the same being the place of the first receipt of Englishmen, there were certelie monuments made in memorie thereof, and were named the Banna & the Boenne, which were the names (as the common fame is) of the two greatest ships in which the Englishmen there arrived.

(2) A knight biparted. The prophesie was not onely verified in respect of the parents of Robert Fitz Stephens, the one being a Norman Baron, and the other a Camber: but also in respect of his armes and ensigne which were biparted being of two sundrie changes, namelie partie per pale gules, and ermine a saltier counterchanged. For commonlie all prophesies have their allusions unto armes, and by them they are discovered, though at the first not so appearing before the event thereof.

(3) Gentlemen. The Latine word is *Milites*, which in the now common speeches is termed knights, a name of worship and honour: but the word it selfe importeth and meaneth men expert and skillfull to serve in the wars, whether it be on foot or horsebacke. In times past when men ruled by the sword, then such as were valiant and of good experience grew in to credit and estimation; and the people did make choise of such to governe, rule, and defend them, and who for their excellent vertues were called *Nobiles*, which in English is gentlemen. And then men being ambitious of honour, did contend who might best excell in feats of prowesse and chivalrie: some delivring to excell in the service on foot: and because they used chiefly the target and shield, they took their name thereof, & were called *Scutiferi*. Some practised chiefly the service on horsebacke, and they (according to the manner of their service) were named *Equites*: but both the one and the other were in processe of time called *Armigeri*, in English esquires: and this is taken for a degree somewhat above the estate of a one.

lie gentleman. And for so much as service in the fields did carie awaie with it the greatest honoꝝ and credit, and princes willing & desirous to incourage gentlemen to excell that waie and in that kind of service, they deuised a third degree of honour named knightthod. And this, as it excellith the others before and not to be giuen but for great desert: so to increase the credit and estimation thereof, it was not to be giuen but with great solemnities and ceremonies; and the person so to be honozed, was to be adorned with such ornaments as do speciallie apperteyne to the furniture of such service, as namelie a sword, a target, a helme, a paire of spurres, and such like: and they which were thus aduanced were named *Milites* or knights, and thus the name of service was turned to the name of woꝝship: yea this degree did grow and way to be of such credit, honoꝝ and estimation; that kings and princes were and would be verie circumspect and aduised, before they would dub or promote anie man to this estate. Wherefore considering the estate, nature & woꝝship of a knight, and weighing also the course of this historie, it cannot be intended that all they which went ouer and serued in this conquest, though they were named *Milites*, that therfore they should be compted & taken for knights of woꝝship and high calling: but that they were such as were expert and skillfull to serue in warres according to the nature of the woꝝd *Miles*. Wherefore I haue and do English the woꝝd *Miles* in this historie a gentleman of service.

(4) A spie, not to watch the doings of his countrymen, whereby to take them in a trip, but to note, marke and consider the nature, maner, and disposition of the countrey and people: whereby to aduertise the earle how he should pꝛouide and order his doings against his comming ouer into the land.

(5) Paucice of *Pendalgast* was doubtlesse a valiant gentleman, and borne and bred in west Wales, in or about the pꝛouince of *Penbroke*. He is not named nor mentioned in some books of this historie; but I finding in such exemplars as I haue of best credit, do thinke I should haue done wrong to haue omitted him. There are yet of his race, posteritie and name, remaining at these daies in the countie of *Wexford*, and elsewhere.

Of the ouerthrow giuen in Ossorie,
and of the submission of the
king thereof.

Chap. 4.

These things thus done and ended as they would themselves, they increase their armie with the towncsmen of *Wexford*, and being then about thre thousand men, they march towards (1) *Ossorie*, whereof *Donald* was then the prince, & who of all the rebels was the most mortall enemie which *Mac Morogh* had. For on a time he hauing the said *Dermons* eldest son in his ward and handfast, was in gealoussie of him, and mistrusted him with his wife: whereupon he did not onlie shut him vp in a closter prison; but also to be auenged thereof, and of other supposed injuries, putteth out both of his (2) eyes. First then *Dermon* and his companie enter into *Ossorie*, but they durst not march or aduenture anie further than to the midst of the countrey, because the whole countrey else was full of woods, streits, passes, and bogs, and no waie at all for men to trauell. But when they met and encountered with the *Ossorians*, they found not cowards nor dastards, but valiant men, and who stood well to the defense of their countrey, and manfullie resisted their enemies. For they trusted so much to

their wonted good fortune and successe in such like affaires, that they thzonke not a whit from them, but dꝛaue them perforce out of the bogs and woods, and followed them into the champaine countrey.

Robert Fitzstephans being in the plaine and open fields with his hoꝝlemen, and seeing that the *Ossorians* being there he had the aduantage of them, giueth most fiercelie the onset vpon them, and slue a great number of them; and such as strayed and were scattered abꝛode, they either slue them or ouerthrew them: and such as were ouerthrowne, the footmen with their *Galloglasses* axes did cut off their heads. And thus hauing gotten the victorie, they gathered vp and brought before *Dermon Mac Morogh* thre hundred of their enemies heads, which they laid & put at his feet; who turning euerie of them one by one to know them, did then for soꝝ hold vp both his hands, and with a lowd voice thanked God most highlie. Among these there was the head of one, whom especiallie and aboue all the rest he mortallie hated. And he taking vp that by the heare and eares, with his teeth most horrible and cruellie bit awaie his nose and lips.

After this, they made a rode through the whole countrey, & marched almost to the uttermost parts, and still as they passed they murdered the people, spoiled, burned, and wasted the whole countrey. And thereupon the prince of *Ossorie* by the aduise of his friends, maketh sute and intreateth for peace: which obtained (although in verie deed it was but a colour red and a dissembled peace on both sides) they put in their hostages, made fealtie, and were sworne to be faithfull and true to *Mac Morogh*, as unto their lawfull and true lord. In these seruices, as in all other, *Robert of Barrie*, and *Spellerius* had the pꝛicke and praise, and shewed themselves of all others the most valiant. Both these young gentlemen were nephues to *Fitzstephans* (4) the one being his brothers sonne, and the other his sisters sonne. They both were of like valiantnesse, but of sundrie dispositions and natures. For *Spellerius* being ambitious and desirous of honour, referred all his doings to that end; and whatsoeuer he attempted, was to aduance his fame and credit, making more account to be reported and haue the name of a valiant man, than to be so in deed. The other being of a certeine naturall disposition both noble and valiant, was neither a greedy seeker of land and praise, nor an ambitious crauer of fame and honour; but being alwaies among the best, did rather seeke and trauell to the best, than to be onelie counted the best.

Besides, he was naturallie indued with such a maidenlie shamesfastnesse, and no bragger nor boaster, would neither gloriſie his doings, nor yet like well of anie others which would so do of him. By means whereof it came to passe, that the lesse ambitious and desirous he was of honour, the more the same followed him: for glorie and honour follow alwaies vertue, as the shadow the bodie, shunning them who do most seeke for hir, & following them who do leest regard hir. And manie men are the more liked of manie, because they seeme not to like of anie: and praise, fame, and honour most commonlie, the lesse it is esteemed, the more soner it is had & gotten. It fortuned on a time that the armie thus being in *Ossorie*, they did on a night incampe themselves about an old castell. These two gentlemen as they were euer wont, late togither, and suddenlie there was a great noise, as it were of an infinit number of men, which seemed to bꝛeake in and rush in among them, with great force and a rage, destroient all that euer was, and making a great noise with clashing of their harnesse, and striking of their bills togither, and therewithall such a noise and a shout, as though hea-

uen and earth would haue come together.

These kind of phantasmes and illusions doe often times happen in Ireland, especiallie when there be a mie hostings. With this noise the more part of the armie was so afraid and dismayd, that for the most part they all fled, some into the woods, and some into the bogs, euerie one seeking a place where to hide and succour himselfe. But these two onelie tarteng behind, raught to their weapons, and forthwith full boldlie ran to Fitzstephans tents, and called againe together all such as were thus scattered, and encouraged them to take their weapons, and to stand to defence. Robert of Barrie in all his huiellie burle, standing alone by himselfe musing, except a man or two of his owne men about him, did aboue all others not without anie great admiration of manie, and to the great græse of such as enuied him, best acquit himselfe. For among other good gifts which were in him, this was speciallie reported of him; that no feare, or force, no sudden mishap or misadventure whatsoeuer, could at anie time make him afraid or discomfited, and to lie awake. For howsoeuer things fell out and happened, he was alwaies at hand, and in a readines with his weapons to the fight. And such a one as is alwaies ready to abide whatsoeuer shall happen, and to preuent what mischeues maie insue, is by all mens iudgements counted the best and valiantest man. This man was he, who in this Irish warres was the first who either was stricken or hurt. As concerning the foresaid phantasme, this one thing is much noted of it; that in the morning following, when all things were pacified and quieted, the grasse and weeds which the night before stood there vppright and of a great height, did now in the morrow lie downe flat vpon the ground, as though the same had bin troden with great multitude of people, and yet was it most certaine that none had bene there at all.

(1) There be two Dioceses, the one named the hyper Diocese, which is of the ancient inheritance of the Macguillathrikes, and who are the barons thereof; and this lieth in the diocesse of Leighling: the other lieth on the north of Dymond, and is vnder the iurisdiction of the earle of Dymond, who is also the earle thereof, being named earle of Dymond and Diocese. It is a diocesse of it selfe, and the bishop thereof is named the bishop of Diocese, whose see and house is at Bilkennie. It is parcell of the prouince of Leinster and vnder the obedience then of Dermot Mac Morogh.

(2) This was a courteous kind of punishing, for comonlie such is the reuenging nature of the mere Irishman, that albeit he can or doe late neuer so manie plagues and punishments vpon his enimie: yet is he neuer satisfied, vntill he haue also his life, pea and manie not therewith contented, but will utter their wicked nature euen vpon the dead carcase, as doth appeare in this chapter of the same Mac Morogh, who finding one of his enimies heads, was not satisfied, vntill in most cruell maner he did with his teeth bite awaie his nose and his lips.

(3) There are in Ireland three sorts of degrees of soldiers: the first is the horsleman, who commonlie is a gentleman borne, and he is armed with such armor as the seruice of that countrie requirerh: the second degree is the kernagh, & he also is a gentleman or a freholder borne, but not of that abilitie to mainteine a horse with his furniture, and therefore he is a light souldier on foot; his armor is both light and slender, being a skull, a left gantlet or a target, a sword and skeine, and three or foure darts: the third degree is the Galloglas, who was first brought in to this land by the Englishmen, and thereof taketh his name. For Galloglas is to saie, an English peo-

man or seruant; his armor is a skull, a sacke, an habergeon or shirt of male, a sword and a sparre, otherwise named a Galloglas or halbert, & this man is counted the best souldier on foot, and the strength of the battell. These in all hostings haue attending vpon them a number of boies and kernes, and who doe spoile and kill all such as be ouerthrowne and hurt in the fields.

10 The conspiracie of Rotherike monarch of Ireland, and of the residue of the princes against Mac Morogh and Fitzstephans.

Chap. 5.

In the meane time the wheele of fortune is turned vpside downe, and they which before seemed to stand aloft, are now afraid of standing: and they which were on high, in perill now to fall. For as soon as it was noised through the whole land of the good successe of Dermot, and of the coming in of strangers into the land, and whereof they were much afraid: Rotherike prince of (1) Conagh, and (2) monarch of the whole land, considering how of small things great do grow; and considering that by the coming in of strangers, the whole land was in some perill; sendeth abroad his messengers, and summoneth a parlement of the whole land: who being assembled, and the matter at full debated, they do with one voice and consent conclude and determine to make open warres, and to giue the battell vnto Mac Morogh. And forthwith euerie man hauing made ready both men and armor to his uttermost power, do ioine all their forces and strengths together, and with maine and strength do invade the countrie of Dkenile in Leinster.

Dermot Mac Morogh in this distresse was somewhat disquieted, and in a great perplexitie; partly because some of his (but glossing) friends distrusting the sequele, did thinke from him, & hid themselves: some of them most traitorouslie, contrarie to their oath and promise, were fled to his enimies: and so in this his distresse he had verie few friends, sauing onlie Robert Fitzstephans and the Englishmen with him. He therefore with such companie as he had, went vnto a certaine place not farre from Ffernes, which was compassed and inuironed round about with great thicke woods, high stikle hilles, and with bogs and waters; a place so strong of it selfe, as it was in a maner inaccessible, and not to be entred into. And as soon as they were entred into the same, they forthwith by the aduise of Fitzstephans (3) did fell downe trees, plashed the wood, cast great trenches and ditches round about, and made it so strait, narrow, crooked, and strong, that there was no passage nor entrie for the enimie: and yet by their art and industrie it was made much more strong.

(1) Conagh, in Latine Conacia, is one of the five portions of the land, according to the ancient diuision. In it are thirtie cantreds or baronies; and before and vntill the conquest they were vnder the government of the sept of the O Connors, the eldest man of which sept by the Irish law was ouer the prince: but at the conquest it was giuen to certaine noble men of England, & by certaine descents it came to sir Walter de Burgo, who was lord of that whole prouince and earle of Wolsfer. From these Burghs descend the Burghs now being in Conagh, they being of a base line, and first were put onlie in trust to keepe that countrie to the vse of their lords, who then dwelled and remained in England. This countrie lieth betwene Wlster in the north, Mounster in the

the south, and the seas in the west. The chiefeest and onelic merchant towne or emporium thereof is Calloway.

(2) There was alwaies one principall gouernor among the Irish, whom they named a monarch; and he was commonlie either of the Mac Carthies in Mounster, or of the Moroghs in Leinster, or of the Connoys in Connagh, as this Rothorike was. He was elected & chosen by the common consent of all the nobilitie of the land: & being once chosen, all they did homage and fealtie vnto him. The province of Menth, which was the least of the fine seuerall portions, was reserved alwaies vnto him for his diet. For though the Dinolaghins did dwell in Menth, and were great inheritors or possessorers there, yet they were not counted for princes as the other were. This monarch did gouerne the whole land vniuersallie, & all the princes were directed by him: in him it laie whether it should be peace or warre; and what he commanded was alwaies done.

(3) The manner of the Irish is to keepe them selves from force of the enemies, or in the bogs, or in the woods: the one of his nature is so strong as no horseman is to aduenture into the same; the other with industrie they make strong, by felling of trees & plashing of the woods; and by these means the horsemen (in whom is all the strength of their warres) can haue no passage nor entrie to the enemy, but must either retire, or go on foot, or seeke some other waie. If they will and must needs passe that waie, they must of necessitie go on foot, and then they are too weake, and easilie to be overcome by the Irish, whose seruice is onelic on foot: therefore they do chiefeleie keepe themselves in such places, as where they can take the aduantage of others, and not others of them.

The description of Dermon Mac Morogh, and of the message of Rothorike O Connor sent vnto him for peace.

Cap. 6.

Dermon Mac Morogh was a tall man of stature, and of a large and great bodie, a valiant and a bold warrior in his nation: and by reason of his continuall haloting and crying his voice was hoarse: he rather chose and desired to be feared than to be loued: a great oppressor of his nobilitie, but a great aduancer of the poore and weake. To his owne people he was rough and greuous, and hatefull vnto strangers; he would be against all men, and all men against him. Rothorike minding to attempt anie waie whatsoever, rather than to aduenture and wage the battell, sendeth first his messengers with great presents vnto Fitzstephans, to persuaide and intreat him: that for so much as he made no challenge nor title to the land, that he would quietlie, and in peace returne home againe into his owne countrie, but it auailed not. When they went vnto Mac Morogh himselfe, & persuaided him to take part with Rothorike, and to ioine both their forces and armies in one, and then with might and maine to giue the onset vpon the strangers, and so vtterlie to destroye them. And in this doing, he should haue Rothorike to his good friend, and all Leinster in rest and quietnesse: manie reasons also they alledged concerning their countrie and nation; but all was to no purpose.

The speeches and oration which

Rothorike O Connor made vnto his soldiours.

Chap. 7.

Rothorike O Connor, seeing that by these his deuises and practises he could do no good at all, and thinking that forsomuch as he could not auaille with words, he with force and armes, as his last remedie and helpe, prepareth his armor, and maketh for the battell; and assembling his people together, maketh vnto them these speeches. The right noble and valiant defenders of your countrie and libertie, let vs consider with what people, and for what causes we are now to fight and wage the battell. What enemy of his owne countrie, that tyrant ouer his owne people, and an open enemy vnto all men, and who sometimes was an exiled man; see how he being inuironed with the force of strangers, is now returned, & mindeth the vtter destruction of vs all, and of this his nation. He enuieing the safetie of his countrie and countrey men, hath procured and brought in a strange nation vpon vs, that by the helpe of a hatefull people he might satisfie and more effectually accomply his malice, which otherwise by no means he could haue brought to passe. He then being an enemy, hath brought in that enemy which hath bene euer hatefull both vnto him, and vnto vs; and who are most greedy to haue the soueraintie & dominion ouer vs all, protesting and openly affirming, that by a certeine fatall destiny they are to be rulers ouer this land; yea, & so far hath he shed out his benonie, and almost euerie man is so inuironed therewith, that now no fauour nor mercie is to be theiued. A cruell beast, yea more cruell than euer was beast! for to satisfie his insatiable malice, and to be auenged with the bloudshedding of his owne people, he spareth neither himselfe, nor his countrie, nor sex. This is he who is a most cruell tyrant ouer his owne people: this is he who with the force and helpe of strangers vseth all force and crueltye against all men. He deserueth well therefore to be hated of all, which seeketh to be an enemy vnto all. Looke therefore (ye worthie citizens) well to your selues; I saie loke and consider well how by these meanes, I meane by ciuill discord, all realmes & nations haue for the most part bene ouerthrowen & vanquished. (1) Julius Cesar minding to inuade Britaine had the repulse twise, & was driven out by the Britons. But when Androgeus fell at variance with the king, he then to be reuenged, sent againe for Julius, who ther vpon returned and conquered the land. (2) The same Julius also conquered all the west parts of the world, but when he waxed & became ambitious, & would be a sole monarch, & haue the whole gouernement in himselfe, then discord was raised, & debate was rise, & by that meanes all Italie was filled with murders and slaughters. (3) The Britons being at discord with their king, procured Gurmundus, who then was a terror to all the ocean Isles, that he with the Saxons should pursue and make wars vpon their king, who so did: but in the end to their owne confusion and destruction. Likewise not long after (4) Kemberthus the French king, being an enemy to his owne people, and at discord with them, he procured the said Gurmundus to aid and helpe him to subdue his people, who so did: but thereof he had but bad successe. Therefore let vs with one mind like to these Frenchmen stand stoutlie to the defense of our countrie, and couragiously giue the onset vpon our enemies. And whyles these strangers be but few in number, let vs lustilie issue out vpon them: for fire whyles it is but in sparkles is soon covered, but when

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when it is in great flames, it is the harder to be quenched. It is good therefore to meet with things at the beginning, and to prevent sickness at the first growing: for diseases by long continuance having taken deepe root, are hardlie to be cured. We therefore, who are to defend our countrie and libertie, and to leaue to our posteritie an immortall fame: let vs ballantlie, and with a good courage aduenture and giue the onset, that the ouerthrow of a few may be a terror vnto manie; and that by this example all other forren nations may be afraid to aduenture the like attempt.

(1) Julius Cesar hauing receiued two repulses, retired & toke shipping, being in an vtter despaire & not minding to returne anie more. Whereupon Casibelan then king of the land called & assembled all his nobles to London, where for ioie he kept a great and a solemne feast, and at the same were vsed all such games and pastimes, as in those daies were most accustomed. And at a wrestling game then it chanced two yong gentlemen, the one being nephew to the king, and the other cousine to the erle of London (Kent) to fall at variance, & in the end the kings nephew was slaine. The king much grieued therewith sent for the earle, whose name was Androgenus: and bicause he would not come vnto him he made wars vpon him. The earle considering in what distresse he was, and how farre vnable to incounter the power and withstand the displeasure of the king, sendeth his messenger with his letters vnto Julius Cesar, and besought him most earnestlie to returne with his armie, and he would aid and helpe him against the king with all the power he had. Julius Cesar glad of these tidings returneth with all speed, and in the end hath the victorie: and thus by meanes of debate and diuision the relme, which otherwise was thought to be impregnable, was subuerted and made tributarie.

(2) Julius Cesar hauing happie and fortunate successe in all his affaires, grew into such a liking of himselfe, that he would needs be the sole monarch and emperour ouer the whole world, taking foule euill that according to the ancient gouernement of the Romans anie one should be ioined with him: and ambitiouslie seeking the same, he became dreadfull to the people, lothsome to his friends, and in the displeasure of the senat: who maligning at his aspiring and mistrusting the sequels thereof, conspired his death, and in the end he comming into the senat house, and mistrusting nothing, was murdered and slaine.

(3) At this time Careticus was king and ruled ouer Britaine, now named England, who was so ambitious a man in all respects, that he became hateful both to God and man: and his subiects not abiding his tyrannie, nor boking his wickednesse, fell at diuision with him. Whereupon Curmundus then king of Ireland was procured (some saie by the Britons and some saie by the Saxons) who being entered into the land, and seeking by all the meanes they could to be the sole lords of the land, to inuade the land, which he did, and by the helpe of the Saxons drove the king out of his realme into Wales. And the Saxons hauing thus their wils done also all the Britons out, who from thenceforth hauing lost the land of Britaine, did inhabit themselves in Wales, Cornewall, and elsewhere, where they might haue refuge and succour. And thus though they were reuenged of their king, yet they themselves in the end felt the smart thereof: for they were all destroyed or banished: such are the fruits of dissention and debate.

(4) This Hembertus was not king of France, but as (Gaufrid saith) was nephew to the king: and

the land being then in great troubles, this Hembert made title vnto it, and seeking by all the meanes and waies he could how to compasse the same, procured Curmundus to helpe and aid him, promising him great rewards. Whereupon Curmundus passed ouer into France, where he had but an euill successe: for there was he slaine, Hembert ouerthrowne and the French nation preuailed. And hereupon Rotherike taketh an occasion to encourage his people to stand to their tackle, and ballantlie to withstand Mac Murogh, who as Hembert had procured in Curmundus; so had he stocked in Englishmen to overrun his countrie.

The oration and speeches of Mac Murogh to his souldiors and people.

Cap. 8.

Mac Murogh beheld his men, & perceiving them to be somewhat dismayed and out of heart, framed his speech to recomfort them, and thus saith vnto them. Ye men of Leinster, truth and kindred in all aduentures hath hitherto ioined vs in one fellowship: wherefore let vs now plucke by our hearts and like men stand to our defence. For why, that wicked and ambitious man Rotherike, the author of all wickednesse & mischiefe, who desirous to haue the sole souereignetie and dominion doth now determine (which God forbid) either to drive vs cleane out of our countrie, or vtterlie to destroye vs: and marke you now how he listeth by his head and looketh aloft. He is so proud and glorieth so much in his great multitude, that by ambition and pride he measureth & valueth his force and strength: but yet (for all that) manie times a small number being balliant and well appointed are better and haue preuailed against great troops, being but sluggards and vnarmed. If he make chalenge and pretend title to Leinster, bicause the same sometimes hath bene tributarie to some one king of Conagh, then by the same reason (1) we also maie demand and chalenge all Conagh: for both thereof and of all Ireland our ancestors haue bene the sole gouernors & monarchs. But to the purpose and to speake plainelie, he seeketh not to rule and to reigne as a monarch, but to usurpe and destroye as a tyrant, to drive vs out of our countrie, to succedd into euery mans right & inheritance; and so alone to rule the rois, and to be master ouer all.

Andie there are which do brag of their great multitudes, and put their trust therein: but let them be well assured that we Leinster men though we be but few in number; yet we neuer were nor yet are afraid to incounter euen with the best & proudest. For why, victorie is not gotten, neither doth it stand alwaies in the great multitude of people, but in vertue and ballantnesse, in strength and courage. We on our sides against pride, haue humilitie: against wrongs, equitie: against arrogancie, modestie: and against intemperance, discretion & moderation: and these vertues are to fight for vs. Men do not alwaies attaine vnto victorie by great troops and multitudes of people, but by vertues. The lawes of all nations do grant and allow to resist and withstand force and iniurie with force and strength: it is a fauourable cause to fight for our countrie, and to defend our patrimonie. And forsomuch as they contend for the gaine, but we to eschew the losse; let vs be of a good courage: we stand vpon a good ground, and our seat is naturallie verie strong of it selfe, as also by our industrie made more strong: but by reason of the streitnesse thereof, the greater the companie is therein, the more comberous and troublesome it will be: and

and yet to win the victorie, a small companie being valiant, courageous, and of a good agreement shall serue and be sufficient.

(1) There be (as is said) five portions of Ireland, and euerie of them (except such which was reserved to the monarch for the time being for his diet) had their particular princes, & none of these did hold anie one of the other: but of some one of them chosse was made by the whole estates of the land to be the monarch; and he for the time being did take and receiue homage and fealtie of all the others, not in respect that he was a particular prince, but because he was the monarch. And this Mac Morogh allegeth for himselfe, denieng that he held anie of his lands of the king of Connagh otherwise than in respect that he was the monarch.

The oration of Robert Fitzstephans
made vnto his companions and souldiors.

Chap. 9.

When Dermot Mac Morogh had ended his speech, Robert Fitzstephans calleth his companie together, & thus he speaketh vnto them. Ye lustie yong men and my companions in warres, which haue abiden with me in manie perils; & yet still of noble minds & valiant courages: if we would now consider with our selues, what we are, vnder what captaine, and wherefore we do adventure and attempt these great enterprises, no doubt we shall excell in our wonted valiantnesse, and good fortune shall be on our side. We first came and descended from the (1) Troians, and since are of the French blood and race: of the one we haue these our noble and valiant minds, and of the other the vse and experience in feals of armes: wherefore being thus descended of noble progente by two manner of waies and in two respects; as we be now well armed and appointed, so let vs also be of valiant minds and lustie courages: and then no doubt this rascall and naked people shall neuer be able to resist no: withstand vs.

Besides you see and know how that at home, partly by the subtil and craftie dealings of our owne cousines and kinsmen, and partly by the secret malice and deuises of our familiars and acquaintances, we are bereft & spoiled both of our countrie and patrimonie. And now we are come hither, not as greedy crauers for large stipends, nor yet as couetous pollers for gaine and lucre: but onlie in respect and consideration to haue and iniole the lands & townes to vs, and to our heires after vs, offered and promised. We are not come hither like pirats or thieues to rob and spoile, but as faithfull friends, to recouer and to restore this noble and liberall gentleman to that his patrimonie, whereof he is spoiled and dispossessed. He it is that hath allured and flockt vs hither; he it is that loueth our nation: and he it is who purposeth to plant and settle vs and our heires in this Ile. And peradventure by these meanes the whole land, which is now diuided into five prouinces or portions, may be deduced and brought into one, and the same in time be whole vnto vs and our heires: if that by our valiantnesse and prowesse the victorie be gotten, and Mac Morogh by our seruice, meanes, and industrie be restored, and then the whole dominion to vs and to our heires for euer to be reserved.

O how great were then our honor & glorie! yea so great, that with the perils of our bodies, losse of our liues, and the dangers of death, it is to be wished for, sought, & aduentured. For why should we be affraid? and what is death? I praise you: Is it anie other than

a short delate or distance of time, & as it were a short slepe betwene this transitorie life and the life eternall to come? What is death (I saie) but a short passage from vaine and transitorie things to perpetuall and euerslasting ioies? And certeine it is we must all once die: for it is that ineuitable destinie, which is common to all men, and can be eschewed of no man: for be we idle, and do nothing worthe of perpetuall fame and memorie; or be we well occupied, whereof industriously praise and honor: yet die shall we. When the matter being so, let them be affraid of death, who when they die, all things die with them: but let not them thinke no: be dismayed, whose vertue and fame shall neuer die but liue for euer. Wherefore ye worthe men, who are enobled for your valiantnes and famous for your vertues, let vs with bold minds and good courages giue the onset vpon our enemies, that in vs our noble race & progente be not stained, but that either by a glorious victorie, or a famous death, we do atchiue to perpetuall fame and honor.

How Rothorike intreateth for peace
and obtaineth the same.

Chap. 10.

Rothorike, when he had well considered with himselfe how the euent of wars are doubtful and vncertaine, & that as the wiseman saith; A man of wisdom and vnderstanding is to trie all manner of waies rather than the warres: and also being somewhat timorous to aduenture the battell with strangers, sendeth his messengers by all the waies they best might, to intreat for peace: who at length through their industrie, and by the mediation of good men, and by Gods goodnesse who prospered the same, obtained the same, and which was concluded in this order. That Dermot Mac Morogh should haue and enioy all Leinster in peace and quietnesse, to him and to his heires, acknowledging Rothorike to be the chiefe king and monarch of all Ireland, and yelding vnto him that seruice and dutie as vnto him therein appertained. And for the performance hereof, he deliuered his sonne Cuthur in pledge and for an hostage. To whom Rothorike then promised, vpon condition, that the peace and certeine other points obserued, he would giue his daughter vnto him in marriage. These things being openlie published, each partie swore the one to the other, for the performance and keeping of the same. And yet what soeuer the vther shew, it was secretly agreed betwene them, that Dermot Mac Morogh, when and as soon as he had quietly settled Leinster in good order, he should returne and send home all the English people, as also in the meane time should not procure anie more to come over.

Of the comming of Maurice Fitzgerald into Ireland: of the yelding vp of Dublin to Dermot Mac Morogh; and of the warres betwene the two princes of Connagh and of Limerike.

Chap. 11.

These things thus done & performed, and fortune smiling with a more sauorable countenance to smile vpon them, behold Maurice Fitzgerald, of whom we spake before, who was the halfe brother by the mothers side to Robert Fitzstephans, arrived at Waterford in two ships, hauing in his companie (which he brought) ten gentlemen of seruice, thirtie horsemen, and of archers and footmen about one hundred. A man he

he was both valiant and cunning man of his worth all about him. This new enraged the king and to call for yong whelpes past done by minding to and marcherie, but left a hold led the (1) which place yet by indolence. Morogh panie of the king vnto him in the border, they fame, and the citizens of began to quicke and in fame, did true and fir time there Rothorike reke. Ant force enter mon Mac phans with Donald: whose mean fame was to returne which he deces, Robert praise and a woman to his backe, hen in my

(1) It from the miles, and ned on two Waterford to ble: the other which is a 100 equall with of rods and daies; but strongest for ing a place yet it was t was pulled still remain

Dermot earle Rich

Was he might re purchase all

he was both honest and wise, and for his truth and valiantnesse verie noble and famous. He was a man of his word, and constant of mind, and there-withall adorne with a certeine kind of womanlike shamefastnesse. Mac Morogh being verie glad of this new repaire, as also much animated and encouraged therewith, beghinneth to thinke vpon old sores, and to call to remembrance the great iniuries and wrongs which the citizens of Dublin had in times past done both vnto his father and to himselfe; and minding to be reuenged thereof, bendeth his force, and marcheth with his whole armie to besiege the citie, but left Fitzstephans behind, who was then building a hold or castell vpon a certeine rockie hill called the (1) Caricke, about two miles from Wexford, which place although it were verie strong of it selfe, yet by industrie and labour it was made much stronger. Morice Fitzgerald, with all the force and companie of the Englishmen, accompanied and attended Mac Morogh, who was his guide, and conducted him vnto Dublin. As soon as they were entred within the borders and confines of the territorie of Dublin, they forthwith burned, spoiled, and wasted the same, and the whole countrie thereto adioining. The citizens of Dublin seeing and considering the same, began to quaille, and their hearts fainted, and doe seke and intreat for peace; and hauing obtained the same, did sweare fealtie, and gaue in hostages for the true and firme keeping of the same. In this meane time there fell a great enimitie and quarell betwene Rothorike of Connagh and Donald prince of Limerick. And as soon as Rothorike was with all his force entered into the countrie of Limerick, Dermot Mac Morogh sent forthwith Robert Fitzstephans with all his power, to aid and helpe the said Donald: for he was Dermons sonne in law, by whose means he gat the victorie, and Rothorike with shame was driuen to retire out of the countrie, and to returne to his owne home: and left the chefferie which he demanded. In these and all other like seruises, Robert Barrie and Meilerius carried the best praise and commendations. At this time was sene a woman who had a great beard, and a man vpon his backe, as a horse; of whom I haue already spoken in my topographie.

(1) The said Caricke (as is written) is distant from the towne of Wexford about two English miles, and standeth vpon a high rocke, and is inuiro-
ned on two sides with the riuer which floweth to
Wexford towne, and it is verie deepe and nauiga-
ble: the other two sides are vpon the maine land,
which is a verie fertile soile, and in height almost
equall with the castell. It was at the first made but
of rods and fustices, according to the maner in those
daies; but since builded with stone, and was the
strongest fort then in those parts of the land: but be-
ing a place not altogether sufficient for a prince, and
yet it was thought too good and strong for a subiect, it
was pulled downe, defaced and rased, and so dooth
still remaine.

Dermot Mac Morogh sendeth for the
earle Richard, who forthwith maketh great pre-
paration for his coming.

Chap. 12.

Mac Morogh, being by meanes of his
god successe well quieted and satisfied, be-
thinketh himselfe now of greater mat-
ters, and demiseth how and by what means
he might recover his old and ancient rights; as also
purchase all Connagh to his subiection. And herein

he used a secret conference with Fitzstephans and
Fitzgerald, vnto whom he bitterly and discouereth
all his whole mind and intent: who forthwith gaue
his answer that his deuise was verie easilie to be
compassed, if he could get a greater supplie and aid
of Englishmen. Wherevpon he made most earnest
requests vnto them, both for the procuring of their
kinsmen and countriemen, as also for the furthering
to effect his purpose and deuise. And that he might
the better persuade them herevnto, he offereth to ei-
ther one of them his daughter and heire in marriage
with the inheritance of his kingdome: but they both
being already married, refused the offer. And at
length after much talke they thus concluded, that he
should with all speed send his messengers with his
letters vnto the earle Richard, of whom we spake
before, and vnto whom he the said Mac Morogh at
his being at or about Bussow, had promised his
daughter to wife, which letters were as followeth.
Dermot Mac Morogh prince of Leinster, to Ri-
chard earle of Chepstone, and sonne of Gilbert the
earle sendeth greeting. If you doe well consider and
marke the time as we doe which are in distresse, then
we doe not complaine without cause nor out of time:
for we haue already sene the (1) fozkes and swal-
lows, as also the summer birds are come, and with
the weesterlie winds are gone againe; we haue long
looked and wished for your coming, and albeit the
winds haue bene at east and easterlie, yet hitherto
you are not come vnto vs: wherefore now linger no
longer, but hasten your selfe hither with speed, that it
may thereby appeare not want of god will, nor for-
getfulness of promise, but the iniurie of time hath
bene hitherto the cause of your long staie. All Lein-
ster is already whole yeldd vnto vs: and if you
will speedlie come away with some strong compa-
nie and force, we doubt not but that the other soure
portions will be recovered and adioined to this the
fift portion. Your coming therefore the more speed-
die it is, the more gratefull; the more hastie, the more
foill; and the sooner, the better welcome: and then
our mislike of your long lingering shall be recom-
pensed by your sone coming, for friendship & good
will is recovered and nourished by mutuall offices,
and by benefits it groweth to a more assurednesse.
When earle Richard had read these letters, he ta-
keth aduise with his friends, and taking some com-
fort and stomach of the god successe of Fitzstephans,
whereof he was at the first both fearefull and doubt-
full, fullie determineth to bend his whole force and
power to follow this seruise and hostings. This earle
was a man of a verie noble parentage, and descen-
ded of verie honorable ancestors; but yet more fa-
mous in name, than rich in purse; more noble in
blood, than endowd with wit; and greater in hope of
succession, than rich in possessions. Well, he thought
long yet he could wend himselfe ouer into Ire-
land, and therefore to compass the same to god ef-
fect, maketh his repaire to king Henrie the second,
and most humble praieeth and beseecheth him that he
will either restore him to such possessions, as by inhe-
ritance did appertene vnto him; or else to grant him
the libertie to trie and seeke fortune in some other
foren countrie and nation.

(1) The fozke and the swallow are named *A-
ues semestres*, or the halfe yeares birds: for they come
at the spring, and depart againe auaie at the au-
tume or fall of the leafe, for in the winter they are
not sene. And by this Mac Morogh alludeth and
meaneth that he hath awaited that whole halfe yeare
for the earles coming: whose promise was,
that in the spring of the yeare past he
would haue come.

Mac Mo-
roghs letter
to earle Ri-
chard.

Of the arriual of Reimond le grosse in-
to Ireland, and of the fight which he had
against the Waterford men at
Dundorogh.

Chap. 13.

The king hauing heard the earles requests,
bethought himselfe a while thereof: but in
the end he allowed not of the one, nor gran-
ted the other, but fed him still with good spee-
ches, and nourished him with faire words, commen-
ding his noble mind, that he would aduenture so ho-
norable an enterprize. And in words the king se-
emed to giue him leaue to follow his deuise, but to
saie the truth, it was rather in game than in earnest,
for the king minded nothing lesse. But the earle ta-
king the auantage of the kings words, and accep-
ting the same for a sufficient leaue and licence, retur-
ned home. And the same being the winter season &
verie unfit to trauell into foren nations in martiall
affaires, doth now make preparation of all things
fit to serue when time should require. And as soone as
the winter was past, he sendeth ouer before him in-
to Ireland, a gentleman of his owne household and
familie named Reimond le grosse: who had with
him ten gentlemen of seruice, and thre score and ten
archers well appointed, and taking shipping about
the halends of Maye, then landed at the rocke of (1)
Dundonolfe, which lieth south from Waterford, and
about foure miles east from Waterford: and there
they cast a trench, and builod a little castell of hold,
with turkes and wattell. This Reimond was ne-
phue to Robert Fitzstephans and to Spaurice Fitz-
gerald, being the sonne vnto their elder brother
named William, and was verie valiant, of great
courage, and well expert in the warres and in all
martiall affaires. The citizens of Waterford, and
Mmolaghlin Mfein, being aduertised of this their
arriual, and nothing liking the neighborhood of such
strangers, take counsell together what were best to
be done: and finding it most necessarie and needfull
to withstand at the beginning, they do conclude and
determine to giue the onset vpon them; and being
about thre thousand men, they take botes, and rowe
downe the riuer of the Sure (which fleteth fast by the
walles of Waterford on the east, and diuideth Leins-
ter from Spounster) and so came to the place where
Reimond and his companie were, where they lan-
ded and set their men in order for the assaults, and
marched boldlie to the ditches of Reimonds fortresse
or castell: but then it appeared how valiantnes can
neuer be hid, lustie courage be daunted, nor yet pro-
uesse or worthines be blemished. For Reimond and
his companie, although they were but few in num-
ber, and too weake to incounter with so great a com-
panie as their aduersaries were: yet being of cou-
ragious minds & lustie stomachs, went out to meet
with their enemies; but when they saw that their
small number was not sufficient nor able in the
plaines to abide and indure the force of so great a
multitude, they retired to their fort. The enemies
thinking then to discomfit and cleane to ouerthrow
them, followed and pursued them so hotly, that the
Englishmen were no soner in at the gates, but
the Irishmen were also at their heeles, and some of
them within the gate. Which thing when Reimond
saw, and considering also with himselfe what a dis-
tresse and perill he and all his were in, suddenly
turneth backe his face vpon his enemies; and the
first of them which entred, he ranne him thorough
with his sword (or as some saie claue his head at the
der) and then with a loud voice cried out to his com-

panie to be of a good comfort. Who forthwith as they
turned and stood most manfullie to their defense;
so their enemies also being dismayed and afraid at
the death of that one man, they all fled and ranne
a waie: and then they which in this doubtfull chance
of fight, were thought should be vanquished and
cleane ouerthrowne, suddenly became to be the
victors and conquerors. And these sherpelle then
pursued their enemies, who were scattered abroad
in the plaines and out of arraie; that in a verie short
time and space they slew about five hundred per-
sons: and being wearie with killing, they cast a
great number of those whom they had taken pris-
oners headlong from the rocks into the sea, and so
drowned them. In this fight and seruice a gentle-
man named William Gerard did most valiantlie
acquit himselfe. For albeit he were but of a weake
bodie, yet was he of a verie stout stomach & courage;
he was diseased and sicke of the leprosie, and there-
fore desirous rather to die valiantlie, than to liue
in miserie: and for that cause would and did ad-
uenture himselfe in places where most perill and
danger was and seemed to be; thinking it good with
a glorious death to prevent the grieue and losse
nesse of a grieuous discase.

Thus fell the pride of Waterford, thus decayed
their strength and force, and thus began the ruine and
ouerthrow of that citie, which as it bred a great hope
and consolation to the Englishmen; so was it the
cause of a great desperation and terror to the eni-
mies. It was a strange matter and neuer heard of
before in those parties, that so great a slaughter
should be made by so small a number: neuertheless
by euill counsell and too much crueltie, the En-
glishmen abused their good successe and fortune. For
hauing gotten the victorie, they saued fewentie of
the best citizens, whom they kept prisoners; and for
the ransome or redemption of these, they might haue
had either the citie of Waterford yelded & surren-
dered vnto them, or such a masse of monie as they
would themselves. But Herueie of Spount Sporis
(who came ouer with thre gentlemen of seruice, and
ioined with his countrimen and Reimonds) being
both of contrarie minds, strived the one with the o-
ther, what were best to be done hereint.

(1) Dundonolfe is a rocke standing in the coun-
tie of Waterford vpon the sea side, lieng east from
the citie of Waterford about eight English miles,
and is from the towne of Waterford about twelue
miles, lieng southwards from the same: it is now
a strong castell, and appertaining to the ancient house
of the Powers of Kilmaithen, & called by the name
of Dundorogh.

(2) The citie of Waterford or Gnaterford, na-
med sometimes (as Ptolomeus writeth) Manapia, is
a faire, ancient, and honorable citie, standing vpon
the south side of the riuer of Sure, which fleteth fast
by the walles thereof, and was first builod by one
named Sitaratus, one of the thre princes which
came out of the east parts to inhabit that land. It
was at the first but a small pile, lieng in forme of a
long triangle, but since & of late times enlarged by
the citizens & inhabitants of the same. It is the che-
fist empozium in a manner of all that land, and
standeth cheeflie vpon the trade of merchandize, they
themselves being not onelie great traouellers into
foren nations, but also great resort and baillie con-
courses of strangers are to it. Concerning the go-
uernement, order, state and seruice of this citie, and
of sundrie other things incident to the same, are at
large described in the later historie of this land.

The oration of Reimond for the
deliuerie of the prisoners taken.

Chap. 14.

Reimond being verie desirous that the captiues taken might be deliuered, laboureth by all the waies he could how to compasse the same, & in presence of Herueie maketh these speeches, and vseth these persuasions to all his companie. Be my noble and valiant companions and souldiers, for increase of whose honour, vertue and fortune seeme to contend; let vs now consider what is best to be done with these our prisoners and captiues. For my part I doe not thinke it good, nor yet allow that any fauour or courtesie should be at all shewed to the enimie. But understand you, these are no enimies now, but men; no rebels, but such as be vanquished and cleane ouerthrowen, and in standing in defense of their countrie, by euill fortune and a worse destinie they are subdued. Their adventures were honest and their attempts commendable, and therefore they are not to be reputed for theues, factious persons, traitors, nor yet murderers. They are now brought to that distresse and case, that rather mercie for examples sake is to be shewed, than cruelty to the increasing of their miserie is to be ministered. Suerlie our ancestors in times past (although in deed it be verie hard to be done) were wont in times of good successe and prosperitie, to temperate their loose minds and unrulie affections with some one incommoditie or other. Wherefore let mercie and pittie, which in a man is most commendable, worke so in vs, that we who haue overcome others, may also now subdue our owne minds, and conquer our owne affections: for modestie, moderation, and discretion are wont to staine hasty motions, and to stop rash deuises. How commendable and honorable is it to a noble man, that in his greatest triumph and glorie, he counteth it for a sufficient reuenge, that he can reuenge and be weakened?

Julius Cesar, whose conquests were such, his victories so great, and his triumphs so manie, that the whole world was nosed therewith; he had not so manie friends who reioiced for the same, but he had manie more enimies who maligned and cruied at him, not onelie in slanderous wordes and euill reports; but manie also secretlie conspired, deuised, and practised his death and destruction: and yet he was so full of pittie, mercie, and compassion, that he neuer commanded nor willed any to be put to death for the same, sauing onelie one Domitius, whom he had of mere clemencie for his lewdnesse before pardoned, for his wickednesse released, and for his trecherie acquitted. And thus as his pittie did much increase his honour, so did it nothing hinder his victories. How beastlie then and impious is that cruelty, wherein victorie is not joined with pittie? For it is the part of a right noble and a valiant man, to count them enimies which doe wage the battell, contend and fight for the victorie; but such as be conquered, taken prisoners, and kept in bonds and captiuitie, to take and repute them for men, that hereby fortitude and force may diminish the battell and end the quarrell, as also humanitie may increase loue & make peace. It is therefore a great commendation and more praise, worthie to a noble man in mercie to be bountious, than in victorie to be cruel; for the one lieth onelie in the course of fortune, but the other in vertue: and as it had bene a great increase of our victorie, and an augmentation of honour, if our enimies had bene slaine in the field and ouerthrowen in the battell: so they being now taken and saued, and as it were men returned from rebels to the common societie and fel-

lowship of men; if we should now kill them, it w^{ld} be to our great shame, dishonour, and reproch for euer. And for so much as by the killing and destroying of them we shall be neuer the nearer to haue the countrie, nor neuer sooner to be the lords of the land; and yet the ransoming of them verie good for the maintenance of the souldiers, the good fame of vs, and the advancement of our honour: we must needs thinke it better to ransom them than to kill them. For as it is requisit and meet, that a souldier in the field fighting in armes, should then thirst for the blood of his enimies, trie the force of his sword, and ballantellie stand to his tackle for victorie: so when the fight is ended, the wars are ceased, & the armes laid downe, and all fierceness of hostilitie set apart; then in a noble man must humanitie take place, pittie must be shewed, and courtesie must be extended.

The oration or speech which
Herueie made.

Chap. 15.

When Reimond had ended his speech, & the whole companie being in a muttering, and as it were men well pleased and verie well allowing his mind and opinion: then Herueie stood vp and spake to them all in this manner. Reimond hath verie exquisitellie discoursed with vs of pittie and mercie, and in set speeches uttering his eloquence, hath shewed his mind and declared his opinion; persuading and inducing vs to belieue, that a strange land were to be conquered sooner by mercie and fond pittie than by sword and fire. But I praise you, can there be a worse waie than so to thinke? Did Julius Cesar or Alexander of Macedonie by such means or in such order conquer the whole world? Did the nations from out of all places run to submit themselves vnder their yoke and empire, in respect of their pittie & mercie, & not rather compelled so to doe for feare & perforce? For people, whiles they are yet proud and rebellious, they are (all pittie and mercie set apart) by all manner of waies and means to be subdued; but when they are once brought into subiection and bondage, and redie to serue and obie, then they are with all courtesie to be intreated and dealt withall: so that the state of the gouernment may be in safetie and out of danger. Wherein and in this point must pittie be vsed, but in the other seueritie or rather cruelty is more necessarie: here clemencie is to be shewed, but in the other rigour without fauour is to be exhibited and vsed. Reimond persuadeth that mercie is to be extended, as vpon a people already subdued and subiected; or as though the enimies were so few and of so small a number, as against whom no valiant seruice nor chualtrie can be exploited, and yet they redie to ioine with vs: whereby our force may be increased, and our power augmented. But alas! Doe not we see how that the whole nation and people of Ireland are wholly bent, and not without cause altogether conspired against vs?

Suerlie me thinketh Reimond is contrarie vnto himselfe; for why, his coming hither was not to dispute of pittie, nor to reason of mercie; but to conquer the nation and to subdue the people. What an example of impious pittie were it then, to neglect our owne safetie, and to haue remorse and compassion vpon others distresses? Wherefore, we haue here in the fields, and in armour more enimies than friends, we are in the middle of perils and dangers, our enimies being round about vs in euery place: and shall we thinke this to be nothing, but that we must be also in the like distresse and danger among

our selues. Round about vs our enemies are infinit, and within our selues some there be which practise our destruction. And if it should happen that our captiues and prisoners should escape and breake loose out of their bonds, which are but verie weak and slender, no doubt they will forthwith take our owne armours and weapons against vs. Well well, the mouse is in the rypbord, the fire is in the lap, and the serpent is in the bosome; the enimie is at hand ready to oppresse his aduersarie, and the guest is in place with small courttesie to requit his host. And I praise you doth not Keimond execute that in his facts and doings, which he denieth in his words: Are not his speeches contrarie to his deeds? Let him answer me to this. If our enemies when they come in good arate and well appointed to giue the onset, and to wage the battell against vs, if they should happen to haue the victorie and the ouerhand ouer vs, would they deale in pitie & mercie? Would they grant vs our liues? Would they put vs to ransom? Tush what need manie words when the deeds are apparant? Our victorie is to be so bled, that the destruction of these few may be a terror to manie; whereby all others and this wild and rebellious nation may take an example, and beware how they meddle and encounter with vs. Of two things we are to make choise of one; for either we must valiantlie and couragiously stand to persewme what we haue taken in hand; and all fond pitie set aside, boldlie and stoutlie to ouerthrow and vanquish this rebellious and stubborne people: or (if we shall alter the mind and opinion of Keimond altogether be pitifull and full of mercie) we must hoist by our sailes and returne home, leauing both the countrie and our patrimonie to this miserable and wretched people. Hercules opinion was best liked, and the whole companie allowed his iudgement, whereupon the captiues (as men condemned) were brought to the rockes, and after their limbs were broken, they were cast headlong into the seas, and so drowned.

The coming ouer of Richard Strangbow earle of Cheshire into Ireland, and of the taking of the citie of Waterford.

Chap. 16.

In this meane time Richard the earle, hauing provided and made all things in readinesse fit for so great an enterpryse, took his iourne, and came through Wales to S. Davids: and still as he went he took by all the best chosen and piked men that he could get. And hauing all things in place and in a readinesse meet and necessarie for such a voyage, he went to Milford haue, and hauing a good wind took shipping and came to Waterford, in the kalends of September on the vigill of saint Bartholomew, and had with him about two hundred gentlemen of good seruice, and a thousand others. When was fulfilled Celidons prophesie, which was; that A little firebrand shall go before a great fire; and as the sparkels inkindle the small wood, so shall the same set the great wood a fire. Likewise was fulfilled the saying of Merlin; A great forerunner of a greater follower shall come, and he shall tread downe the heads of Desmond and Leinster, and the waies before opened & made ready he shall enlarge. Keimond being aduertised of the earles arrival, went the next morrow vnto him with great joy, hauing with him in his companie sortie gentlemen of seruice. And on the morrow vpon saint Bartholomeus daie, being tuesday, they displayed their banners, and in good arate they marched to the walls of the citie, being fullie bent and determined to giue

Prophecies of Celidon and Merlin fulfilled.

the assault: the citizens & such others as had escaped at Dundoogh manfully defending themselves, and giuing them two repulses. Keimond who by the consent and assent of the whole armie was chosen and made generall of the field, and tribune of the host, hauing espied a little house of timber standing halfe open posts without the wals, called his men together, and encouraged them to giue a new assault at that (1) place. And hauing betwixt downe the posts whereupon the house stood, the same fell downe together with a pece of the towne wall; and then a waie being thus opened, they entred into the citie, and killed the people in the streets without pitie or mercie, leauing them lieng in great heaps; and thus with bloodie hands they obtained a bloodie victorie. In the tower called (2) Keimonds tower they took two murderers prisoners, whom they barned and killed; also they took there Keimold, and Macclathlen Oghlan prince of the Decies: but these were saved by meanes of the coming and suite of Mac Spozogh, who was also come thither with Maurice Fitzgerald and Robert Fitzstephans. And when they had set the citie and all other their things in good order, Mac Spozogh gaue his daughter Eua, whom he had then brought thither with him, to be married to the earle according to the first pact and couenant; and then the marriage solemnized and all things set in order, they displayed their banners & marched towards Dublin.

(1) In the verie place of the assault is now builded a strong fort and blockhouse, which is verie well furnished and appointed with ordinance and shot. It is in the verie east angle or point of the walles of the citie: and within on the south side the walles doth it appeere how the same was burned by the Englishmen at this their entrie.

(2) The Keimonds tower is a little tower in the wall of the old citie, and is next or verie neere adioining to a late monastrie or friers there: it is a verie slender thing, and not worthe of any report; sauing that the autho doth alledge it as a fort in those daies bled for a defense.

The besieging and taking of the citie of Dublin.

Chap. 17.

Keimond being aduertised, and hauing perfect aduertisement that they of Dublin had procured & stocked all or the most part of the land to come to aid, helpe and to defend them; and that they had lated all the waies, passages and streits about the citie, whereby no man could passe that waie, he left all those waies; and passing through the mounteines of Glundoloch, he brought his whole armie safe to (1) Dublin. And such was his mortall hatred towards the Dublinians, that he could not forget the iniuries done to himselfe, and the shamefull reproch done to his father. For his father being on a time at Dublin, and there sitting at the doore of a certain ancient man of the citie, they did not onelie there murder him; but for a further satisfieng of their malice, they cast him and buried him with a dog: and therefore about all others he most mortallie hated them. The citizens much mistrusting themselves, they send messengers to intreate for peace; and in the end by the mediation and meanes of Laurence then the archbishop of Dublin, a parlay and a treatie was obtained: but whiles the old and ancient men were talking of peace, the younger sort were busie in weapons. For Keimond and Miles of Cogan, two lustie young gentlemen, but more desirous to fight vnder spars in the fields than

Two strange miracles.

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Two strange
miracles.

to sit in counsell vnder Iupiter; and more willing to purchase hono^r in the warres, than gaine in peace. They with a companie of lustie yong gentlemen suddenly ran to the walles, & giuing the assalt, brake in, entred the citie, and obtained the victorie, making no small slaughter of their enemies: but yet the greater number of them, with Masculphus their capitaine, escaped awaie with such riches & iewels as they had, and recovered themselves vnto certeine ships which laie there, & so sailed to the north Ilands. At this time there happened two strange miracles in the same citie, the one was of a crosse or a rood which the citizens minding to haue caried with them, was not nor would be remoued; the other was of a peece of monie, which was offered to the same rood twice, & euer it returned backe againe, as you may see more thereof in our topographie. When the earle had spent a few daies in the citie, about setting and settling the same in good order, he left the same to the charge and gouernance of Miles Cogan: but he himselfe by the perswasion of Mac Morogh (who sought by all the waies he could, how to be reuenged vpon Morike king of Metch) intruded the borders of Metch, and wasted, spoiled, and destroyed the same. All Metch being in the end wasted by the sword and fire; Rothorike king of Connagh thought with himself what might hereof befall vnto him, bicause his neighbors house being set on fire, his was next to the like perill: he sent his messengers vnto Dermot Mac Morogh with this message. Contrarie to the order of the peace, thou hast procured, called, and flocked into this land a great multitude and number of strangers, and as long as thou dost staie and keepe thy selfe within thy owne countrie of Leinster, we bare therewith, and were contented. But forsomuch as now not caring for thy oth, nor regarding the safetie of thy hostages, thou hast so fowldie & lewdlie passed thy bounds: I am to requite thee, that thou doe retire and withdraue these excurses of strangers; or else without faile I will cut off thy sonnes head, & send it thee. Mac Morogh when he heard this message, full stoutlie answered, and said he would not giue ouer that which he had begun, nor desist from his enterprise, vntill he subdued all Connagh his ancient inheritance, as also he had recovered the monarchie of all Ireland. Rothorike being aduertised of this answer, was somewhat warmed and offended therewith, & forthwith in his rage commanded Mac Moroghs sonne, who was his pledge, to be beheaded.

(1) Dublin is the oldest and ancientest citie in all Ireland, and was builded by one Amclaus, the eldest of three brethren named Ossimen or Casserlings: which came first out of Norwaie, or (as some write) out of Normandie, and did inhabit the land. It was first named Aghalia, that is, the towne of hurdels; for it standeth somewhat low and in a marshy ground: and bicause when the same was first builded, the laborers were wont and did go vpon hurdels, it toke the name thereof. It was also called Doolin, which is to saie blacke water, for of that name is a certeine brooke, flowing not farr out of the towne, but now is called Dublin or Diuelin; it standeth vpon the riuer named Anelyphus or the Liffey, and it is a port towne, being the chiefeest citie and emporium of all that land. It is walled with stone round about, & at the east part thereof is a verie old castle, builded first by Henrie Londers archbishop of Dublin, about the yere 1212, which is now the quenes castell, & where in the lord deputie of that land most commonly lieth, as also wherein the courts for the common law at the vsuall termes are kept. The citie it selfe stands most on trade of merchandize, & is by that means of good wealth. The inhabitants are more Englishmen, but

of Ireland birth. The gouernment thereof is vnder a maior and two shiriffes. And as concerning the order, gouernement, state, policies, and good seruices of the same, I shall more at large declare in my particular historie of this land.

The councill or synod kept at Armagh.

Chap. 18.

These things thus ended & compleated, there was a synod or councill of all the clergie called and assembled at Armagh: there to intreat and examine what should be the causes and reasons, why & wherefore the realme was thus plagued by the resort and repaire of strangers in among them. At length it was fullie agreed, and euerte mans opinion was, that it was Gods full plague for the sinnes of the people, and especiallie bicause they vsed to buie Englishmen of merchants and pirats, and (contrarie to all equitie or reason) bid make bondslaues of them: and God now to auenge and acquit this their iniquitie, plagued them with the like, and hath set these Englishmen & strangers to reduce them now into the like slaueerie and bondage. For the Englishmen, when their realme was at rest and peace, and their land in quiet estate, and they not in anie distresse, want, or penurie, their children and kinsmen were sold and made bondslaues in Ireland. And therefore it was most like, that God for the sin of the people would & did laie the like plague vpon the Irish people. It was therefore decreed by the said councill, and concluded by that synod, that all the Englishmen within that land, where soeuer they were, in bondage or captiuitie, should be manumitted, set free and at libertie.

The proclamation of king Henrie the second against the earle, and of the sending of Reimond to the king.

Chap. 19.

When tidings was caried abrode of the good successe which the Englishmen had in Ireland, & the news the further it went, the more it increased; and the king being aduertised that the earle had not onlie recovered Leinster, but had also conquered sundrie other territories, whereunto he had no title by the right of his wife, did set forth his proclamation, forbidding and inhibiting that from thenceforth no ship from out of any place, vnder his dominion, should passe or traffike into Ireland: and that all manner of his subiects which were within that realme, should retorne from thence into England before Easter then next following, vpon paine of forfeiture of all their lands, as also to be banished men for euer. The earle when he saw himselfe in this distress, being in perill to lose his friends, and in hazard to want his necessaries, taketh aduise and counsell what were best to be done. At length it was agreed and concluded, that Reimond should be sent ouer to the king then being in Aquitaine, with letters to this effect. My right honourable lord, I came into this land with your leaue and fauour (as I remember) for the aiding and helping of your seruant Dermot Mac Morogh. And what soeuer I haue gotten and purchased, either by him or by anie others, as I confesse and acknowledge the same from and by meanes of your gracious goodnesse: so shall the same still rest and remaine at your deuotion and commandement.

C.ij.

The

The departure of Reimond to the
king, and the death of Dermot
Mac Morogh.

Chap. 20.

Reimond (according to the order taken, and commandment given to him) made his repaire with all diligence to the king, & having deliuered his letters did await for his answer. But the king being in some dislike with the earle, and not fauourable allowing his successe, differred the time, and lingered to giue anie answer. About this time (1) Thomas the archbishop of Canturburie was murdered or slaine; and the yeare following about the kalends of Maie, Dermot Mac Morogh, being of a good age, and well stricken in yeeres died, and was buried at Fernes.

(1) The Romish or popish church make much ado about this man, affirming him to be a man of much vertue and holinesse, and that he was martyred for the defending of the liberties of holie church, and for this cause the pope canonized him to be a saint. But who so list to peruse and examine the course of the English histories, shall find that he was a froward and obstinat traitor against his master & soueraigne king and prince: as amongst other writers it appeareth in the booke of the Acts and Monuments of Iohn Fox. And forsomuch as the course of this chapter tendeth wholy in extolling of him, I haue omitted the same, and leaue to trouble the reader therewith.

The ouerthrow giuen to Hasculphus
and the Easterlings or Normaien
men at Dublin.

Chap. 21.

At this time about the feast of Pentecost or Whitsuntide, Hasculphus, who was sometime the chiefe ruler of Dublin, sought by all the waies he could how he might be reuenged for the reproch and shame which he had receiued when the citie of Dublin was taken, and he then bzauen to flee to his ship, and to saue himselfe. This man had bene in Portuake, and in the north Ilands to seeke for some helpe and aid; and hauing obtained the same he came with threescore ships well appointed, and full fraughted with lustie men of warre vnto the coasts of (1) Dublin, minding to assaile the citie, and hoping to recover the same. And without anie delais he landed and vnsipped his men, who were guided and conducted vnder a capteine named Iohn Wood or Iohn Mad, for so the word Wood meaneth. They were all mightie men of warre, and well appointed after the Danish manner, being harnessed with good brigandines, sacks, and shirts of male; their shields, bucklers, and targets were round, and coloured red, and bound about with iron: and as they were in armour, so in minds also they were as iron strong and mightie.

These men being set in battell arate, and in good order, did march on wards towards the east gate of the citie of Dublin, there minding to giue th assault, and with force to make entrie. Miles Cogan then warden of the citie, a man verie valiant and lustie, although his men and people were verie few, and as it were but a handfull in respect of the others: yet boldlie giueth the aduenture and onset vpon his enemies: but when he saw his owne small number not to be able to resist nor withstand so great force, and they still pressing & enforcing vpon him, he was bzau-

men to retire backe with all his companie, and with the losse of manie of his men, and of the more being verie well armed, yet was his thigh cut off cleane at a stroke with a Galloglasse are. But Richard Cogan brother vnto Miles, vnderstanding how hardlie the matter passed and had sped with his brother, suddenlie and secretlie with a few men issued out at the south postern or gate of the citie, and stealing vpon the backs of his enemies, maketh a great shout, and therewith sharpelie giueth the onset vpon them. At which sudden chance they were so dismayed, that albeit some fighting before, and some behind, the case was doubtfull, & the euent vncertaine: yet at length they fled and ran awaie, and the most part of them were slaine, and namelie Iohn Wood, whom with others Iohn of Kidenford toke and killed. Hasculphus fleeing to his ships was so sharpelie pursued, that vpon the sands he was taken, but saued; and for the greater honour of the victorie was caried backe alive into the citie as a captiue, where he was sometime the chiefe ruler and gouernour: and there he was kept till he should compound for his ransome. And then he being brought and presented to Miles Cogan, in the open sight and audience of all the people, and fretting much for this euill fortune and overthrow, suddenlie and in great rage brake out into these speeches, saying: We are come hither now but a small companie, and a few of vs, and these are but the beginnings of our aduentures; but if God send me life, you shall see greater matters insue and follow. Miles Cogan when he heard these words (for in the twong standeth both life and death, the lord abhorreth the proud heart, and verie badlie doth he ease his greafe which augmenteth his sorrow) commanded him to be beheaded. And so the life to him before courtouslie granted, he by his fondnesse did foolishlie lose it.

(1) The port or hauent of Dublin is a barred haueu, and no great ships do come to the towne it selfe but at a spring or high water, and therefore they do lie in a certaine rode without the barre, which is about foure or fife miles from the citie, and the same is called Kingwood; and from thence to Holie bed in Wales is counted the shortest cut betwene England and Ireland.

Rothorike prince of Connagh and
Gotred king of Man do be-
siege the citie of Dublin.

Chap. 22.

After this, the Irishmen perceiuing that by reason of the kings late proclamation, the earles men and bittels did wast, decaye, and consume for want of their wanted supplies from out of England: all their princes assembled themselves, and did agree with all their power and force to besiege the citie of Dublin, being procured thereto by Laurence then archbishop there; who for the zeale and loue of his countrie, did verie earnestlie trauell herein: and joining with Rothorike the king of Connagh, they sent their letters to Gotred king of the Ile of Man, and to all others the princes of the Ilands, making earnest requests, vnto their persuasions, and promising liberall rewards, if they would come to helpe and aid them to besiege Dublin; they on the water, and the other at land: who were easilie to be persuaded thereto, and forthwith yelded to these requests, not onelie for the desire of gaines offered: but especiallie, because they doubted, and were afraid of the Englishmen, who hauing dallie good successe they feared least they in time

time would giue the onset on them, and make a conquest ouer their possessions. And therefore they forthwith made themselves readie, and prepared their ships accordingly. And as soone as the next good wind serued, they came in thirtie ships of warre, verie well appointed, and arriued into the haven of Aneliffe, or port of Dublin: whose coming was verie thankfull and gratefull. For whie? Whose helps are best liked when men in their affaires haue those to inine with them which be or feare to be in the like perills and dangers? But the earle and his compaignie, who had bene shut vp now two moneths within the citie, and whose vittells failed, and were almost consumed, by reason that vpon the kings commandement a restraint was made (and therefore none could be brought vnto them out of England) were in a great dumpe and perplexitie, and in a manner were at their wits end, and wist not what to do. And in this their case see the course and nature of fortune, who when she frameth, sendeth not one euill alone, but heapeth mischæse vpon mischæse, and trouble vpon trouble. For behold Donald Mac Dermot came from out of the borders of Kencile, & brought newes that the men of Wexford & of Kencile to the number of three thousand persons had beseged Robert Fitzstephans and his few men in his castell of the Maareche, and wileste they did helpe and rescue him within three daies it would be too late; for they should and would else be taken. At this time there was with the earle within the citie Maurice Fitzgerald, and his cosine Reimond, who was latelie returned from the court; and these were not onelie now troubled in respect of their owne cause, but for the distress of others, and speciallie Maurice Fitzgerald, who tenderlie toke and was grieved with the distressed state of his brother Robert Fitzstephans, and of his wife and children, that they being in the middle of their enemies, should be in so weake a hold not able to keepe out such a compaignie: and so rising vp maketh this speech to the earle, and to such as were about him, as followeth.

The oration of Maurice Fitzgerald.

Chap. 23.

Worthy men, we came not hither, nor were we called into this countrie to be idle, nor to liue delictiouslie: but to trie fortune, and to seeke aduentures. We stood sometimes vpon the top of the wheele, and the game was on our side; but now the wheele is turned, & we cast downe: and yet no doubt she will turne againe, and we shall be on the top. For such is the mutabilitie of fortune, & such is the vncertaine state & course of this world, that prosperitie and aduersitie do interchangeable, and by course the one followe the other. After daie commeth the night; and when the night is passed, the daie returneth againe. The sun riseth, and when he hath spred his beames all the daie time, then he commeth to his fall: and as soone as the night is past, he is againe come and returned to his rising againe. We who before this haue made great triumphs, & haue had fortune at will, are now shut vp on euerie side by our enemies. We be destitute of vittells, and can haue no reliefe neither by land nor yet by sea: our friends cannot helpe vs, and our enemies readie to deuoure vs. Likewise Fitzstephans, whose valiantnesse and noble enterprise hath made waie vnto vs into this Iland, he now is also shut vp in a weake hold and feeble place, too weake and slender to hold and keepe out so great a force. Whie then do we tarry? And therefore do we so linger? Is there anie hope of reliefe from home? No no, the matter

is other wise, and we in worse case. For as we be odious and hatefull to the Irishmen, euen so we now are reputed: for Irishmen are become hatefull to our owne nation and countrie, and so are we odious both to the one and to the other. Therefore forsomuch as fortune fauoreth the forward, and helpeth the bold; let vs not longer delate the matter, nor like sluggards lie still: but whiles we are yet lustie, and our vittells not all spent, let vs giue the onset vpon our enemies: for though we be but few in number in respect of them, yet if we will be of valiant minds and lustie courages, as we were wont to be, we may hapilie haue the victorie and conquest of these naked wretches and vnarmed people. These speeches he bled as the sicke man is wont to do, who in hope of reuerie of his health, doth manie times beare out a good countenance, and dissemble his inward greife and heauinesse. When he had fullie ended his talke and spoken his mind, Reimond, who was also in the like angust and heauinesse spake thus:

The oration of Reimond.

Chap. 24.

Famous, and worthy, & noble men, whose fame for valiantnesse and chualrie is carried and spread beyond and through the ocean seas: we are now to looke well vnto our selues, and to haue good regard to our hono: and credit. You haue heard how grauelie my vncke Maurice hath declared, how pithilie he hath aduised, and how prudentlie he hath counselled vs what we shall do in this our distresse and present necessitie. Therefore we are well to consider thereof, & to determine and resolve our selues what we will do. The time is short, the perills imminent, and the dangers great, and therefore no delates are now to be bled. It is no time now to sit in long counsels, nor to spend much time in speeches; but in present perills we must vse present remedies. We see the enemies both at sea and land round about vs, and no waie is there to escape; but we must either giue the aduenture vpon them like men, or die here like beasts: for our vittells faile vs, and our prouision wareth scant & short, and we know not how to renew the same. And how little comfort we are to looke for out of England, and what small helpe we shall haue from the king. I haue already at large declared vnto you. I know his excellencie dispraiseth not our aduities, but yet he fauoreth not our successes: he discommendeth not our valiantnesse, but yet enuieeth at our glorie: in words he reporteth well of our seruices, but he yet secretlie hindereth the same: he feareth that which we meane not, and doubteth of that which we thinke not. To trust therefore vnto them, who care not for vs; to looke for helpe from them, who mind not anie; and to wait for reliefe where none is meant; it were but a mere follie, and a lost labor on our parts, and in the end like to returne to our owne shame, reproch, & confusion. Therefore being out of all hope of anie further helpe or supplie; and out of all doubt of anie further comfort or reliefe: let vs as becommeth noble, lustie, and valiant men, trie the course of fortune, and proue the force of the enimie. Let it appere vnto them as it is knowne vnto vs, of what race we came, and from whom we descended. Camber (as it is well knowne) the first particular king of Cambria our native countrie, was our ancesto: and he the sonne of that noble Brutus, the first and sole monarch of all England, whose ancesto: was Troas the founder of the most famous citie of Troie, and he descended from Dardanius the sonne of Iupiter, from whom is deriued vnto vs not onlie the name

of ancient nobilitie, but also a certeine naturall inclination of valliant minds, & couragious stomachs, bent to follow all exploits in prowesse and chivalrie, and therein all our ancestors haue bene vertie skillfull and expert. And shall we now like sluggards degenerate from so noble a race, and like a sort of cowards be afraid of these naked and unarmed rascalls, in whom is no valor of knowledge nor experience in armes? Shall such a rabble of sauages pinne vs vp within the walles of this little Dublin, and make vs afraid of them; when in times past all the princes of Grece kept warres for ten peares & od moneths continuallie against our ancestors in the famous cite of Troie, and could not preuaile against them, untill they vsed treasons and practised treacheries, which bred vnto them a more infamous victorie than a glorious triumph: Shall the honor of our ancestors be withered by our sluggishnesse, and the glorie of their prowesse be buried in our cowardnesse? Shall we be afraid of a few, and unarmed, when they withstood infinit multitudes of the most worthiest and valliantest personages then in all the world? Let it neuer be said, that the bloud of the Troians shall be stained in our pusillanimitie, and receiue reproch in our follie.

And what though our enemies be neuer so manie, and we in respect of them but a handfull; shall we therefore be afrated, as though victorie stood in multitude, and conquest in great numbers? No no, kings be not so faued nor princes do so conquer: for a few men well disposed and a small number well incouraged, are sufficient to encounter with a greater number, being wretches and sluggards. For fortune though she be purtraied to be blind, as one void of right iudgement; and to stand vpon a rolling stone, as being alwaies flaking and moueable: yet for the most part she helpeth such as be of bold minds and of valliant stomachs. If time did serue as matter is full and plentious, I could hereof recite manie pe a infinite examples. (1) Thomiris the Scythian queene, did not she with a few hundreds encounter with the great monarch Cyzus, hauing manie thousands, and toke him and slue him. Alexander with a few Macedonians, did not he overcome Darius the great monarch of the Persians, and take him, his wife, and daughters prisoners, & made a conquest of all Persia? (2) Leonides the Spartan, did not he with six hundred men breake into the campos of the mightie Xerxes, and there slae five thousand of them? Let vs come a little nêrer euen to our selues, who haue had in our owne persons, and in this land the like successes, namelie you my right honourable earle at Waterford, and my vncle Fitzstephans at Wexford; and I my selfe at Dundojogh: small were our companies, and little was our force in respect of theirs, and yet we few thorough our valliantnesse ouercame and conquered them being manie.

What shall I trouble you with the recitall of examples, fith time shall sooner faile than matter want: and shall we then giue ouer and be white liued? Shall we like cowards couer our progenie, our nation, and our selues also, with perpetuall shame and infamie? God forbid. My mind then and opinion is, that we do issue out vpon them, as secretly and as suddenlie as we maie, and boldly giue the onset vpon them. And forsomuch as Rothorike of Connagh is the generall of the field, in whom lieth the chiefe force, and on whom all the rest do depend, it shall be best to begin with him, and then if we can giue the ouerthrow vnto him, all the residue will flie, and we shall obtaine a glorious victorie: but if we shall fall into their hands and be killed, yet shall we leaue an honourable report and an immortall fame to all our posteritie. When Keimond had ended his

speeches and finished his oration, euerie one so well liked thereof, as with one consent they gaue ouer, and yielded to his resolution and opinion.

(1) Cyzus the sonne of Cambises the first monarch of Persia; after that he had subdued all Asia, he minding to doe the like in Scythia did invade the same: Thomiris being then queene thereof. And on a certeine time hauing pitched his tents in a faire and pleasant soile, suddenlie as though he had bene afrated of his enemies he fled, and left his tents full of wines and bittels. Which when the queene heard, she sent hir onelie sonne a yong gentleman with the thirde part of hir host and armie to follow and pursue Cyzus: who when he came to the forsaken tents, and finding there such abundance & plentie of wine and bittels, wherevnto the Scythians had not before bene accustomed, they fell so hungerlic to their bittels, and dranke so liberallie of the wines, that they were ouerladen and ouercommed with surfetting. Which when Cyzus heard of, he suddenlie and secretly in the night came vpon them, and finding them all asleepe, killed them all. Thomiris hearing of this, was not so much grieved with sorrow for the death of hir sonne, as inflamed with the desire to be reuenged. And she likewise faining hir selfe to flie, Cyzus by pursuing of hir was brought into certeine narrow streits, where she taking the aduantage of him, toke him, killed him, and slue all his companie, to the number of two thousand: insomuch that there was not one left to returne with message to declare the same.

(2) Leonides was king of Sparta or Lacedemonia, who being aduertised that the mightie monarch Xerxes minding to continue the warres with his father Darius had appointed and begun against all Grece, & that he had made preparation therefore five peares togither, doth also prepare himselfe to withstand the same. And notwithstanding that Xerxes had in his armie three hundred thousand of his owne subiects, and two hundred thousand of strangers: yet Leonides hauing gotten Xerxes within the streits of Thermopolis, and he hauing but foure thousand soldiers gaue the onset vpon the monarch, and fought the battels three daies togither with him, and at length gaue him the ouerthrow.

How Rothorike of Connagh, and all his whole armie was discomfited.

Chap. 25.

Immediatlie vpon the foresaid persuasions, euerie man with all speed had made him selfe readie and got on his armor, thinking it too long yer they did bicker with the enimie: and being all assembled and in good arrate, they diuided them into three wings or wards, though in number they were verie few. In the first was Keimond with twentie gentlemen and his few soldiers. In the second Miles Cogan with thirtie gentlemen and his other few soldiers. And in the third was the earle and Maunce Fitzgerald with fortie gentlemen and all their soldiers. And in euerie ward were some of all the citizens, sauing such as were appointed for the gard and safetie of the cite. Thus all things being set in an order, they suddenlie in the morning about nine of the clocke issued out, but not without some contention and controuersie: for they strined among themselves, who should haue the fore ward, and giue the onset vpon the enemies, who were in number about thirtie thousand: neuertheless they in the end agreed and appointed in order how all things should be done: and forthwith issued out and gaue the onset vpon

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upon their enemies, who then were out of array and order, being unware of their coming. Desmond among the first being the first was foremost, & gave the first adventure, and striking two of his enemies through with his lance or staffe slew them both. Pelletus also and Gerald and Alexander the two sons of Maurice, although they were in the rearward; yet they were so hot upon the spur, and followed in such lustie manner, that they were as forward as the foremost, and right valiantly did overthrow and kill many of the enemies.

The like valiant minds were in all the whole residue, who now strived & served all for the best game: and so lustily they acquitted themselves, that the enemies being afraid, were faine to take their heels and to run awaie. But they still followed and pursued them even untill night, still murdering & spoiling them. Rothorike the king himselfe trusted so much in the great troops and multitudes of his people; that he thought nothing lesse, than that so small a number as were within, would issue out and give the onset upon so many as were without. And therefore taking his pleasure and pastime, he was then a bathing: but when he heard how the game went, and how his men were discomfited & the most part fled or slayd awaie, he neither tarried for his chamberlaine to apparell him, nor for his page to help him: but with all the hast and post hast he could, he turneth a faire paire of heels and runneth awaie: and albeit he were verie sharpe pursued, yet (though hardlie) he escaped. At night all the companie being returned, they recovered themselves into the citie againe: not onelie with the honor of the field, but also with great booties and prizes of vittels, armor, and other trash. Immediately also were dispersed the other camps, namelie the archbishops, Macslaghlin, Maccheleton, Gillemeholcke and Mkenelos, who had all the force of Leinster, saving a few of Kencile and Wexford: and these were incamped on the south side. Likewise Morike of Meth, Darrell of Triell, Macshaghlane and Macdiffe which were incamped on the north side raised their camps and shifted for themselves. On the morrow, all things being set in good order, and good watch appointed for the safe keeping and custodie of the citie, they march towards Wexford, and take the higher waie by Drogheda.

The guilefull and treacherous taking of Robert Fitzstephans at the Karecke.

Cap. 26.

After this good successe, fortune who cannot continue firme in one staie, doth now change hir course, and interlineth aduersitie with prosperitie. For whie, there is neither faith firme, nor felicitie permanent upon the earth. For the Wexford men and they of Kencile, forgetting their promise, and nothing regarding their faith which they had before made and assured unto Robert Fitzstephans, do now assemble themselves to the number of three thousand, and do march toward the Karecke, there to besiege the same, where Robert Fitzstephans was then: who mistrusting & fearing nothing, had but few gentlemen and a few archers about him. The enemies give the assault, & not prevailing at the first, do renew the same againe and againe: but when they saw that all their labours were lost, because that Fitzstephans and his companie though they were but a few in number, yet they were verie nimble and verie readie to defend themselves, and especiallie one William Spott, who in this service did verie well and worthily acquit himselfe; they now do seeke to practise their old subtil-

ties and guiles. They leauing therefore to use force and violence, do now under colour of peace come toward the Karecke and bring with them the bishop of Kilbare, the bishop of Wexford, & certeine other religious persons, who brought with them a masse booke, *Corpus Domini*, and certeine reliques: and after a few speeches of perswasion had with Fitzstephans, they to compass their matter, took their corporall othes, and sware upon a booke, that the citie of Dublin was taken: and that the earle, Maurice, Desmond, and all the Englishmen were taken and killed; that Rothorike of Connagh, with all the whole power and armie of Connagh & Leinster, was coming towards Wexford for the apprehension of him: but for his sake, and for the good will which they bare unto him, because they had alwaie found him a courteous and a liberall prince, they were come unto him to conuete him awaie in safetie, and all his over into Wales, before the coming of that great multitude, which were his extreme and mortall enemies. Fitzstephans giving credit to this their swearing and assurances, did forthwith yeld himselfe, his people, & all that he had unto them and their custodie: but they forthwith most traitorously, of them that thus yelded into their hands some they killed, some they beat, some they wounded, and some they cast into prison. But as soon as newes was brought that Dublin was false, and that the earle was marching towards them; these traitors set the towne on fire, and they themselves with bag and baggage and with their prisoners gat them into the Island Begorie, which they call the holie Island, and which lieth in the middle of the haven there.

The description of Robert Fitzstephans.

Chap. 27.

A noble man, the onelie patterne of vertue, and the example of true industrie and labours: who having tried the variableness of fortune, had tasted more aduersitie than prosperitie! A worthy man, who both in Ireland and in Wales had traced the whole compass of fortunes wheele, and had endured whatsoever god fortune or euill could give! A Fitzstephans, the verie second an other (1) Marius, for if you do consider his prosperitie, no man was more fortunate than he: and on the contrarie, if you marke his aduersitie, no man was or could be more miserable. He was of a large and full bodie, his countenance verie comelie: and in stature he was somewhat more meane: he was bountifull, liberall, and pleasant, but yet sometimes somewhat about modeltie given to wine and women. The earle (as is aforesaid) marched with his armie towards Wexford, fast by Drogheda, which was a place full of streits, passes, and bogs, and verie hardlie to be passed through: but yet the whole power, force, and strength of all Leinster came thither, and met him and gave him the battell, betwene whom there was a great fight, and manie of the enemies slaine. But the earle with the losse of one onelie youngman recovered himselfe in safetie to the plaines, and there amongst others, Pelletus shewed himselfe to be a right valiant man.

(1) This Marius was named Caius Marius, his father was borne in Arpinum, & from thence came to Rome, and there dwelt, being a poore artificer and handicrafts man, but much relieved by Metellus a noble Roman, in whose house, and under whom, both the father and the sonne were servants: but being

giuen altogether to martiall affaires, he became a verie valiant man, and did as good seruice to the citie of Rome as anie before or after him. Affrica he conquered, and in his first triumph Jugurtha and his two sonnes were bound in chaines, and caried captiues to Rome before his chariot. The Cambizians, Germans, and Tigurians wanting habitations, and thinking to settle themselves in Italie, trauelled thitherwards for the same purpose; but being denied by the Romans, they made most cruell warres vpon them, and slue of them at one time fourescore thousand souldiers, and threelcore thousand of others, wherewith the state of Rome and of all Italie was so broken, and ouerthrowne, that the Romans much bewailed themselves, & did thinke verelie that they should be vtterlie destroyed. In this distresse Marius toke the matter in hand, and meeting first with the Germans, gaue them the battell, slue their king Teutobochas, and two hundred thousand men, beside fourescore thousand which were taken. After that he met with the Cambizians, and slue their king Belcus, and an hundred and fortie thousand with him, as also toke fortie thousand prisoners. For which victorie he triumphed the second time in Rome, and was named then the third founder of Rome. Againe in the ciuill wars which grew by the means of Marius, all Italie was then in armes, and the Romans in euerie place had the worse side (for all Italie began to forsake them) and in this distresse Marius hauing gotten but a small power in respect of the enemies, giueth the onset vpon the Mariians, and at two times he slue fourescore thousand of them: which so quailed the Italians, and encouraged the Romans, that the Romans recovered themselves and had the maistrise. As in the warres so otherwise was Marius verie fortunate: for being but of a base stocke, yet he married Julia, a noble woman of the familie of the Julies, and aunt vnto Julius Cesar: he passed thorough the most part of the offices in Rome: he was first *Legatus a senatu*, then *Præfatus equitum*: after that *Tribunus plebis*, *Prætor*, *Aedilis*, and seuen times was he consul. And as fortune seemed to fauour and countenance him above all other in Rome; so did she also checke him with great reproches, & burdened him with great miseries. For his pride was so excessive, and his ambition so intollerable, that the best and most part of the Romans deadlie hated and enuied him: and therefore when he laboured to be *Aedilis*, *Prætor*, & *Tribune*, he was relected; he was accused for ambition, and proclaimed a traitor and an enemic to the common-wealth: he was inforced to forsake Rome and sie into Affrike. Also being at the seas, the mariners cast him on land among his enemies, and drave him to shift for himselfe. When he was pursued by his enemies, he was faine to hide himselfe in a bog, and couered himselfe with dirt & mire because he would not be knowne. Neuerthelesse he was taken and deliuered to a slau to be killed. Many other stormes of aduersitie and miserie did he abide and indure, and therefore it was said of him, that in miserie no man was more miserable, and in felicitie none more fortunate and happie than he.

The description of the earle

Strangbow.

Chap. 28.

The earle was somewhat ruddie and of sanguine complexion and freckle faced, his eyes greie, his face feminine, his voice small, and his necke little, but somewhat of a high stature: he was verie liberall, courteous and gentle: what he could not compasse and bring to passe in

deed, he would win by good words and gentle speeches. In time of peace he was more ready to yield and obeye, than to rule and beare swaie. Out of the campe he was more like to a souldior companion than a capteine or ruler: but in the campe and in the warres he caried with him the state and countenance of a valiant capteine. Of himselfe he would not aduenture anie thing, but being aduised and set on, he refused no attempts: for of himselfe he would not rashlie aduenture, or presumptuously take anie thing in hand. In the fight and battell he was a most assured token and signe to the whole companie, either to stand ballantlie to the fight, or for policie to retire. In all chanches of warre he was still one and the same manner of man, being neither dismayd with aduersitie, nor puffed up with prosperitie.

The earle leauing Wexford vpon the

newes that Fitzstephens was in hold, went to Waterford, and from thence sailed into England, & was reconciled to the king.

Chap. 29.

As the earle was marching towards Wexford, and was come to the borders thereof, certeine messengers met him, and shewed to him the mischance happened vnto Robert Fitzstephens, and of the setting on fire the towne of Wexford: adding moreouer, that the traitors were fullie determined if they trauelled anie further towards them, they would cut off all the heads of Fitzstephens and his companie, and send them vnto him. Wherevpon with heauie cheare & sorrowfull hearts they change their minds, and turne towards Waterford. Where when they were come, they found Bernie now latelie returned from the king with a message and letters from him vnto the earle, perswading and requiring him to come ouer into England vnto him. Wherevpon the earle prepared and made himselfe readie, and as soone as wind and weather serued he toke shipping, and caried Bernie along with him. And being landed he rode towards the king, and met him at a towne called Newham nere vnto Gloucester, where he was in redines with a great armie to saile ouer into Ireland. Where after sundrie & manie alfercations passed betwene them, at length by means of Bernie the kings displeasure was appeased, and it was agreed that the earle should sweare allegiance to the king, and yeld and surrender vnto him the citie of Dublin, with the cantreds therunto adioining, as also all such towne and forts as were bordering vpon the sea side. And as for the residue he should haue and retine to him and his heirs, holding the same of the king & of his heirs. These things thus concluded, the king with his armie marched along by Seuerne side, & the sea coasts of (1) Westwales, vnto the towne (2) of Penbroke, where he taried vntill he had assembled all his armie in (3) Spilford haue there to be shipped.

(1) Westwales in Latine is named *Demetia*, and is that which is now called Penbrokeshire. It reacheth from the seas on the north vnto the seas on the south. In the west part thereof is the bishops see of Meneue named saint Dauid: and on the east side it bordereth vpon Southwales named Debenbart. In this part were the Flemmings placed first.

(2) Penbroke is the chiefeest towne of all *Demetia*, and lieth on the east side of Spilford haue, wherein was sometimes a verie strong castell builded (as some write) by a noble man named Arnulph Spontomer.

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The Conquest of Ireland.

(1) Milford is a famous and a goodlie harborough lying in *Demetia*, or *West Wales*. The *Welshmen* name it the mouth of two swords. It hath two banners or armes, the one showing hard to Haverford west, and the other thorough the countrie named *Wolfa*.

Ororike prince of Meth besieging Dublin, is driven off by Miles Cogan, and hath the worst side.

Chap. 30.

In the meane time Drozike, the one eled king of *Speth*, watching the absence of the earle as also of *Richmond*, the one being in England, and the other at *Waterford*, he mustered a great number of soldiors, and upon a sudden about the kalends of September, laich siege to the citie of *Dublin*: within the which there were then but few men, but yet they were valliant and berie men indeed. And as the flame can not be suppressed, but that it will breake out: euen so vertue and valliantnesse can not be shut up, but that it will (when time and occasion serueneth) shew it selfe. For Miles Cogan and all his companie upon a sudden issue out upon the enimies, and withwares taking them napping, made a great slaughter of them: among whom there was the sonne of Drozike, a lustie pong gentleman, and he slaine also. And at this time the king of England, lying at *Penbroke* in *Wales*, he fell out with the noblemen and gentlemen of the countrie: because they had suffered the earle *Richard* to take his passage among them from thence into Ireland, And removing such as had anie charge or keeping of any forts there, he placed others therein: but at length his heat being cooled, & his displeasure quailed, they were reconciled againe to his good fauour and grace.

Whilest the king late there, he had great pleasure in hauking, and as he was walking abroad with a gosshawke of *Porwaite* upon his fist, he had espied a falcon sitting upon a rocke; and as he went about the rocke to view and behold him, his gosshawke hauing also espied the falcon, bated vnto him, and therewith the king let him flie. The falcon seeing hir selfe thus beset, taketh also wing: and albeit hir flight was but slow at the first; yet at length she maketh wing and mounteth vp of a great height: and taking the advantage of the gosshawke hir aduersarie, commeth downe with all hir might, and striking hir she claue hir backe asunder, and fell downe dead at the kings foot: wherat the king and all they that were then present had great maruell. And the king hauing good liking, and being in lone with the falcon, did peacelie at the breeding and disclosing time send thither for them: for in all his land there was not a better and a more hardie hawke.

The comming of king Henrie into Ireland.

Chap. 31.

These things thus done, and all prepared in a readinesse fit for such a noble enterprise, and for which the king had staied a long time in *Wales*, he went to *Saint Davids church*, where when he had made his praiers and done his deuotion, the wind and the wether well seruing, he took shipping and arriued vnto *Waterford* in the kalends of *November*, being *Saint Lukes* date: hauing in his retinue five hundred gentlemen of seruice, and of bolwomen and horsemen a great

number. This was in the seuenteenth yeare of his reigne, the one & fortieth of his age, and in the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred seauentie & two, Alexander the third then pope, Frederike then emperor, and Lewis then French king. And now was fulfilled the prophesie of *Merlin*, that A fire globe shall come out of the east, and shall deuour and consume all Ireland round about: and likewise the prophesie of *Saint Polin*, that Out of the east shall come a mightie hurling wind, & rush thorough to the west, and shall run thorough and ouerthrow the force and strength of Ireland.

Propheties of Merlin and Polin fulfilled.

The citizens of Wexford present vnto the king Robert Fitzstephans, and sundrie princes of Ireland come and submit themselves to the king.

Chap. 32.

The king being thus landed at *Waterford*, and there resting himselfe, the citizens of *Waterford*, vnder colour and pretense of great humblenesse and dutie, and in hope of some thanks, they brought Robert Fitzstephans bound as a captiue and a prisoner, and presented him to the king as one who deserued small fauor or courtesie, that he had without his consent & leaue entered into Ireland, & giuen thereby an occasion to others to offend and to doe euill. The king not liking of him, fell out with him, and charged him verie deepe and sharplie for his rash and hastie aduentures, and that he would take vpon him to make a conquest of Ireland without his assent and leaue: and forthwith commanded him to be handlocked and fettered, with an other prisoner, and to be safelie kept in *Kenold tower*. Then *Dermot Mac Arth* prince of (1) *Corke* came to the king of his owne free will, submitted himselfe, became tributarie, and toke his oath to be true and faithfull to the king of England. After this the king removed his armie and marched toward (2) *Lismore*, and after that he had tarried about two daies, he went to (3) *Cashill*, and thither came vnto him at the riuer of (4) *Sure*, *Donold* prince of (5) *Limerike*: where when he had obtained peace, he became tributarie and swore fealtie. The king then set (of his men) rulers and keepers ouer the cities of *Corke* and *Limerike*.

Then also came in *Donold* prince of *Ossois*, and *Macleighlin* & *Felin* prince of the *Decies*, and all the best & chiefe men in all *Downe*, & did submit themselves, became tributaries and swore fealtie. Whome when the king had verie liberallie rewarded, he sent them home againe: and he himselfe returned backe againe to *Waterford* through (6) *Wexford*. When he came to *Waterford*, Fitzstephans was brought before him, & when he had well beheld him, and considered with himselfe the valliantnesse of the man, the good seruice he had done, & the perils & dangers he had bene in: he began to be moued with some pitie and compassion vpon him, and at the intercession & by the mediation of certeine noblemen, he heartilie forgane him, and released him from out of bonds, and restored him wholie to his former state and libertie, sauing that he reserued to himselfe the towne of *Waterford*, with the territories and lands thereunto adioining: & not long after some of those traitors, who thus had betrated him, were themselves taken and put to death.

(1) *Corke*, in Latine named *Corcagium*, is an ancient citie in the prouince of *Downe*, and builded (as it should appeare) by the *Casterlings* or *Porwaits*. It standeth now in a marsh or a bog, and vnto

to it floweth an arme of the seas, in the which are manie goodlie receptacles or harboroughs for ships, & much frequented as well for the goodlie commodities of fishings therein, as also for the trade of merchantrie, by the which the citie is chieflie maintained: for the inhabitants are not onlie merchants & great trauellers themselves; but also great store of strange merchants doe daillie resort & traffike with them. It is walled round about, and well fortified for a sufficient defense against the Irishie. In it is the bishops see of that diocesse, being called by the name of the bishop of Corkie. The citie is gouerned by a maior and two bailiffes, who vsing the gouernement according to the lawes of England, doe keepe and mainteine the same in verie good order. They are verie much troubled with the enimie, and therefore they doe continuallie, as men lying in a garison, keepe watch and ward both daie and night. The prince of that countrie did most commonlie keepe a staie himselfe in all troubles within that citie, vntill the time the same was conquered by the Englishmen, who euer since haue inhabited in the same.

(2) It flemore in times past was as fatre a towne as it is ancient, and standeth vpon a goodlie riuier, which floweth vnto Poughall, and so into the maine seas. It was sometimes a bishopprike, but of late vnto the bishoppricke of Waterford, and so it lieth in the countie and diocesse of Waterford, but the soile it selfe was within the countie of Corke.

(2) **Cathill** is an old ruinous towne, but walled, and stanneth upon the river Sure. In it is the see and cathedrall church of the bishop, bearing the name thereof, who is one of the foure archbishops of that land, and under him are the bishops of **Waterford, Cork, and seven others.**

(4) The Sure is a godlie and a notable river, and one of the chiefest in that land. It hath his head or spring in a certeine hill called Blandina, but in Irish Sloghblome, for the pleasantnesse thereof. Spanie god townes are seated and buldoed vpon the same, & it is nauigable more than the one halfe. It fleetheth from the spring or head fast by the towne of Tholeis, whereof the earle of Ormond is baron: from thence to the holie crosse and so to Clomnell, & from thence to Carig Mac Griffith, where is an ancient house of the earles, sometime named the earles of the Carig, but now earles of Ormond; and from thence flæting by Tibzach, it commeth to Waterford; and flæting by the wals thereof, it runneth into the seas.

(5) Limerike is one of the first cities builded by the Norwages or Casserlings, named sometimes Ossomen: the founder whercof was the yongest of thre brethren whose name was Pruozus. It standeth vpon the famous and noble riuer of Shenin, which goeth round about it, the same being as it were an Island. The seat of it is such, as none can be more faire or more statelie. It lieth in the maine land with in the prouince of Hounsser, called the north Hounsser, and is from the maine seas aboute fortie miles, and yet at the wals euen the greatest ship at the seas maie be discharged and vnladen, and pcerlie so there are: for the citie it selfe is chieflie inhabited by merchants. It is gouerned by a maior and balliue. It is after and according to the English lawes and ordres. It was in times pass vnder a particular prince of it selfe, but euer since the conquest it hath bene inhabited by the Englishmen, who doe so still continue therein.

(6) **Tibbary** is an old towne, which in times past was rich and verie well inhabited, it lieth vpon the north side of the Sure, and about two miles from Carrig Mac Briffith. In it is a great stone standing, which is the bound betwene the counties of Kilkennie and Down.

Rothorike OConnor the monarch and
all the princes in Ulster submit and yeeld
themselues vnto the king, as he pas-
seth towards Dublin.

Chap. 33.

10 **T**hese things thus don at Waterford, the king left Robert Fitzbarnard there with his household, and marched himselfe to Dublin through the countrie of Ossio: and stateng somewhat by the wate in his tournie there came and resorted vnto him out of euerie place there the great men & princes, as namelie Macelan Apelan prince of Ossio, Pache Talcio, Dhuwe, lie Gillemeholoch, Achadese, & Carell of Triell & Ozioke of Meth: all which yelded & submitted them selues to the king in their owne persons, & became
20 his vassals, & swoze fealtie. But Kothorike the monarch came no neerer than to the riuer side of the (1) Shenin, which diuideth Connagh from Meth, & there Hugh de Lacie and William Fitzaldeline by the kings commandement met him, who desiring peace submitted himselfe, swoze allegiance, became tributarie, and did put in (as all others did) hostages and pledges for the keeping of the same. Thus was all Ireland sauing Ulster brought in subiection, and euerie particular prince in his proper person did
30 peeld and submit himselfe, sauing onelie Kothorike, the then monarch of all Ireland; and yet by him and in his submission all the residue of the whole land became the kings subiects, and submitted themselves. For indeede there was no one nor other within that land, who was of anie name or countenance, but that he did present himselfe befoze the kings maiestie, and yelded vnto him subiection and due obedience.

And then was fulfilled the old and vulgar prophesie of S. Polin ; Before him all the princes shall fall downe, and vnder a dissembled submission shall obtaine fauor and grace . Likewise the prophesie of Merlin ; All the birds of that Island shall flie to his light, and the greater birds shall be taken & brought into captiuitie, and their wings shall be burned . Also the old prophesie of Merlin Ambrose ; Five positions shall be brought into one , & the first shall breake and ouerthrow the walles of Ireland . That which Ambrose nameth here the first, Celidonius nameth the first, as appeareth in his booke of prophesies . Now when the feast of Christmasse did approach and draw neere, manie and the most part of the princes of that land resorted and made repaire vnto Dublin, to see the kings court ; and when they saw the great abundance of vittells, and the noble seruices, as also the eating of cranes, which they much lothed, being not before accustomed there vnto , they much wondered and marvelled thereat : but in the end they being by the kings commandement set downe, did also there eat and drinke among them . At this time there were certeine soldiors, being women, leashed at Fin glas, and they helued and cut downe the trees which grew about the churchyard, which had bene there planted of old time by certeine good and holie men : and all these soldiors suddenlie fell sicke of the pestilence and died all : as is moze at large declared in our topographie.

(1) The Sherin is the chieffest and most famous
river in that land, and doeth in a manner intire
and inclose all Connagh, & divideth it from the pro-
vinces of Downe and Deth: his head and spring
is in the hill named Therne, which bordereth upon the
Connor Slegos countrie, not farre from the river

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like see, & archbishops, Thomond abbats, a prelat of the ment of the a synod at concernin the church counsell in whom he kafe arch chapleins god stat sed, which king him these than faithfull should for kinnsfolle lie they sh be catech in the fo thir dle and trule and all o

**Ecclesiastical
constitutions
for Ireland.**

of the Banne in Ulster, and in length is supposed to be about a hundred and twentie English miles. It is increased with sundrie brooks, and diuerse riuers run into the same; the chiefeft whereof is that which riseth and cometh out of the lough or lake Foile. In it are manie loghs or lakes of great quantitie or bignesse, which are maruelouslie replenished and stored with abundance of fish: the chiefeft of which are the lough Rie, and the lough Derigid. It is nauigable aboue thre score miles, and vpon it standeth the most famous citie of Limerike. There is onlie one bridge ouer it, builded of late yeares at Alone, by the right honorable sir Henrie Sidene knight, then lord deputie of the realme.

The councell or synod kept at *Cashill.*

Chap. 34.

The realme beeing now in good peace and quietnesse, and the king now hauing a care and a zeale to set forth Gods honoz and true religion, summoned a synod of all the clergie vnto Cashill, where inquirie and examination was made of the wicked and lose life of the people of the land and nation: which was registred in writing, and sealed vnder the seale of the bishop of Lisemore, who being then the popes legat was president of that councell. And then & there were made and decreed sundrie good and godlie constitutions, which are yet extant; as namelie, for contracting of marriage, for payment of tithes, for the reuerend and cleane keeping of the churches; and that the vniuersall church of Ireland should be reduced in all things to the order and forme of the church of England. Which constitutions were forthwith published throughout the realme, and doe here follow.

Constitutions made at the councell of *Cashill.*

Chap. 35.

In the yere of Christs incarnation 1172, & in the first yere that the most noble king of England conquered Ireland, Christianus bishop of Lisemore, and legat of the apostolicke see, Donat archbishop of Cashill, Laurence archbishop of Dublin, and Catholikus archbishop of Thomond with their suffragans and fellow-bishops, abbats, archdeacons, priors, deanes, & manie other prelates of the church of Ireland, by the commandement of the king did assemble themselves and kept a synod at Cashill: and there debating manie things concerning the wealth, estate, and reformation of the church, did prouide remedies for the same. At this councell were also for and in the behalfe of the king, whom he had sent thither, Rafe abbat of Buldetwais, Rafe archdeacon of (1) Landasse, Nicholas the chapleine, and diuerse other good clearks. Sundrie good statutes and wholesome laws were there deuised, which were after subscribed and confirmed by the king himselfe, and vnder his authoritie, which were these that follow. First, it is decreed that all good faithfull and christian people, throughout Ireland, should forbear and shun to marrie with their nere kinsfolke and cousins, & marrie with such as lawfullie they should do. Secondarilie, that children shall be catechised without the church doore, and baptised in the font appointed in the churches for the same. Thirdlie, that euerie christian bodie do faithfullie and trulie paie yerelie the tithes of his cattels, corne, and all other his increase and profits to the church &

partly where he is a parishioner. Fourthlie, that all the church lands and possessions, throughout all Ireland, shall be free from all secular exactions and impositions: and especiallie that no lords, earles, nor noble men, nor their children, nor familie, shall extort or take anie coine and luerie, coheries, nor custodies, nor anie other like custome from thenceforth, in or vpon anie of the church lands and territories. And likewise that they nor no other person doe henceforth
10 extort out of the said church lands, old, wicked, and detestable customes of coine and luerie, which they were wont to extort vpon such towne and villages of the churches, as were nere and next bordering vpon them. Fiftlie, that when carike or composition is made among the late people for anie murder, that no person of the cleargie, though he be kin to anie of the parties, shall contribute anie thing therevnto: but as they be guiltlesse from the murder, so shall they be free from payment of monie, for anie
20 such carike or release for the same. Sixtly, that all and euerie good christian being sicke & weake, shall before the priest and his neighbors make his last will and testament; and his debts and seruants wages being paid, all his mouables to be diuided (if he haue anie children) into thre parts: whereof one part to be to the children, another to his wife, and the third part to be for the performance of his will. And if so be that he haue no children, then the goods to be diuided into two parts, whereof the one moitie to his
30 wife, and the other to the performance of his will and testament. And if he haue no wife, but onelie children, then the goods to be likewise diuided into two parts, whereof the one to himselfe, and the other to his children. Seuenthlie, that euerie christian being dead, and dieng in the catholike faith, shall be reuerendlie brought to the church, and to be buried as apperteineth. Finallie, that all the diuine seruice in the church of Ireland shall be kept, vsed, & obserued in the like order and maner as it is in the church of England. For it is meet and right, that as by Gods
40 prouidence and appointment Ireland is now become subiect, and vnder the king of England: so the same should take from thence the order, rite, and maner how to reforme themselves, and to liue in better order. For whatsoeuer good thing is befallen to the church & realme of Ireland, either concerning religion, or peaceable gouernement, they owe the same to the king of England, and are to be thankfull vnto him for the same: for before his coming into the land of Ireland, manie and all sorts of wickednesses in times past flowed and reigned amongst them: all which now by his authoritie and godnesse are abolished. The primate of Armagh, by reason of his weaknesse and great age, was not present at the synod: but afterwards he came to Dublin, and gaue his full consent to the same. This holie man (as the common saieng was) had a white cow, and being fed onelie by his milke, he was alwaies carried with him wheresoeuer he went and trauelled from home.
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The tempestuous and stormie *winter.*

Chap. 36.

The seas, which a long time had beene calme, began now to swell, and to be full of continuall storms and tempests, which were so raging, and so great, that in all that winter there arriued scarselie anie one ship or barke from anie place into that land: neither was there anie news heard from out of anie countrie during that winter. Wherevpon men began to be afraid, and thinke verelie that God in his anger would punish them.

them, and be reuenged for their wicked & sinfull life, and therefore had sent this plague vpon them. At this time in Southwales by reason of the extreme and continuall tempests, the sea sides and shoies, which had manie yeares bene couered with great sand ridges, were now washed and carried awaie with the seas, and then there appeared the former fast and firme earth, and therein a great number of trees standing which did in times past grow there: and by reason they had bene so long couered, & as it were buried vnder the sands, they stood as trunked and polled trees, and were as blacke as is the Ebente. A maruelous alteration, that the place sometimes couered with seas, and a waie for ships to passe, is now become a soile of ground and drie land. But some suppose that this was so at the first, and that those trees were there growing before or shortly after the flood of Noah. The king remained at Worcester, still longing to heare news from beyond the seas: and thus lieng solitarie he practised by all the means and sleights he coulde, how he might sleeke and procure vnto him Reimond, Miles Cogan, William Mackerell, & other of the best gentlemen; that he being assured of them to be firme of his side, he might be the stronger, and the earle the weaker.

The conspiracie made against the king
by his sonnes, and the ambassage of the legat from the pope vnto him.

Chap. 37.

After violent the wind being easterlie, there came and arriued into Ireland certeine ships, as well from out of England, as also from out of Aquitaine in France, which brought him verie ill & bad newes. For there were come into Normandie from pope Alexander the thirde two cardinals in an ambassage, the one of them being named Albertus, and the other Theodinus, to make inquirie of the death of Thomas archbishop of Canturburie. They were thought and taken to be iust and good men, and therefore were chosen of trust and of purpose for this matter: but yet for all that they were Romans, and who were fullie determined to haue interdicted, not onelie England, but also all the whole dominions subiect vnto the king, if he himselfe had not the sooner come and met with them. Besides this, there was worse newes told him, and a worse mishap befell vnto him (for commonlie good lucke commeth alone, but ill haps come by heapes and by huddels) which was, that his eldest sonne whom he loued so deerie, and whom he had crowned king, as also his two yonger sonnes, with the consent and helpe of sundrie noble men, as well in England as beyond the seas, had confederated themselves, and conspired against the king in his absence. Which newes and secret conspiracie when he heard and vnderstood, he was in a maruelous perplexitie, and for verie anguish and greafe of mind did sweat. First it grieved him that he should be suspected and infamed of the crime thereof he was guiltlesse. Also he feared of the great troubles which would grow and issue hereby to his kingdome, & all other his dominions. Yea, and it grieved him verie much, that he being minded and determined the next summer then following to settle Ireland in some good state, and to fortifie the same with holds and castels, he should now be compelled and dzenen to leaue the same broken. Wherefore sending some before him into England, as well to aduertise his comming homewards, as also of the safetie he had taken for Ireland, he be- thought himselfe, as also toke good aduise and counsell, what was best to be done in these his weightie causes.

The king returneth homewards
through Westwales, and of the speaking
stone at saint Dauids.

Chap. 38.

The king being minded and determined to returne into England, let his realm of Ireland in good order, and left Hugh de Lacie (vnto whom he had given in fee the countrie of Gwent) with twentie gentlemen, & Fitz-Stephans & Maurice Fitzgerald with twentie other gentlemen, to be wardens and conestables of Dublin. Likewise he left Humfrey de Bohune, Robert Fitzbarnard, and Hugh de Gundenille, with twentie gentlemen, to keepe and gouerne Waterford. Also he left William Fitzalbine, Philip of Hastings, and Philip de Buse, to be gouernors and rulers of Worcester: they hauing also twentie gentlemen of seruice appointed vnto them. And on the monday in the Easter weeke, earlie in the morning at the sunne rising, he toke shipping without the barre of Worcester; and the wind being westerlie and blowing a good gale, he had a verie good passage, and arriued about the nonetide of the same daie vnto the baie of saint Dauids: where he being set on land, he went on foot with a staffe in his hand in pilgrimage, and in great deuotion vnto the church of saint Dauids; whom the cleargie in procession met at the gate called the white gate, and with great honour receiued him. And as they were going verie orderlie and solemne in procession, there came vnto him a Welsh or a Camber woman; and falling downe at his feet, she made a great complaint against the bishop of that place: which being by an interpreter declared vnto the king, albeit he vnderstood it well, yet he gaue hir no answer.

She thinking that hir sute was not regarded, do-
lozing hir fits, and cried out with a loud voice: Re-
uenge vs this day O Lechlanar, Reuenge vs I say,
our kindred, and our nation, from this man. And be-
ing willed by the people of that countrie, who vnder-
stood hir speech, to hold hir peace, as also did thrust hir
out of the companie; she cried the more, trausting and
alluding to a certeine blind prophesie of Merlin,
which was; that The king of England the conqueror
of Ireland, should be wounded in Ireland by a man
with a red hand, and in his returning homewards
through Southwales should die vpon Lechlanar.
This Lechlanar was the name of a certeine great
stone which laie ouer a brooke, which fleteth or run-
neth on the north side of the churchyard, and was a
bridge ouer the same: and by reason of the often and
continuall going of the people ouer it, it was verie
smooth and slipperie. In length it was of ten foot, in
breadth six foot, and in thickeesse one foot. And this
word Lechlanar, in the Camber or Welsh tongue, is
to saie, The speaking stone. For it was an old blind
satieng among the people in that countrie, that on a
time there was a dead corps caried ouer that stone to
be buried, and the said stone spake, and forthwith
broke and claued asunder in the middle, and which clift
so remaineth vnto this daie. And therevpon the peo-
ple of that countrie, of a verie vaine and barbarous
superstition, haue not since, nor yet will carie anie
more dead bodie ouer the same.

The king being come to this stone, and hearing
of this prophesie, paused and staid a little while; and
then vpon a sudden, verie hastily he went ouer it:
which done, he looked backe vpon the stone, and spake
somewhat sharpelie, saieing: Who is he that will be-
leue that lieng Merlin anie more? A man of that
place standing thereby, and seeing what had hap-
pened, he to excuse Merlin, said with a loud voice; Thou art

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art not be that shall conquer Ireland, neither doth Merlin meane it of thee. The king then went into the cathedrall church which was dedicated to saint Andrew and to saint David: and having made his prayers, and heard diuine seruice, he went to supper, and rode after to Banerford west to bed, which is about twelue miles from thence.

(1) The wynter hereof (of verie purpose) in the ycare 1575, went to the foresaid place to see the said stone, but there was no such to be found; and the place where the said stone was said to lie, is now an archyd bridge, vnder which steth the brooke aforesaid, which brooke doth not diuide the churchyard from the church, but the churchyard & church from the bishops and prebendaries houses, which houses in times past were verie faire and good hospitalitie kept therein. But as the most part of houses are fallen down, and altogether ruinous, so the hospitalitie is also there with decayed. And for the veritie of the foresaid stone, there is no certeinie affirmed, but a report is remaining amongst the common people of such a stone to haue bene there in times past.

The submission of king Henrie to the pope, and his reconciliation, as also the agreement betweene him and the French king.

Chap. 39.

The king then tooke his iourne from Banerford homewards along by the sea side, euen the same waite as before he came thither; and forthwith in all hast he taketh shipping, and sailed into Normandie: and immediately vnderstanding where the popes legats were, he repaired vnto them, and presented himselfe in most humble manner before them. Where before whome after sundrie altercations passed to and fro betweene them, he purged himselfe by his oth, that he was gilty of the death of the archbishop Thomas: neuertheless he was contented to do the penance inioined him, for although he did not kill, nor yet know, nor consent to the murdering of him, yet he denied not but that the same was done for his sake. The ambassadors & legats hauing thus ended with the king, with much honour returned backe, and homewards to Rome. And then the king travelled and went to the marches of France, there to talke and haue conference with Lewis the French king, betwene whome then was discorde and debate. But after sundrie speeches past betwene them, at length by the means and intercession of sundrie good men, and especiallie of Phillip earle of Flanders (who was but then returned from Compostella, where he had bene in pilgrimage vnto saint James) the same was ended; and the displeasure which he had conceiued about and for the death of the archbishop of Canturburie was clerelie released. And by these means, the great malice and secret conspiracies of his sonnes and their confederats was for this time suppressed and quailed, and so continued vntill the ycare following.

(1) They which do wyrite and intreat of the life and death of this archbishop, do affirme that the king after the death of this man, did send his ambassadors to pope Alexander at Rome, to purge himselfe of this fact. And notwithstanding that he tooke a corporall oth, that he neither did it nor caused it to be done, nor yet gave anie consent, or was prute thereof, nor yet was gilty in anie respect, sauing that he confessed he did not so well fauour the bishop as he had done in times past: yet could not his ambassadors be admit-

ted to the presence and sight of the pope, vnless he had yielded himselfe to his arbitrement and iudgement: which was that he should do certeine penance, as also to performe certeine intunacions which were as followeth. That the king at his proper costs and charges should keepe and susteine two hundred soldiers for one whole ycare, to defend the holie land against the Turke. That he should permit, and that it should be lawfull to all his subiects as often as them list to appeale to the see of Rome. That none should be accounted themselves to be lawfull king of England, vntill such time as he were confirmed by the Roman bishop. That he should restore to the church of Canturburie all such goods and possessions as were taken and detained from the same since the death of the archbishop. That he should suffer all such people as were fled or banished out of the realme for his sake, to returne home without delate or let, and to introy and haue againe all such goods and lands whatsoever they had before. Other things this Romish antichrist did demand, and which the king was compelled to grant vnto before he could be released: whereby it doth appeare how much they do varie from the calling of Christs apostles; and how that (contrarie to the rule of the gospel) their onelie endeavour was to make and haue princes and kingdoms subiect to their becke and tyrannie.

Intunacions by the pope to the king of England.

The vision which appeared vnto the king at his being at Cardiffe.

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Chap. 40.

At before we do proceed anie further, it were not amisse to declare what happened and befell vnto the king in his returning through Wales, after his coming from Ireland. In his iourne he came to the towne of Cardiffe on the saturday in the Easter weeke, and lodged there all that night. On the morrow being sunday, and commonlie called little Easter daie or Low sunday, he went somewhat earlie to the chapel of saint Bertan, and there heard diuine seruice, but he staid there in his secret prayers behind all his companie, somewhat longer than he was wont to do: at length he came out, and leaping to his horse, there stood before him one hauing before him a stake, or a post pitched in the ground. He was of colour somewhat yelowish, his head rounded and a leane face, of stature somewhat high, and aged about forty yeares; his apparell was white, being close & downe to the ground, he was girded about the middle, and bare footed. This man spake to the king in Dutch, saying; God saue the king, and then said thus vnto him: Christ and his mother Marie, John baptist, and Peter the apostle do salute thee: and do strallee charge and commaund thee, that thou do forbid, that henceforth throughout all thy kingdome and dominions, there be no faires nor markets kept in anie place vpon the sundays: and that vpon those daies no maner or person do anie bodilie worke, but onelie to serue God, sauing such as be appointed to dresse the meat. If thou wilt thus do, all that thou shalt take in hand shall prosper, and thy selfe shalt haue a happie life. The king then spake in French to the gentleman, who held his horse by the bridle, and whose name was Phillip Bertros, a man borne in those parts, and who told me this tale: Aske him whether he dreame or not. Which when he had so done, the man looking vpon the king said: Whether I dreame or not, marke well and remember what date this is: for if thou do not this, and speedilie amend thy wicked life, thou shalt before the ycare come about heare such euill news of those things which thou

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A prophetic
of Merlin.

A speaking
stone.

louest be it, and thou shalt be so much inquieted therewith, that thou shalt not find anie ease or end untill thy dieng daie. With this word the king put spur to the hourse and rode awaite towards the towne gate, which was at hand: but thinking vpon the words, resigned his hourse and said; Call me yonder fellow againe. Whereupon the foresaid gentleman as also one William, which stood were onelie then attending vpon him, first called and then sought him in the chappell, and finding him not there, sought him throughout the court, the towne, and in all the Iris, but could not find him. The king being verie sad and sozie that he had not throughlie talked with the man, went abroad himselfe to seeke him, but finding him not, called for his hourses and rode from thence by Kempinbodge to Newberie. And as this man had before threatened and said, it so came to passe before the yeare was ended: for his eldest sonne Henrie, and his two yonger sonnes Richard earle of Aquitaine, and Gessreie erle of Britaine, in the Lent following forsooke and shooke from him, and went to Helmes the French king. Whereof grew and ensued vnto him such veneration and inquietnesse, as he had neuer the like before, and which by one means and other neuer left him untill his dieng daie. And suerlie it was thought the same by Gods iust iudgement to befall vnto him: for as he had bene and was a disobedient sonne to his spirituall father, so his carnall sonnes should be disobedient and rebellious against their carnall father. Manie such forewarnings the king had by Gods mercie and goodnesse sent vnto him before his death, to the end he should repent and be conuerted, and not be condemned: which would to God that euerie prince and other man did not forwardlie and obstinatlie condemne, but rather with an humble and a penitent heart they would (as they ought to do) receiue and embrace the same! And therefore I haue and mind to write more at large in my booke, concerning the instruction and institution of a christian prince.

The treason and killing of Ororike prince of Meth.

Chap. 41.

In the meane time Ireland was in good rest and peace, vnder such as vnto whom the charge thereof was committed. And now on a time it happened, that the one eied Ororike of Meth, being at Dublin, complained vnto Hugh de Lacie of certaine injuries done vnto him, praieing redress: whereupon the daie and a place of (1) parlee was betwene them appointed for the same. The night next before the daie of this parlee, a yong gentleman named Griffith, the nephew of Robert Fitzstephans, and Maurice Fitzgerald, being the sonne to their eldest brother named William, dreamed in his sleepe that he saw a great heard of wild hogs to rush and run vpon Hugh de Lacie and his uncle Maurice; and that one of them being more horrible and greater than the rest, had with his tusks rent and killed them: if he had not with all his force and strength rescued them, and killed the hore. On the morrow according to appointment, they came to the place appointed for the parlee, which was a certaine hill called Morikes hill: but before they came to the verie hill it selfe, they sent messengers the one to the other, requirring assurance and safetie: and hauing sware on each part to keepe faith and truth, they came to the place appointed and there met, but yet a small companie on either side. For it was agreed vpon on both parties, & by coue-

nant excepted, that on each part they should bring but a few and the like number, and they to be all unarmed; the swords on one side and the spars on the other side, and for all the residue of the people and companie to stand aloofe and a farre off. But Griffith, who came to the said parlee with his uncle Maurice, was verie pensife and much troubled, concerning the vision which he saw in his sleepe; and doubting of the worst, made chosse of seven of the best gentlemen of his kindred, whom he knew to be valiant, and in whom he had a speciall trust and confidence. These he dreweth to the one side of the hill, but as nere to the place of parlee as he could, where euerie of them having his sword, spar and shield; kept and mounted vpon to their hourses, and ranging the fields they made sundrie carriers and lustie turnaments, vnder the pretense and colour of plesantnes and pastime; but in verie deed to be in a readinesse if need should so require.

Hugh de Lacie and Maurice this meane while were talking and discourting of manie things, but concluded not of anie thing; neither did Maurice meane anie such thing. For hauing a traitorous mind, and watching his time when he might best pounce out his venem, sained himselfe to go out and abroad to make water, and vnder that colour beckened vnto his men, with whom he had concluded and agreed before, that with all hast they should come awaite vnto him; and they forthwith in all hast so did, and he also then with a pale, grim, and murderous countenance, hauing his ar or spar vpon his shoulder, returned backe againe. Maurice Fitzgerald, which was before warned by his cousine Griffith and aduertised of his dreame, gaue god eie and watched the matter verie narrowly; and therefore all the parlee time, he had his sword readie drawne about him: and espieng the traitor to be fullie bent and about to strike Hugh de Lacie, he cried out vnto him, willing him to looke vnto himselfe, and to be at defense with himselfe; wherewith the traitor most violentlie strake vnto him, thinking verelie to haue murdered and dispatched him. But the interpreter of the parlee stepping in betwene, saued Hugh de Lacie; but he himselfe was wounded to death, and his arme cleane cut off.

When Maurice Fitzgerald with a lowd voice cried out to his companie, who with all hast came awaite; and then began a hot and a sharpe bickering of the English swords against the Irish spars. In which skirmishing Hugh de Lacie was twice felled to the ground, and had suerlie bene killed, if Maurice had not valiantlie rescued him. Likewise the Irishmen who were manie in number, they hauing espied the becking of the traitor, they came running in all hast out of the ballies with their weapons, thinking verelie to haue made a cleane dispatch and a full end of Hugh de Lacie and of Maurice Fitzgerald. But Griffith and his companions, still watching for that which indeed did happen, were at the first call of Maurice in a readinesse, and being on horsebacke they came awaite with all speed: which thing when the traitor saw, he gan to distrust, and thought to shift himselfe awaite and so to escape. But as he was leaping to his hourse, Griffith was come, and with his staffe or lance strake downe and ran through both hourse and man: who being thus stricken downe and killed, as also three other of his men, who brought him his hourse and were in this bickering, they cut off his head from the bodie, and sent it ouer into England to the king. The residue of the Irishmen fled forthwith and ranne awaite, but being hardlie pursued even to the verie woods, there was a great discomfiture and slaughter made of them. Rafe the sonne of Fitzstephans, being a lustie and a valiant yong

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young gentleman, did well acquite himselfe, and deserved great commendation for his good service.

(1) The manner of the Irishie was ever, and yet is, that when so ever there is any controuersie amongst them, they will oftentimes appoint places where to meet and assemble themselves for conference; which commonlie is upon some hill distant and farre from any house, and this assemble is called among them a *parlée* or a *parlement*. And albeit the pretense hereof is of some quietnesse and reuerence: yet experience teacheth that there is not a worse thing to be used among them. For lightlie and most commonlie there are most treacheries and treasons, most murders and robberies, and all wickednesse imagined, devised, and afterwards put in practise among them: and for the most part there is no *parlée* among them, whereof insueth not some mischief.

(2) This hill lieth in the prouince of *Meath*, about twentie miles from Dublin, and is now called the *Baragh*: some thinke this to be the middle part or nauill of that prouince; it is a verie pleasant and a fertile soile, and also for the most part champion.

Sundrie examples concerning visions.

Chap. 42.

WHETHER so much as there be sundrie opinions and iudgments concerning visions, it shall not be much amisse, or impertinent to our matter, to recite a few examples & true reports of the same. *Valerius Maximus* in his first booke and sequenth chapter writeth, that two men of *Arcadia*, iournieng together in companie towards a towne named *Megara*, when they came thither, the one of them lodged himselfe with his friend, but the other at a common Inn. He who late in his friends house being in bed and asleepe, dreamed that his companion came vnto him, and requested him to helpe him, because his host did oppresse him; wherewith he awoke, but verie shortly he fell asleepe againe, and dreamed that his said companion came againe vnto him being verie sore wounded, and prayed him that although he would not at the first time come and helpe him, yet that he would now reuenge his death, declaring that his host had taken his head and corpe, and put it into a cart to be carted to the dunghill, and there to be buried. This man being awaked, and much troubled with this dreame, arose and sought for his fellow, and finding his dreame to be true, caused the host to be taken and apprehended, who for that his fact was executed and put to death. *Aterius Rufus* a gentleman of Rome likewise, being on a time at *Stracusa*, he dreamed that he was killed by a maister of fense, which came so to passe: for on the morrow after he was present at the plaie or game of swordplayes or maisters of defense, whereas a netcaster was brought in to fight with a swordplaier. Whereupon *Aterius* offering his dreame to him that sat next by him, would haue gone and departed awate; but being perswaded to the contrarie, did staie to his owne destruction. For the netcaster hauing overthrowne the swordplaier, and thinking to haue pearced him through with his sword, missed him and strooke *Aterius*, who sat in place next therevnto, and so was he slaine. Also *Simonides* the poet, being on a time set on land vpon the sea shore, he saw there a dead man lieng vnburied. The night following he dreamed that the said dead man did aduise and

admonish him, that he should not take ship the daie following: but his felowes minding not to lose any time, and the weather seeming then to be faire, they went all aboard, and hoised by their sailes; which *Simonides* refused to do, and tarried at land. It was not long after but that the weather warded to be fowle, and the seas to be high, and in the end both the ship and men to be all lost: but *Simonides* crediting his dreame, was saved. Moreover *Calpurnia*, the wife vnto *Julius Cesar*, the night before her husband was slaine, dreamed that she saw him greatly wounded to lie in her lap: wherewith the being afraid did awake, and told *Julius* her dreame, requesting him that he would forbear to repaire to the senat house that daie: but he giuing small credit to a womans dreame, followed his mind, and was slaine by the senators. But to leaue these examples fetched from out of other nations, let vs come nere home to our selues. A brother of mine named *Walter Barrie*, a lustie young gentleman, making himselfe ready on a time to serue in a certeine hosting against his enimie; the night before he should take his iournie, he dreamed that my mother who was dead on long before, did come vnto him, and aduise & warne him, that if he loued his life he should in any wise refraine and forbear that iournie. She in deed was not his naturall mother, but his mother in law, and yet loued him in her life time as intirely as her owne child. When he had told this his dreame to his father and mine, for indeed we were both brothers by one father, though we had not one mother: he also gaue him the like aduise and counsell, but he of his presumptuous mind, not regarding the same, followed his owne mind, and the same daie was killed by his enimie.

(2) As dreames sometimes are god forewarnings to men to eschew evils which are towards, yet they are not alwaies to be so receiued, as prognostications infallible. For sometimes the same fall out to the contrarie, as dooth appere by *Augustus* the emperor; who hauing warres against *Brutus* and *Cassius*, and he by reason of his sicknesse carried in a litter, his physician *Arterius* dreamed that the goddesse *Minerua* did appeare vnto him, willing him to aduise and counsell the emperor, that he should not by reason of his sicknesse come into the field, nor be present in the battell, which he did. But the emperor notwithstanding entered into the field, being carried in his litter, and toke marvellous great pains. And albeit *Brutus* taking the emperors tents, seemed to haue the victorie; yet was he for all that vanquished, and the emperor had the conquest. Likewise in west Wales, of late yeares, it happened a certeine rich man dwelling on the north side of a certeine mountaine, he dreamed three nights together, that there was a chaine of gold hidden in the head stone, which couered and laie vpon a certeine well or founteine, named faint *Bernaces* well, and that he should go and fetch it. This man at length, somewhat believing the dreame, and minding to trie the same, went to the place, and did put his hand into the hole or place: but his hand was no sooner in, but that it was bitten, stung, and enuened with an adder. Wherefore a man may see hereby what credit is to be giuen to dreames, and I for my part doo so credit of them as I doo of rumors. But concerning such visions as God dooth send by his angels to his prophets and holie men, we must otherwise thinke of them; because the effect of them is most vndoubted, certeine, and assured.

(1) The Romans had diuerse games, plates, and exercises amongst themselves, and had for the same certeine amphitheaters and theaters made of pur-

pose, wherein the people might sit to view and behold the same. Of these plaies or games some were of cruell beasts the one fighting with the other, some of men fighting with beasts, and some of men fighting the one with the other, and these plaies were called *ludi gladiatorij*, games of sword plaies or fighting: for as in combates in England, so they being unharnessed, did fight with their swords or weapons in the open sight of the people, incenouring each one to kill the other, which were spectacles of crueltie to harden the peoples hearts against killing in the warres. Of these some were called *Mirmillones*, which were such as chalenged the fight; some were called *Gladiatores*, and these were such as we doe name masters of defenses, because they used onelie or cheslie the sword; and some were called *Retiarij*, and these besides their weapons did use a certeine kind of net, which in fighting they were wont to take and intrap their enemies, and such a one was this man, who fighting with a challenger, did by chance misse him and kill Aterius.

(2) In the old and first ages, men were much given to dreames and visions: and oftentimes great forewarnings and prognostications were given thereby, as doth appeare in the holie scriptures, as also in prophane histories. For Joseph the son of Jacob, king Pharaos, king Nabuchodonosor, Pardocheus, Daniell, Judas Machabeus, Hercules, Pyrrhus, Cicero, Cassius, Parmensis, & manie others dreamed dreames, and the same came to passe. But yet these being but particular examples, and which it pleased God for some secret cause to use: they are not to be drawn for presidents and examples to be daile or in these daies used; but rather we must have a respect and a regard to Gods speciall commandment, who by the mouths of his prophets hath utterlie forbidden vs to listen to anie dreamer, or to give credit unto his words. Thou shalt not (saith he) hearken to the words of a dreamer of dreames, for dreames have deceived manie a man, and they have failed them who have put their trust in them: for whie, they are full of deceits and guiles, and invented either for the maintenance of superstition and error, or for the increasing of some filthie lucre and gain. Pharozius therefore inveighing against the Chaldeans, who were a people which were wont to relie much upon dreames, willety and aduisey that no dreamer or interpreter of dreames should be sought or dealt withall. For (saith he) if they tell thee of anie good thing, and in the end doe deceiue thee, thou shalt be in miserie to hope in vaine for the same. If they tell thee of some misfortune, and yet doe lie, yet shalt thou be in miserie, because thou shalt be still in feare lest it may happen. And likewise if they shew thee of euill haps, and the same doe so follow, thou shalt be in miserie and vnquieted, that thy fortune and destinie is so euill. But if they tell thee of good things, and it be long yer the same doe happen, thou shalt be much vnquieted to loke so long for it; and alwaies in feare lest thine expectation shall be frustrated: wherefore in no wise doe thou seeke anie such persons, nor giue anie credit unto them.

The description of Maurice *Fitzgerald.*

Chap. 43.

This Maurice was a man of much nobilitie and worthip, but somewhat shamefast and yet verie well coloured, and of a good countenance, of stature he was indifferent,

bring seemlie and well compact at all points, in bodie and mind he was of a like composition, being not too great in the one, nor proud in the other; of nature he was verie courteous and gentle, and desired rather so to be in deed, than to be thought or reputed so to be: he kept such a measure and a moderation in all his doings, that in his daies he was a patterne of all sobrietie and good behauiour; a man of few words, and his sentences more full of wit and reason than of words and speeches; he had more stomach than talke, more reason than speech, and more wise, dome than eloquence. And when so ever anie matter was to be debated, as he would take god leasure, and be aduised before he would speake: so when he spake he did it verie wiselie and prudentlie. In martiall affaires also he was verie bold, stout, and valiant, and yet not hastie to run headlong in anie aduventure. And as he would be well aduised before he gaue the attempt and aduventure, so when the same was once taken in hand, he would stoutlie pursue and follow the same. He was sober, modest, and chaste, constant, trustie, and faithfull: a man not altogether without fault, and yet not spotted with anie notorious crime and fault.

The first diffention betweene the king and his sonnes.

Chap. 44.

In the moneth of Aprill then next following, the yong king sonne to king Henrie the elder, being no longer able to conceale or suppress the wickednesse he had deuised against his father: he (I saie) and his two brethren the earls of Aquitaine and of Britaine suddenlie stole awaie into France, unto Helwes the French king his father in law: for he had married his daughter, that hauing his aid he might ouer-run his owne father, and shorten his old yeares. And for his further helpe he had procured unto him and on his side manie noble men both French and English, who openlie, but manie more, who secretlie did some with him to aid him. The elder king the father was verie much troubled and vnquieted for and about these and manie other sudden troubles, which on euerie side did grow upon him; but yet he bare it out with a good face and countenance, dissembling that outwardlie which he conceiued inwardlie. And to stand firme and assured, he got and procured by all the meanes he could all such aid and helpe as was to be gotten and had. He sent into Ireland for his garrison, which he had left there; and being at home he committed the charge and government of all Ireland unto the earle Richard; but joined Keimond in commission with him, because the earle without him would not doe anie thing, nor take the charge upon him. And then the king of his liberalitie gaue also unto him the towne of Waterford with the castell of Gaskillo.

Of the victories of king Henrie the second.

Chap. 45.

The king hauing indured more than twell wars two whole yeares together aswell in England as in Aquitaine, in great troubles, much wachings, & painfull travels, yet at length most valiantlie he preuailed against his enemies; & surelie it was more of Gods goodness, than by mans power, and (as it is to be thought) for the reuenge of the disobedience & wrongs done by the sons against

against the father. But forsomuch as a mans owne household are commonlie the worst enemies; and of all enemies, the household & familiar enemy is most dangerous: there was no one thing, which more troubled and grieved the king, than the gentlemen of his private chamber, and in whose hands in a manner late his life or death, would euerie night secretly and with treacherous minds run and resort to his sonnes, and in the morning when they should do him service, they were not to be found. And albeit these warres in the beginning were verie doubtfull, and the king himselfe in great despaire: yet his hard beginning had a good ending, and he in the end had the victorie to his great honor and glorie. And God, who at the first seemed to be angry with him, and in his anger to powze vpon him his wrath and indignation: yet now vpon his amendment and conversion, he was become mercifull vnto him, and well pleased. And at the castell of Sandwich, whereof Melnulle Glandeuill was then gouernor; who was a wise man, and alwaies most faithfull and true to the king, there was a generall peace proclaimed, and all England in rest and quietnesse.

In this warre the king had taken prisoners the king of Scots, the earles of Chester and of Leicester, besides so manie gentlemen and good seruants both English and French, that he had scarce anie prisons for so manie prisoners, nor so manie fetters for so manie captiues. But forsomuch as in baine doth a man triumph of the conquests vpon others, who cannot also triumph of the conquering of himselfe; and although the king had indured and abiden manie sorowes, great inquietnesse, and much trouble; and at length hauing overcome both them and his enemies, he might the sooner haue been weakened and auenged of them: yet setting apart those affections euen in the middle of his triumphs vpon others, he also triumphed ouer himselfe; vsing such kinds of courtesies & clemencies as before had not bene heard. For suppressing his malice and reuenging mind, he gaue honor to his aduersaries, & life to his enemies. And the warres thus after two yeares ended, and all the great sorowes overcome, he granted peace to all men, and forgane ech man his offense and trespass. And in the end also his sonnes repenting their follies, came and submitted themselves, with all humblenesse yelding themselves to his will and pleasure.

The description of king Henrie the second.

Chap. 46.

If were not now amisse, but verie requisite that we should (for a perpetuall remembrance of the king) describe and set forth as well the nature and conditions of his inward man as of his outward; that men which shall be desirous hereafter to learne and read his most noble acts in chivalrie, may also as it were before their eyes conceiue his vertue nature and liuelie portraiture: for he being so noble an ornament to this time and our history; we might not well, neither doth this history permit vs to omit and passe him ouer in silence. Wherein we are to craue pardon that we may plainelie declare and tell the truth: for in all histories the perfect and full truth is to be alwaies opened, and without it the same wanteth both authority and credit: for art must follow nature. And the painter therefore, whose profession and art is to make his portraiture as liuelie as may be, if he swarue from the same, then both he and his worke lacke and want their commendation. And albeit no man be

borne without his fault, yet is he most to be borne withall who is least spotted: a him must we account and thinke to be wise, who knowledgeth the same: for wile, in all worldlie matters there is no certaintie; and vnder heauen is no perfect felicitie, but euill things are mixt with good things, and vices ioined with vertues. And therefore, as things spoken in commendation either of a mans good disposition, or of his worthie doings, do deliight and like well the hearer: euen so let him not be offended, if things not to be well liked be also recited and written. And yet the philosophers are of the opinion, that we ought to reuerence to the higher powers in all manner of offices and duties, as that we should not prouoke nor moue them with anie sharpe speeches or disordered languages. For (as Terence saith) faire words and soothing speeches breed friendship, but plaine telling of truth makes enemies. Wherefore it is a dangerous thing to speake euill against him, though the occasion be neuer so iust, as who can forthwith auenge the same. And it is a matter more dangerous, and he aduentureth himselfe verie far, which will contend in manie words against him, who in one or few words can breake the same. It were suerlie a verie happie thing, and that which I confesse passeth my reach, if a man intreating of princes causes might tell the truth in euerie thing, and yet not offend them in anie thing. But to the purpose.

Henrie the second, king of England, was of a verie good colour, but somewhat red: his head great and round, his eyes were fierie, red, and grim, and his face verie high coloured; his voice or speech was shaking, quivering, or trembling; his necke short, his breast broad and big, strong armed, his bodie was grosse, and his bellie somewhat big, which came vnto him rather by nature than by anie grosse feeding or surfeit. For his diet was very temperate, and to save the truth, thought to be more spare than comelie, or for the state of a prince: and yet to abate his grossenesse, and to remedie this fault of nature, he did as it were punish his bodie with continuall exercise, and did as it were keepe a continuall warre with himselfe. For in the times of his warres, which were for the most part continuall to him, he had little or no rest at all; and in time of peace he would not grant vnto himselfe anie peace at all, nor take anie rest: for then did he giue himselfe whole vnto hunting, and to follow the same he would verie erlie euerie morning be on horsebacke, and then into the woods, sometimes into the forrests, and sometimes into the hilles and fields, and so would he spend the whole daie vntill night. In the euening when he came home, he would neuer or verie seldome sit either before or after supper: for though he were neuer so wearie, yet still would he be walking and going. And forsomuch as it is verie profitable for euerie man in his life time, that he do not take too much of anie one thing; for the medicine it selfe which is appointed for a mans helpe & remedie, is not absolutelie perfect and good to be alwaies used: euen so it befell and happened to this prince; for partlie by his excessive trauels, and partlie by diuerse humors in his bodie, his legs and feet were swollen and sore. And though he had no disease at all, yet age it selfe was a breaking sufficient vnto him. He was of a reasonable stature, which happened to none of his sons; for his two eldest sons were somewhat higher, & his two younger sons were somewhat lower and lesse than was he. If he were in a good mood, and not angry, then would he be verie pleasant and eloquent: he was also (which was a thing verie rare in those daies) verie well learned: he was also verie affable, gentle, and courteous; and besides so pitifull, that when he had overcome his enemy, yet would he be overcome with pittie towards him.

In warres he was most valiant, and in peace he was as prouident and circumspect. And in the wars mistrusting and doubting of the end and euent thereof, he would (as Terence writeth) trie all the waies and meanes he could deuise rather than wage the battell. If he lost anie of his men in the fight, he would maruellously lament his death, and seeme to pitie him more being dead than he did regard or account of him being alieue, more bewailing the dead than fauoring the liuing. In times of distresse no man more courteous, and when all things were safe no man more hard or cruell. Against the stubborne & vnrulie no man more sharpe, nor yet to the humble no man more gentle; hard toward his owne men and household, but liberall to strangers, bountifull abroad, but sparing at home: whom he once hated, he would neuer or verie hardlie loue; and whom he once loued, he would not lightlie be out with him, or forsake him: he had great pleasure and delight in hauking and hunting. Would God he had bene as well bent and disposed vnto god deuotion!

It was said that after the displeasure growne betwene the king and his sonnes, by the meanes and thorough the intising of the queene their mother, he neuer accounted to keepe his word and promise, but without anie regard or care was a common breaker thereof. And true it is, that of a certeine naturall disposition he was light and inconstant of his word: and if the matter were brought to a narrow streit or pinch, he would not sticke rather to couer his word, than to denie his deed. And for this cause he in all his doings was verie prouident and circumspect, and a verie byright and a seuerer minister of iustice, although he did therein graue and make his friends to smart. His answers for the most part were peruerse and froward. Justice which is God himselfe is free and without rewards to be ministered. And albeit for profit and lucre all things are set to sale, and do bring great gaines as well to the clergie as to the laitie: yet they are no better to a mans heires or executors, than were the riches of (2) Gehazi the seruant to Elizeus, whose greedy takings turned himselfe to vtter ruine and destruction.

He was a great peacemaker, and a carefull keeper thereof himselfe: a liberall almes giuer, and a speciall benefactor to the holie land, he loued humilitie, abhorred pride, and much oppressed his nobilitie. The hungrie he refreshed, but the rich he regarded not. The humble he would exalt, but the mightie he disdaind. He vsurped much vpon the holie church, and of a certeine kind of zeale, but not according to knowledge; he did intermingle and confound the prophane with holie things; for why, he would be all in all himselfe. He was the child of the holie church, and by hit aduanced to the scepter of his kingdome, and yet he either dissembled or vtterlie forgot the same: for he was slacke alwaies in comming to the church vnto the diuine seruice, and at the time thereof he would be busied and occupied rather in counsels and in conference about the affaires of his commonwealth, than in deuotion and prayer. The liuelihoods belonging to anie spirituall promotion, he would in time of vacation confiscat to his owne treasure, and assume that to himselfe which was due vnto Christ. When anie new troubles or wars did grow or come vpon him, then would he lath & poure all that euer he had in store or treasure; and liberallie bestow that vpon a roister or a soldier, which ought to haue bene giuen vnto the priest. He had a verie prudent & forecasting wit, and thereby foreseeing what things might or were like to insue, he would accordingly order & dispose either for the performance, or for the preventing thereof: notwithstanding manie times the e-

uent happened to the contrarie, and he disappointed of his expectation: and commonlie there happened no ill vnto him, but he would forgettell thereof to his friends and familiars.

He was a maruellous naturall father to his children, and loued them tenderlie in their childhood and yong yeares: but they being growne to some age and ripenesse, he was as a father in law, and could scarcelie bryoke anie of them. And notwithstanding they were verie handsome, comelie, and noble gentlemen: yet whether it were that he would not haue them prosper too fast, or whether they had enill deserued of him, he hated them; & it was full much against his will, that they should be his successors, or heires to anie part of his inheritance. And such is the prosperitie of man, that as it can not be perpetuall, no more can it be perfect and assured: for why, such was the secret malice of fortune against this king, that where he should haue receiued much comfort, there had he most sorrow: where quietnesse & safetie, there vniquietnesse and perill: where peace, there enmitie: where courtesie, there ingratitude: where rest, there trouble. And whether this happened by the meanes of the (3) marriages, or for the punishment of the fathers sinnes: certeine it is, there was no good agreement, neither betwene the father & the sonnes, nor yet among the sonnes themselves.

But at length, when all his enemies and the disturbers of the common peace were suppressed; and his brethren, his sonnes, and all others his aduersaries as well at home as abroad were reconciled: then all things happened and befell vnto him (though it were long first) after and according to his owne will and mind. And would to God he had likewise reconciled himselfe vnto God, and by amendement of his life had in the end also procured his fauour and mercie! Besides this, which I had almost forgotten, he was of such a (4) memoize, that if he had once seene and knowne a man, he would not forget him: neither yet what soeuer he had heard, would he be vnmindfull thereof. And hereof was it, that he had so readie a memoize of histories which he had read, as a knowledge and a maner of an experience in all things. To conclude, if he had bene chosen of God, and bene obsequious and carefull to liue in his feare and after his lawes, he had excelled all the princes of the world: for in the gifts of nature no one man was to be compared vnto him. Thus much brieflie, and yet not much besides the matter, I haue thought good to delineate, that hauing in few words made my entrie: whether writers maie haue the better occasion more at large to discourse and intreat of this so worthie an historie. And therefore leauing the same to others, let vs returne to our Ireland, from whence we digressed.

(1) The words are *oculis glaucis*: which some doe English to be greie eyes, like the colour of the skie, with specks in it: but some doe English it a bright red, as is the colour of a lions eye, which is commonlie a signe or an argument of a man which will be soone warmed & angrie: & so it is to be taken in this place: for the words, which follow, be: *Ad iram torrens*, which is to saie, grim looking eyes disposed to anger: which eyes were answerable to the complexion and disposition of this king.

(2) This historie is written in the first chapter of the second booke of the kings, & in effect is this. When the prophet Eliza or Elizeus had healed Naaman the Syrian of his leprosie, he would haue rewarded the prophet, & haue giuen great and rich gifts: but he refused the same and would none thereof, wherefore Naaman departed awaie. But Gehazi the seruant of the prophet, being touched with a greedy and a covetous

wetous mind, and angrie that his master had refused such rich presents, secretly he ran after the Syriac; and overtaking him, did aske of him in his masters name a talent of siluer, & certeine garments: which he receiued doubled, and returned therewith. But he was no sooner come home, but that his countenell was rewarded, and he plagued with the leprosie of Naaman; which cleue vnto him as white as the snow.

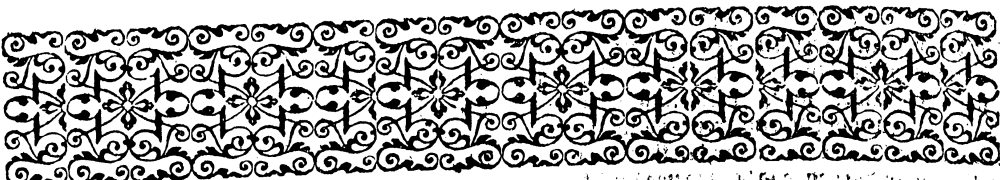
(3) The king married Cleonor the daughter and heire to the erle of Poitiers (who before was married to Helues the eight and king of France, but diuorced from him for barrenesse of blood) and after that he had continued with hir sundrie yeares, and receiued by hir six sonnes and three daughters, he fell in loue with a yong wench named Mosamund; and then waxed wearie of his wife. And she to be a wisehead, did not onelie in continuance of time find the means to find out this Mosamund, who was kept secret in a house builded like a labyrinth of purpose for hir safe keeping at Woodstocke, where when the queen had found hir, Mosamund liued not long after: but also for a further reuenge, she by means of hir sonnes who were noble & valiant gentlemen, caused warres to be stirred and raised against the king to his great vnquietnesse: and this is one of the marriages of which this autho: meaneth. The other was of his son named Hentie, whom he did not onelie make and crowne king in his life time, but also for a confirmation of a peace to be had betwene him and Helues the eight then French king, he married his said sonne to the ladie Margaret daughter to the said French king. By reason whereof his said sonne being once come to yeeres of age, and thinking it too long yet he could haue the sole gouernment, as also being by the queene his mother intised, and taking hir part, he fled to the French king his father in law; and by his aid, as also of sundrie other noble men both English and French, who ioined with him, made warres vpon his said father: which bred vnto him no little trouble and vnquietnesse.

(4) There is not a more commendable & more ne-

cessarie vertue in a king, than is the gift of a quick and good memorie: for by it knowledge doth increase and experience is perfected. And therefore saith Cicero, that memorie is the treasure of all good things, and most necessarie to the life of man: wherein the more the gouernor excelleth, the more prouident is his gouernment. For why, as Plutarch writeth, the remembrance of things past are speciall presidents and examples of things to come. Diuers and sundrie men haue bene famous, and much commended for their excellencie in this vertue. Pythidates king of Pontus in Asia had vnder his dominion two and twentie nations, and he was of such singular memorie, that he did not onelie vnderstand their seuerall languages, but also spake them perfectlie; and in iudgements would heare each man to speake in his owne language, and answer them in the same. Cyrus king of Persia, the sonne of Cambises, so excelled in memorie, that hauing an exceeding great multitude of men in his host, he would call euerie man by his proper name and surname. Cineas an ambassador from king Pyrrhus to the Romanes, was not in Rome aboue one whole daie, before he could salute euerie of the senators, and euerie noble man of Rome by his particular name. Likewise Julius Cesar and Adrianus the emperors of Rome were of such excellent memories, that euerie of them at one instant could both read and write, as also speake and heare. The like also is said of the famous and most excellentlie learned man Erasmus Roterodamus, who hauing alwaies for the most part sundrie and diuers clearks writing at one time and instant, of sundrie matters, would walke vp and downe among them, and indite to euerie one what he should write. And this thing is so necessarie in all princes, that in the old ages they were euer wont to haue about them such men as were of a speciall memorie; to put them in mind of all such things as to them should be meet and requisite, and these were called Nomenclatores. Whether this king had any such attending vpon him or not, it is certeine that he himselfe was of an excellent good memorie.

Thus far the first booke of the Conquest of Ireland.





SYLVESTER GIRAL-

dus Cambrensis, his second

booke of the vaticinall historie of


the Conquest of Ireland.

The Proheme of the author.



*W*E haue thus farre continued our historie, in as perfect and full order as we could, hauing omitted nothing worthie the memorie, as farre as the matter seemed to require: but being occupied and busied with the generall and necessarie causes in religion, although we had not sufficient leasure and time to follow and prosecute this our enterprise and matter begun, yet did not we thinke it meet to giue the same ouer, and to leaue it halfe vndoone. We haue therefore, and yet doo continue the historie but breesfelie, not in anie high or eloquent stile; but in a common phrase and plaine speeches, giuing rather thereby an occasion to our posteritie for them to set foorth this historie, than to doo it our selues. For indeed our leasure is verie small, and such as it is, it is turned to troubles and vnquietnesse, our loue and zeale into hatred, our ioy into sorrow, and our rest to molestations.

For now flourish not the honest exercises of studies, but the busie policies of warres: now the good studies of the mind are contemned, and the lusts of the bodie imbraced: now we haue no leasure to serue the Muses, but to be hammering with weapons: quiet minds are not now at leasure, but glistering weapons and armors are in euerie mans hands. Wherefore let not the reader looke now at our hands for anie good order, eloquence, or pleasantnesse in this our writing: for place must be giuen of necessitie vnto time. And as the same is now verie troublesome, so can the same bring foorth but troublesome matters. In these troubled times, and wanting conuenient leasure and quietnesse, I haue trauelled with the more paines to absolue and end this my worke: not after the maner of a student, but as a traeller; whose nature and condition is, that when he dooth set foorth on his iournie verie slacklie and slowlie, then dooth he make the more hast, and trauell the more speedilie. How soeuer it shall please God to deale with vs in the seruices now in hand, I haue as diligentlie as I can compiled this my historie as also my topographie, leauing the same as a monument of our will, to remaine to our countrie and posteritie for euer.





THE SECOND BOOKE

of the Conquest of Ireland.

The earle is sent backe againe into Ire-
land, and is made generall of the land, and
Reimond is ioined in com-
mission with him.

Chap. 1.



Richard, be-
ing now returned
into Ireland, the
people there being
aduertised of the
great troubles which
were beyond the
seas, they being a
people constant on-
lie in inconstancie,
firme in wavering
and faithfull in vn-
truths; these I say

and all the princes of that land, the earle at his com-
ming found to be revolted and to become rebels.
For the recouerie and suppressing of whom, the earle
then wholie bestirred himselfe; and at length hauing
spent and consumed all his treasure, which he had
brought ouer with him, his soldiors who were under
the guiding of Herneie being then constable, lacked
their wages and were vnpaid: and by reason of the
emulation betwene Herneie and Reimond, the ser-
uice and exploits to be don against the Irishie was
verie slacke and slender; and by that meanes they
wanted such prizes and spoiles of neat and cattell
as they were wont to haue for their vittels. The
soldiors in this distresse, wanting both monie for
their wages and vittels for their food, assembled
themselues and went vnto the earle, vnto whom
with one voice they exclaimed and said; that vnlesse
he would make and appoint Reimond to be their
capitaine againe, they would without all doubt for-
saake him, and would either returne home againe, or
(that which is worse) would go and serue vnder the
enimies.

In this distresse was Reimond appointed the cap-
taine, & forthwith hauing mustered his souldiers, he
made a rode or iourneie into Dhalia vpon the re-
bels there, where he tooke great prizes, and were well
recovered as well in horse as in armor. From thence
they marched to Lismore, where when they had spo-
iled both the towne and countrie, they returned with
great booties, taking the waie vnto Waterford by
the sea side: and being come to the sea shores, where
they found thirtene botes latelie come from Wa-
terford, as also others of other places; all these they
laded with their prizes, minding to haue passed by
water vnto Waterford. But tarieng there for a
wind, the men of Corke, who had heard of their do-
ings, and being but fiftene miles from them, do pre-

pare two and thirtie barks of theire owne towne, and
do well man and furnish them, being wholie deter-
mined to set vpon Reimond, and if they can to giue
him the ouerthrow; which they did: betwene whom
was a cruell fight, the one part giuing a fierce onfet
with stones and spaths, & the other defending them-
selues with botwes and weapons. In the end the men
of Corke were ouercome, and their capteine named
Gilbert Mac Turger was there slaine by a lustie
young gentleman named Philip Welch. And then
Adam Herford, who was the generall or admerall
of that nauie, being well increased and laden with
great prizes, sailed with great triumph to the citie
of Waterford.

But Reimond himselfe was not present at this
fight vpon the water, and yet hearing thereof, he
came in all hast and marched towards them, taking
his waie by the sea side, hauing in his companie
twentie gentlemen, and thre score horsemen. And
by the waie in his iourneie he met with Dermond
Mac Artie prince of Desmond, who was comming
with a great band of men to helpe and rescue the
men of Corke where they fought togither: but in the
end Mac Artie had the worse side, and was ouer-
throwne; and then Reimond hauing preyed and taken
about foure thousand head of neat, he marched and
came to Waterford. About this time also as they
marched homewards, certeine Irishmen in those
parties lieng skulking & lurking in the woods, when
the prizes and cattell passed by, they issued out,
tooke and carried a waie certeine of the cattell in-
to the woods, where vpon the crie was vp, and came
as farre as Waterford. Wherevpon the souldiers
and most part of the garison issued out, among whom
Speilerius was the best and most forward. For he
being come to the woods, and hauing in his compa-
nie then onelie one souldier, put spur to the horse,
and aduentured in the woods, following the Irish-
men (by the abetting of the souldier who was with
him) euen to the furthest & thickest part of the woods:
where he was so farre entered, that he was in dan-
ger of the enimie: and the souldier being not able to
retire was there taken, killed and hewed in peeces.
Speilerius then seeing himselfe to be incircled
round about with the enimies, and he in the like per-
rill as the other was, bicause he alone against a thou-
sand was neither able to rescue his man, nor helpe
himselfe, but in danger to be taken as was the o-
ther, like a valiant gentleman draweth his sword,
and with a lustie courage, euen in despite of their
teeth maketh waie through them. And such as set vp
on him he spared not, but cut off an arme of this
man, a hand of that man, a head of one, and a shoul-
der of another, & he escaped throughout them with-
out any harme or hurt to his owne bodie, sauing
that he brought two darts in his shield, and thre in
his horse.

The

The overthrow giuen by the Irish-
men against the souldiers which came
from Dublin; and what the Osto-
men were, of whom mention is made
here and elsewhere.

Chap. 2.

When these things werethus done, & the
souldiers well refreshed by the booties and
preies taken vpon the water and the land,
Reimond being aduertised that his father
William Fitzgerald was dead, he toke shipping
and passed ouer into Wales, there to take seison, and
to enter into the land descended vnto him. And in
his absence Heruie was againe made lieutenant
of the armie: who in the absence of Reimond, thinking
to do some seruice and notable exploit, bringeth the
earle vnto Cashill; and for their better strength and
further helpe, sent his commandement vnto Dub-
lin, that the souldiers there should come and meet
them: who according came forth; and in the iourneie
they passed thorough Droie, where on a certeine
night they lodged themselves. Donald then prince of
Limerike, a man verie wise in his nation, hauing
vnderstanding by his priuie espials of their coming,
suddenlie and vnwares berie earle in the morning
with a great force and companie stale vpon them,
and slue of them foure gentlemen which were cap-
tains, and foure hundred (1) Ostomen in this soe dis-
comfiture.

The earle as soone as he heard hereof, with great
fearow & heauinesse returned vnto Waterford. By
means of this mishap, the Irishmen in euerie place
toke such a heart and comfort, that the whole nation
with one consent and agreement rose by against the
Englishmen, and the earle as it were a man besie-
ged, kept himselfe within the wals and citie of Wa-
terford, and from whence he moued not. But Rotho-
rike Deconoz prince of Connagh, comming and pas-
sing ouer the riuer of Shenin, thinking now to reco-
uer all Aeth, inuadeth the same with sword and fire,
and spoileth, burneth, and destroueth the same, & all the
whole countrie euen to the hard walles of Dublin,
leauing no castell standing or vnderstroied.

(1) These Ostomen were not Irishmen, but
yet of long continuance in Ireland. Some saie they
came first out of Norwaye, and were called Ostomen,
that is to saie Easterlings, or Easterne men,
because that countrie lieth East in respect of Eng-
land and Ireland. Some thinke they were Saxons
and Normans; but whatsoeuer they were, they were
merchants and vsed the trade of merchandize, and in
peaceable maner they came into Ireland; and there
being landed, they found such fauour with the Irish-
rie, that they licenced them to build haven towne
wherein they might dwell & vse their traffike. These
men builded the ancientest and most part of the ci-
ties and towne vpon or nere the sea side within that
land; as namelie Dublin, Waterford, Cork, Limer-
rike, and others. And albeit they in proceesse of time
grew to be mightie and strong, and for their safetie
did build towne and castels: yet they durst not to
dwell among the Irish people, but still continued
and kept themselves within their owne towne
and forts, and thereof they are and were
called since townesmen. And of them

there were these, being the inhabitants
of Dublin, which came to meet
the earle, and were
thus slaine.

The returning of Reimond into Ire-
land, and how he married Basilia the sister
vnto the earle.

Chap. 3.

The earle then seeing himselfe to be now
in great distresse, and in a narrow streit,
taketv aduise with his friends and counsell-
ors what were best to be done. At length,
as vnto his last refuge, he sendeth his letters to Rei-
mond being yet in Wales, to this effect. As soone as
you haue read these our letters, make all the hast you
can to come awaie, and bring with you all the helpe
and force that you can make: and then according to
your owne will and desire, you shall assuredlie and
immediatlie vpon your comming haue and marrie
my sister Basilia. Reimond, as soone as he had read
these letters, he was forthwith in hast to be gone, and
thought it long yer he could be gone; not onlie in re-
spect of the faire ladie, whom he had long wooed, lo-
ued, and desired; but also that he might helpe and suc-
cour his lord and master in this distresse and necessi-
tie. Wherefore he maketh preparation accordingly,
and by means of friendship and otherwise, he had
gotten thirtie lustie young gentlemen of his owne
cousins and kindred, and one hundred horsemen; as
also thre hundred footmen and bowmen of the best
and chosen men in all Wales: all which were in a
readinesse to go with him. And as soone as the ship-
ping for the m was readie, and the wind seruing, he
and his cousin Speilertus, with all the said companie
toke the seas, and shortly after arriued in twentie
barks vnto (1) Waterford.

At the verie same time the townesmen of Wa-
terford, being in a verie great rage and furie against
the Englishmen there, were fullie minded and deter-
mined to haue killed them all wheresoeuer they could
find them. But when they saw these barks comming
in with their flags, hanging to their top masts, which
to them were vnknewe, they were assonied at their
sudden comming, and their deuises were dashed.
Reimond forthwith entered the towne with all his
companie; and when all things were quieted and ap-
peased, he & the earle went from thence vnto Water-
ford, with all their force and strength, leauing behind
one (2) Decell or Durcell his lieutenant at Water-
ford. But he verie shortly minding to follow after
the earle, toke a boat, and as he passed ouer the riuer
of the Surre, the maister of the boat and his companie
which were townesmen of Waterford, slue this
Durcell, and those few whom he had then attending
vpon him. Which murder when they had thus done,
they returned to the citie, and there without all pittie
or mercie, spared neither man, nor woman, nor child;
but slue as manie as they could find in the streets,
houses, or anie other places. Howbeit the citie it selfe
was safelie kept by such as were then in Reimonds
tower, who droue the traitors out of the citie, as also
in the end compelled them to yeld and submit them-
selues, and to intreat for peace, which they hardlie ob-
teined, both with an euill credit and harder condi-
tions.

But Reimond still mindfull of the promise made
vnto him, and he languishing untill the same were
performed, would not depart from out of Waterford,
untill messengers were sent to (3) Dublin to fetch
and bring his louer Basilia to (4) Waterford to be ma-
ried vnto him. Which being done, and he married, they
spent all that daie and night in feastings & passimes.
And as they were in their most solitie, newes was
brought vnto them, how that Rothorike prince of
Connagh had destroued, wasted, & spoiled all Aeth,
and was entred into the borders of Dublin. Where-
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upon Keimond on the next morrow, setting apart and giuing ouer all wedding pastimes, mustreth all his souldiours, and without anie delaings marcheth towards the enimies. But Rothorike who had before tried his valiantnesse, and experimented his force, hearing of his comming, and not minding to trie or abide the same, retireth backe, and getteth him to his owne home and countrie. Then Keimond recouereth againe all those countreies, and forthwith causeth all the forts and castels then before pulled downe and defaced, to be now reedified and repaired, as also the castels of Trim, and of Dunlences in Meth, of which Hugh Trell was before the constable, and for want of rescue and helpe compelled to leaue and forsake them. And thus by the means of Keimond, all things being recovered and restored to their former and pristine estate, the whole land for feare of him continued a good time in peace and rest.

(1) There is great varietie in such booke and examples as I haue, and which I do follow in this point: some writing that Keimond did not land at Waterford, but at Wexford; and the tumult there being appeased, he went from thence vnto Waterford, and brought the earle vnto Wexford. Some write againe (as is aforesaid) that he landed at Waterford, and not at Wexford: but hauing saluted the earle, appeased the tumult, and set all things in order, he conducted the earle and the whole armie ouer land vnto Wexford. Although there be some variance in the exemplars, yet concerning the substance of the historie it is not materiall.

(2) There is also a varietie in the exemplars of this name; some write Fricellus, and some write Pricellus, and some Pricellus, or Purcell; it is like to be Purcell, for they of that name were seruitors in this conquest, and for their god seruice they were rewarded with lands and territories, and who are yet remaining about or nere the citie, and in the countie of Waterford.

(3) It is certeine that this Basilia abode at Dublin, but whether she were there married or at Wexford it is doubted. Some hold opinion, that Keimond after that he had met and also saluted the earle, they forthwith hearing the countreies in Leinster, and especially about Dublin to be in an vppore, marched thither straitwaie without anie traie. And there Keimond as a lustie soldior in his armoz married the ladie Basilia, and they issued with aduantage vpon the enimie. But the writer of best credit saith that the marriage was at Wexford.

The secret practise of Herueie against Reimond.

Chap. 4.

Wat Herueie seeing the honoz and credit of Keimond daily to increase more & more, and he much græued therewith, deuileth all the means he can how to stop and hinder the same: and forsomuch as he could not compasse the same by anie open attempt, he practiseth it secretly, and by secret deuises. Wherefore he is now a suter to marrie the ladie Nesta, daughter to Maurice Fitzgerald, and consine germane to Keimond; that vnder the colour of this new affinitie, aliance, and vnbained friendship he might take Keimond in a trip. Well, his secret deuises being to himselfe, and no such thing suspected nor mistrusted as he meant; he by his earnest sute obtaineth this gentlewoman, and marrieth hir. And Keimond also to make friendship on all sides to be the more firme, procured that Aline the earls daughter was married to William eldest

son of William Fitzgerald. And to Maurice Fitzgerald himselfe, who was lastie come out of Wales, there was giuen the halfe cantred of Mphelan, which he had before of the kings gift, as also the castell of Guindoloke: and Peilerius because he was the better marcher had the other halfe cantred. But the cantred of land which was next towards Dublin, and which the king had once giuen vnto Fitzstephans, was now bestowed vpon the two Herfordes.

The obtaining of the priuilege

at Rome.

Chap. 5.

In this meane time the king, though he were in great troubles, & much vniquieted with the wars, yet was he not vnmindfull of his realme of Ireland, as also of the orders made and deuised at the councill of Cashill, for the redresse and reformation of the filthie and lose life of the Irishie. And thereupon sent his ambassadores vnto Rome to pope Alexander the third, of and from whom he obtained certeine priuileges, and vnder his authoritie; namelie, that he should be lord ouer all the realme of Ireland; and by his power and authoritie they to be reduced and brought to the christian faith, after the maner and order of the church of England. This priuilege the king sent ouer into Ireland by one Nicholas Wallingford then prior, but afterwards abbat of Malmeburie, and William Fitzaldelm. And then being at Waterford, they caused an assemblee and a synod to be had of all the bishops and clergie within that land; and then in the open audience of them, the said grant and priuilege was openlie read and published: as also one other priuilege before giuen and granted by pope Adrian an Englishman borne, at the sute of one John of Salisburie, who was made bishop of Barnocens at Rome. And by this man also he sent vnto the king for a token, and in signe of a possession thereof, one gold ring, which together with the priuilege was laid vp in the kings treasure at Winchester. The tenure of both which priuileges it shall not be amisse here to insert. And concerning the first, these are the wordes thereof.

Adrian the bishop, the seruant of the seruants of God, to his most deere sonne in Christ the noble king of England sendeth greeting, and the apostolike benediction. Your excellencie hath bene verie carefull and studious how you might enlarge the church of God here in earth, and increase the number of his saints and cleas in heauen: in that as a god catholike king, you haue and do by all meanes laboz and trauell to enlarge and increase Gods church, by teaching the ignorant people the true and christian religion, and in abolishing and rooting by the wordes of sin and wickednesse: and wherein you haue and do craue for your better aid and furtherance the helpe of the apostolike see, wherein the more speedlie and discretlie you do proceed, the better successe we hope God will send. For all they which of a feruent zeale, and loue in religion, do begin and enterprisse anie such thing, shall no doubt in the end haue a good and prosperous successe. And as for Ireland and all other lands where Christ is knowen, and the christian religion receiued, it is out of all doubt, and your excellencie well knoweth, they do all aperseine and belong to the right of saint Peter, and of the church of Rome. And we are so much the more redie, desirous, & willing to sow the acceptable seed of Gods word, because we know the same in the latter daie will be most feuerelie required at our hands. You haue (our welbeloued in Christ) aduertised and signified

Two priuileges sent from Rome to the king of England.

unto vs, that you will enter into the land and realme of Ireland, to the end to bring them obedient unto law, and vnder your subiection, and to root out from among them their foule sins and wickednesse, as also to yeld and paie pærelie out of euerie house a pearelie pension of one penie vnto saint Peter: and besides also will defend & haue the rites of those churches whole and inuolate. We therefore well allowing and fauouring this your godlie disposition & commendable affection, do accept, ratifie, and assent vnto this your petition: and do grant that you for the dilating of Gods church, the punishment of sin, the reforming of maners, planting of vertue, and the increasing of christian religion, you do enter to possesse that land, and there to execute according to your wisdom whatsoeuer shall be for the honoz of God, and the safetie of the realme. And further also we do stricte charge and require that all the people of that land do with all humblenesse, dutifulnesse, and honoz receiue and accept you as their liege lord and soueraigne, reseruing and excepting the right of the holie church, which we will be inuolably pæserued; as also the pærelie pension of the Peter pence out of euerie house, which we require to be trulie answered to saint Peter, and to the church of Rome. If therefore you do mind to bring your godlie purpose to effect, intend to trauell to reforme the people to some better order and trade of life: and that also by your selfe, and by such others as you shall thinke meet, true, and honest, in their life, maners and conuersation, the church of God may be beautified, the true christian religion sowed and planted, and all other things to be done, that by anie meanes shall or may be to Gods honoz, and the saluation of mens soules: whereby you may in the end receiue at Gods hands the reward of an euermore life, as also in the meane time, and in this life carrie a glorious fame, and an honorable report among all nations. The tenure and effect of the second priuilege is thus.

Peter pence.

The second priuilege.

Alexander the bishop, the seruant of the seruants of God, to his dærelie beloued son the noble king of England sendeth græting, grace, and the apostolike benediction. Forso much as things giuen and granted vpon good reasons by our predecessors, are to be well allowed of, ratified, and confirmed; we well considering and pondering the grant and priuilege, for and concerning the dominion of the land of Ireland to vs appertaining, and latelie giuen by Adrian our predecessoz; we following his steps do in like maner confirme, ratifie, and allow the same: reseruing and sauing to saint Peter and to the church of Rome the pærelie pension of one penie out of euerie house as well in England as in Ireland. Provided also, that the barbarous people of Ireland by your meanes be reformed and recovered from their filthy life and abominable conuersation; that as in manie so in maners and conuersation they may be christians: that as that rude and disordered church by you being reformed, the whole nation also may with the profession of the name be in acts and life followers of the same.

The titles of the kings of England vnto Ireland.

Chap. 6.

Let then the enuious & ignorant cease and giue ouer to quarrell, and anouch that the kings of England haue no right nor title to the realme of Ireland. But let them well vnderstand that by fine maner of waies, that is to saie, by two ancient titles, and three latter they haue to anouch and defend the same, as in our to

pographie is declared. First it is eident and agreed by the histories of England, that Gurguntius the sonne of Belin king of Britaine, as he returned with great triumph from out of Denmarke, he met at the Isles of the Orkades a nauie (1) of a certeine nation of people, named Baldenses, now Balions, and those he sent into Ireland, appointing vnto them certeine guides and leaders to conduct & direct them thither.

Likevise the same histories do plainlie witnesse, that king Arthur, the famous king of Britaine, had manie of the Irish kings tributarie to him: & he on a time holding & keeping his court at Westchester, Gellomarus king of monarch of Ireland, with other the princes thereof, came & presented themselves before him. Also the Irishmen came out of (2) Balon, the chiefe citie in Wiscate. And forsomuch as men, be they neuer so free, yet they maie renounce their right and libertie, and bring themselves into subiection: so it is apparet that the princes of Ireland did frelie, and of their owne accord, submit & yeld themselves to king Henry of England, & swore vnto him faith and loialtie. And albeit such men of a kind of a natural lightnesse and inconstancie, be not ashamed nor afrated to denie and renounce their faith: yet that can not so release and discharge them. Euerie man is at his owne chosse and libertie how to contract and bargaine with anie one, but the same once made he can not det nor swarue from it. And finally the holie pope, in whom is the effect of perfection, and who by a certeine prerogative and title requireth & claimeth all Islands, because by him and by him and by his meanes they were first reduced and recovered to the christian faith; he I saie hath ratified and confirmed this title.

(1) The historie is this, that Gurguntius the son of king Belin made a viage into Denmarke, there to appease the people, who were then in rebellion against him: and hauing preailed and ouercommed them, he in his returning homewards by the Isles of the Orkades, there met him a fleet of a nauie of thirtie or (as some saie) thre score sailles of men and women latelie come and exiled from out of that part of Spaine, called then Baldensis, whereof Balon was the chiefe citie, but now it is a part of the countrie of Gascoigne, whose capteine named (as some write) Bartholomew, did present himselfe before Gurguntius, and discoursing vnto him the cause of their trauels, besought him to consider of their distresse, and to grant vnto them some dwelling place, and they would become his subiects. Which their request the king granted, and taking their oth of allegiance sent and caused them to be conducted into Ireland, where as his subiects they remained and continued.

(2) These people were named Iberi, & before that they came to seeke vnto Gurguntius for a land to dwell in, they dwelled in that part of Spaine, whereof Balon is the metropole, which is now part of Wiscate, and this countrie before and long after the time of Gurguntius, was still subiect to the kings of Britaine, now called England.

The rebellion of Donald prince of Limerike, and of the taking of the citie of Limerike.

Chap. 7.

In the meane while, Donald O Byin prince of Limerike waied verie insolent, and nothing regarding his former promise and oth made to the king, began & did with draw his fealtie and seruice. Whereupon Keimond

mustered his armie, gathered and picked out the best and lustiest men which he had. And hauing twentie and six gentlemen, three hundred horsemen, and three hundred bowmen and footmen in readinesse and well appointed, about the kalends of October marched towards Limerike to assaile the same. When they came thither, the riuer of the Shenin, which runneth round about the citie, they found the same to be so deepe and stikie, that they could not passe ouer the same. But the lustie yong gentlemen who were greedie to haue the pzeie, but more desirous to haue the honoz, were in a great agonie and grieue, that they were thus abarred from approaching to assaile the citie. Wherevpon one (1) Dauid Welsh so named of his familie and kindred, although otherwise a Camber or a Welshman bozne, and nephue unto Reimond, who was a lustie and vallant yong soldior, and a verie tall man aboue all the rest, was verie hot and impatient, that they so long lingered the time about nothing. Wherevpon hauing a greater regard to win fame and honoz, than fearing of anye perill or death, taking his horse and putting his spurres to his sides aduentureth the water, which being verie stikie and full of stonies and rocks was the more dangerous: but yet he so wiselie marked the course of the streame, and so aduised and guided his horse, that he passed the riuer, and safelie recovered the further side: and then he cried out aloud to his companie, that he had found a forde: but for all that there was neuer a one that would follow, saving one Giffrete.

But they both returning backe againe to conduct ouer the whole companie, the said Giffrete, his horse being carried awaie with the violence of the streame, they were both drowned. Which when Appelerins (who was also come thither) did see, he began to fret with himselfe, partly for that his consine & kinsman of so noble an enterpryse had so bad a successe: partly also disdainning that anye should attempt to honoz but himselfe. Wherevpon being mounted vpon a lustie strong horse, setteth spurres to his side, and being neither dismayed with the stiklenesse and danger of the water, nor afrated with the mishap fallen to the gentleman, who was then drowned, more rashlie than wiselie aduentureth the riuer & recouereth the further side & bankes. The citizens some of them watching and meeting him at the waters side, and some standing vpon the towne wals fast by the riuer side, minding and meaning to haue driuen him backe againe, or to haue killed him in the place, hurled stonies a good pace vnto him. But this noble and lustie gentleman, being thus sharpelie and hardlie beset in the middle of perils and dangers, his enemies on the one side hardlie assailing, and the riuer on the other side stopping and closing him vp from all rescue, standeth to his tackle, and as well as he could couering his head with his shield, defendeth and saueth himselfe from his enemies. Whilost they were thus bickering there was great shovoting and noise on both sides of the water. But Reimond being then the generall of the field, and in the reuerward, knowing nothing hereof, as sone as he heard of it, came in all hast through the campe vnto the waters side. Where when he saw his nephue on the other side, to be in the middle of his enemies, and like to be vtterlie cast awaie and destroyed unless he had some speedie helpe and succour, was in a marvellous grieue & agonie, & verie sharpelie crieth and calleth out to his men, as followeth.

(1) This Welsh was so called, the same being the name of his familie and kindred, and not of the countrie of Wales, wherein he was bozne. He was a worshipie gentleman, and of his race there are yet remaining manie good and worshipie gentlemen, who

are chieftie abiding in the prouince and citie of Waterford: for there were they first planted.

The oration and speech of Reimond
vnto his companie, and of the recouerie of
the citie of Limerike.

Chap. 8.

Ye worshipie men, of nature vallant, and whose prowesse we haue well tried, come ye awaie. The waie heretofore not knowne, and the riuer hitherto though not passable, by our aduentures a forde is now found therein: let vs therefore follow him that is gone before, and helpe him being now in distresse. Let vs not suffer, nor see so worshipie a gentleman, thus for our common cause and honoz oppressed, to perish and be cast awaie before our eyes and in our sights for want of our helpe, and by meanes of our sluggishnesse. It is no time now to vse manie words, nor let sure serueth to make manie speeches. The shortnesse of the time, the present necessitie of this noble gentleman, & the state of our owne honozs together expedition, & requirith hast. And euen with these words he put spurres to the horse, and aduentureth the riuer: after whome followed the whole companie, euerie one striving who might be foremost. And as God would they passed all safe ouer, saving two soldiors and one gentleman named Gubbo, who were drowned. They were no soneer come to land, but that their enemies all fled and ran awaie, whome they pursued, and in the chase slue a number of them, as also entered and toke the towne. And hauing thus gotten both the citie and the victorie, they recouered their small losse with great spoiles & riches, as also reaped great honoz and fame.

Now reader, which of these three thinkest thou best vallant, and best worshipie of honoz? Him who first aduentured the riuer, and taught the way? Or him who seeing the losse of his companion, the perill of the riuer, and the multitude of the enemies, did yet (not fearing death nor perill) aduenture himselfe in the middle of his enemies? Or him who hastilie setting all feare apart, did hazard himselfe and all his hoast to saue the friend, and to aduenture vpon the enemy? And this one thing by the waie is to be noted, that on a tuesday Limerike was first conquered, on a tuesday it was againe recouered, on a tuesday Waterford was taken, on a tuesday Waterford was gotten, and on a tuesday Dublin was wonne. And these things came not thus to passe, as it were by a set match, but euen of a common course of fortune, or by Gods so appointment. And it is not altogether against reason, that martiall affaires should haue good successe vpon Mars his daie.

A note concerning tuesday or the daie of Mars.

The description of Reimond.

Chap. 9.

Reimond was big bodied and brode set, of stature somewhat more than meane, his haire yellow and curled, his eyes big, greie, and round; his nose somewhat high, his countenance well coloured, pleasant, and merie. And although he were somewhat grosse bellied, yet by reason of a certeine liuelinesse which was in him, he couered that fault: and so that which seemed to be a blemish in his bodie, he couered with the vertue of his mind. He had such a speciall care of his men and soldiors, that he would be a spie ouer his watchmen, and in his trauell that waie he watched manie whole nights, ranging and walking abroad in the campe. And in this he was verie happie & fortunate, that he

C. 1.

would

would neuer or verie seldome late violent hands
vpon anie, of whom he had charge or were vnder his
gouernement, although he had rather or vnadvised-
lie ouerthrowne himselfe, & straited out of the waie.

He was verie wise, modest, and warie, being no-
thing delicate in his fare, nor curious of his apparell.
He could awake with all weathers, both hot and cold;
and indure anie paines: he was also verie patient,
& could verie well rule his affections. He was more
desirous to be good to such as he gouerned, than to be
glorious of his gouernement: for he would shew
himselfe more like to be a seruant than a master. Fi-
nallye and to conclude, he was a verie liberrall, wise,
gentle, and a circumspect man. And albeit he were
a verie valiant capteine, and a noble soldior: yet in
all martiall affaires, he passed and excelled in wis-
dome & prouidence. A man doubtles in both respects
much to be praised and commended: hauing in him
that soeuer appertained to a valiant soldior, but ex-
celling in all things belonging to a good capteine.

The description of Meilerius.

Chap. 10.

Meilerius was a man of a browne henn
and complexion, his eyes blacke, his loke
grim, and his countenance solwe & sharpe,
and of a meane stature; his bodie for the
bignesse verie strong, broad breasted, & he was small
bellied. His armes and other lims more sinewous
than fleshie, a stout and a valiant gentleman he was
and emulous. He neuer refused anie aduenture or
enterpryse which were either to be done by one alone,
or by mo; he would be the first that would enter the
field, and the last that would depart from the same.
In all seruices he would either haue the garland or
die in the place, and so vnpatient he was in all ex-
ploits, that he would either haue his purpose, or lie in
the dust: and so ambitious and desirous he was to
haue honoz, that to attaine therevnto, there was no
means nor mild thing but that he would suerlie haue
the same either in death or in life: for if he could not
haue it and liue, he would suerlie haue it by dieng.
And verelie both he and Keimond haue been woorthie
of too much praise and commendation, if they had
bene lesse ambitious of worldlie honozs, and more
carefull of Christes church, and deuout in christian
religion, whereby the ancient rights thereof might
haue bene preserved and kept safe and sound: and
also in consideration of their so manie conquests
and blondie victories, and of the spilling of so much
innocent blood, and murdering of so manie christian
people, they had bene thankfull to God, and liberal-
lie contributed some good portion for the furtherance
of his church and religion. But what shall I saie? It
is not so strange but much moze to be lamented, that
this vnthankfulness euen from our first comming
into this land, vntill these presents, this hath bene
the generall and common fault of all our men.

The commendation and praise of Robert Fitzstephans, and of his consins.

Chap. 11.

What shall we speake or saie, how well
Robert Fitzstephans and his sonnes haue
deserued? What of Maurice Fitzgerald?
What shall I saie of Robert of Barrie, a
man verie honest and valiant, whose woorthie com-
mendations by the premisses are to be knowne?
What shall be said of Miles of Cogan, the nephew vnto
Fitzstephans and Maurice, who as he came ouer
with the first, so in commendation and for his seruice
deserueth to be the chiefe and first: What shall we

saie of Robert Fitzhenrie, & the brother vnto Peller-
ius, who if he had not so sone bene dead and cut, he
would doubtlesse haue bene nothing behind his bro-
ther: What shall we speake of Keimond of Bantune
& of Robert Barrie the yonger, they both were verie
woorthie, tall, handsome, and woorthie men: What also
shall be said of Keimond Fitzhugh, who although he
were but of a little stature, yet for his honestie & prou-
dence not to be forgotten: These three lastlie spoken
of for their valiantnesse and prouesse done in the
parties of Desmond, deserue great honoz and com-
mendation, and great is the pittie that through too
much hardnesse their daies were so shortened, and
their time so cut off: What did also a number of our
gentlemen of the same their kindred & countenage de-
serue, whose noble acts were such, and deserued such
a perpetuall fame and memorie, that if I had a hun-
dred tongues, a hundred mouthes, and so manie vo-
ces of yron; yet could I not vtter and at full de-
clare their woorthinesse and deserts. A kindred, &
nation, which in double respects art noble! for of the
Troians by a naturall disposition thou art valiant,
of the french nation thou art most expert and skil-
full of armes and chualrie. A woorthie nation and
kindred! which of thy selfe art sufficient and able to
haue conquered anie nation, if enuie and malice had
not maligned at thy woorthinesse. Well then Kei-
mond had taken order for the keeping of the citie,
and had well vittelled the same, he left therein a ga-
rison of his owne men, fiftie gentlemen, two hun-
dred horsmen, and two hundred bowmen; ouer
whome he appointed Miles of S. Davids his cosine
to be lieutenant: and so as a noble conqueror he
safelie returned into the borders of Leinster. But for
the nature of enuie, who neuer ceaseth to persecute
vertue. For Heruie of Mount Maurice, notwith-
standing by meanes of the late affinitie he were
thought to be a good frend, yet could he not forget
his old malicious mind and wicked deuises: for still
he secretlie from time to time sent his messengers
and letters to the king of England, and full vntillie
did aduertise the state, euent, and successe of all
things, affirming that Keimond contrarie to the
kings honoz and his owne allegiance, had determi-
ned to haue assumed and chalenged vnto himselfe
not onelie the citie of Limerike, but also the whole
land of Ireland. And to make this the more proba-
ble, and himselfe of more credit, he aduertiseth that
Keimond had placed and appointed garrisons for the
purpose; and had swozne the whole armie to obserue
certeine articles by him prescribed, to the great pre-
iudice of the king. Which his aduertisement being in-
terlined with manie good words, the king so credited
the same, that he belaued it to be most true: for as it
is well sene, a little suspicion of an iniurie done or
offered to be done vnto a prince, doth moze sticke
in his mind, than manie benefits and good seruices
before done. The king therefore after the winter fol-
lowing, sent ouer foure of his seruants in message
to Ireland; namelie Robert Dobyne, Robert of Her-
loter or Herford, William Wendeger, and Adam of
Gernemie: of which, two of them to come alwaie and
to bring Keimond with them, and the other to carrie
and remaine behind with the earle.

The description of Heruie.

Chap. 12.

We haue of others, so let vs also now
make and set forth the description of Heruie.
He was of stature a tall and a comelie man,
his eyes grate and some what big, amiable of
face and pleasant of countenance, an eloquent man,
hauing a long and a round necke. His shoulders
some

some what
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so ney at low, his armes and hands somthing long, he was broad breasted, but small in waste, though the same being big in others is thought to be commendable, his bellie was somewhat big and round, his thighes, legs, and feet being well proportionated and answerable to his bodie; of stature he was indifferant. But as in bodie he was well beset & compact, so on the contrarie, his mind, life, and conuersation were corrupt & disordered. For euen from his childhood he was giuen to lecherie, being readie and forward to performe in wanton & filthie actions, whatsoeuer liked him or anie others, who were of the like disposition: and therefore he forbore neither incest nor adulteries, nor anie other such like filthinesse. Besides, he was a pinte and an enuious accuser, and a double man, vncertaine, vaine, and altogether vnconstant, fauouring in inconstancie; a verie subtil man and a deceitfull: vnder his tong he had both milke and honie, but both of them were mixed with poison. He was sometimes in great prosperitie, and all things fell out according to his owne desire; and suddenly fortune turning his wheele, he had such a fall, that he did neuer recover the same againe. He was sometimes a verie good soldior, and had good experience in the feats of wars, after the maner vsed in France; but he was so suddenly altered & changed, that he became more skilfull in malice than valiant in prowesse, more full of deceit than renowned in honor, more puffed vp in pride than endowed with worship, more hastie than happie, and more full of words than abounding in truth.

The succouring of the garrison
at Limerike.

Chap. 13.

Reimond hauing receiued the kings determination by the foresaid foure messengers, prepared all things in a readinesse for his passage ouer accordinglie, and nothing wanted thereunto but onelie a west wind. But before the same happened, messengers came from the garrison at Limerike, aduertising that Donold prince of Thomond had besieged the citie round about with a great armie, and that their vittells which they had in the towne, aswell that which they found at their comming thither, as also what so euer was else provided, were all spent and consumed; and therefore requested that they might with all speed be rescued and holpen. The earle, who was verie soie & pensif for these newes, and deuising all the waies he could to helpe them, caused a muster to be taken of all his souldiers; who were so greued for the going awaie and departure of Reimond, that they utterly denied and refused to go and to serue that waie, vnles Reimond were their capteine and lieutenant. Whereupon they toke aduise with the kings messengers what were best to be done in this distresse. At length it was thought best, that Reimond should take the enterprize in hand; and he though verie loth, yet at the request of the earle and the foresaid gentlemen, yielded himselfe to that seruice, and marched forth toward Limerike, hauing with him foure score gentlemen of seruice, two hundred horsmen, & three hundred archers, besides Morogh of Kencile, and Donold of Ossie, and certeine other Irishmen, who serued and attended him. And as he was marching and comming toward Cashill, tidings was brought him that the prince of Thomond had raised his siege, and was comming towards him to meet him, and was now come to the passe of Cashill: which passe although naturallie of it selfe it were verie strong, yet by means of new trenching, plashing of trees, and making of hedges, it was made so strong, that no

horsmen could either enter or passe through the same.

The oration of Donold to his soldiers,
the recouerie of the citie of Limerike.

Chap. 14.

Reimond being now almost come to the place where his enemies late, shutted his host or armie into three parts or companies, and determined to giue the onset or aduenture. Whereupon Donold prince of Ossie, who was a mortall enemy to the prince of Thomond, and now verie desirous that some good exploit shuld be done; and beholding the Englishmen now also set in god arate, for though they were but few in number in respect of the others, yet they were pikemen, valiant and couragions: he also to encourage them, to shew themselves like valiant men, vseth and maketh these speeches vnto them. Verie worthie, noble, and valiant conquerors of this land, you are this daie valiantlie to giue the onset vpon your enemies, which if you do after your old and accustomed maner, no doubt the victorie will be yours; for we with our spars; and you with your swords, will so sharplie them pursue, as they shall verie hardlie escape our hands, and auoid our force. But if it so fall out, which God forbid, that you be overthrombe and haue the worse side: be you assured that we will leaue you and turne to our enemies, and take part with them. Therefore be of good courages, and loke well to your selues, and consider that you are now far from anie fort or place of refuge, and therefore if you should be vtien to flee, the same will be long and dangerous to you: as for vs we may not trust vnto vs, for we are determined to stick to them who shall haue the victorie, and will pursue and be on the backs of them who shall flee and run awaie; and therefore be no longer assured of vs than whilst we be conquerors. Mellerus who had the foreward, hearing these words, being warmed with the same, suddenly like a hurling and a blustering wind entered into the passe, pulled downe the fastnesse, and brake downe the hedges, and so made waie, with no small slaughter of the enemies, whereby the passe was recovered and the enemies overcome. And they then marched without perill vnto Limerike, where they entered the third daie in the Easter weeke, being on tuesdaie. And as the first conquest of Limerike was vpon a tuesdaie, so was the second also, where for a time they staied, and restozed all things by the enemies before spoiled, & set the same in good order. The enemies finding themselves to be too weak, and that it was better to bowe than to breake, praied to haue a parlee and a communication with Reimond: & in the end the messengers of Kothorike king of Connagh, and of Donold of Thomond, did obtaine the same; and a parlee was appointed for them both, which was in one daie, but not in one place; for Kothorike of Connagh came by boates vpon the riuer of Sheinin, as far as the great loch of Dirigid, & there staied. And Donold not far from thence kept himselfe and his companie in a certeine wood. But Reimond chose a place not far from Killaloe, which is about seauentene miles from Limerike, and in the middle betwene them both. The parlee betwene these continued a pretie while, but in the end both kings submitted & yielded themselves, gaue hostages, made fealtie, and were sworn to be true from thenceforth for euer, to the king of England and to his heires.

These things thus done and concluded, Reimond returneth in great triumph and solitie vnto Limerike. And by and by there came messengers vnto him from Dermot Mac Artie prince of Desmond, praieing and requesting him to aid and helpe him, being

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being the king of Englands faithfull and leige man against his eldest sonne Cormion Olerhan, who went about to drine and expell him out of his land and dominion: & promised him god intertainment both for himselfe and for his souldiours for the same. Keimond nothing refusing the offer, and verie desirous of honor, taketh aduise of his friends and companions; and by all their consents, the sojourn to wards Cork was liked. Where vpon Keimond displayed his banner, and marcheth thither wards, and taketh by the waie great preles and booties of neat, cattell, and other things: of the cattels he sent a good portion backe vnto Limerike for vittelling of that citie; & in the end he conquered the whole countrie, subdued the rebellious sonne, and restored Derman the prince to his estate and right. And thus by reason of Keimond Mac Artie, he was restored and recovered, who otherwise had bene in vtter despaire, and out of all remedie. And now to recompense his son Keimach, who before this, by waie of a peace and an intreatie, both vnusellie & guilefullie had taken and imprisoned him, he to acquite guile with guile, and the like with the like, took his sonne and cast him into prison, and not long after smote off his head.

The death of the earle

Strangbow.

Chap. 15.

WHilest these things were thus aduancing in Desmond, there came a messenger in all hast from Dublin, with letters to Keimond from his wife Basilia, the effect whereof the messenger knew not. These letters Keimond forthwith deliuered to a familiar friend of his to read them vnto him secretlie, and apart from all others, the tenure of them was as followeth. To Keimond his most louing lord and husband, his owne Basilia wisheth health as to his selfe. Know ye my dere lord that my great cheeketoth, which was wont to ake so much, is now fallen out; wherefore if ye haue anie care or regard of me, or of your selfe, come awaie with all speed. Keimond hauing considered of this letter, did by the falling of the tooth fullie coniecture the death of the earle, for he late verie sicke at Dublin before his comming awaie from thence. But he being thus deceased, which was about the kalends of June, they at Dublin did what they could to keepe the same secret, for feare and in doubt of the Irishmen, vntill that Keimond were come with his band of souldiers vnto them. Keimond himselfe forthwith returned vnto Limerike: and notwithstanding he were verie forie and much græued with this newes, yet dissembling the same, and bearing it out with a good countenance, would not nor did vtter or disclose it to anie bodie, sauing to a few wise and discret men of his familiars and trustie counsellors. And then vpon good aduise and deliberation had among them, it was concluded and agreed vpon, that so much as the earle was dead, and that Keimond also was to depart awaie ouer into England; that the citie of Limerike which was so farre remoted and in the middle of manie enimies, should for the time be left, and the garrison to be conducted and brought from thence into Weimster, for the defense and safe keeping of the townes and forts vpon the sea coasts. Where Keimond full much against his will yelded to this their aduise and counsell, being much græued that hauing taken paines to recover the citie of Limerike, he was now neither able to keepe it himselfe, nor yet had any to leaue behind him, who would take charge vpon him. But at length he sent for Donald prince

of Thomond, being the kings baron & swoorne subject, and vnto him he committed the custodie and charge of the citie: who forthwith pretending all truth and fidelitie was contented therewith; and did not onelie put in hostages, but also took a corporall oth, and was solemnlie swoorne for the safe keeping and the restitution of the same at the kings will and pleasure, as also in the meane time to keepe the peace.

Then Keimond and all his companie departed and went awaie: but they had not so longe passed ouer the one end of the bridge, but that the other end was forthwith broken downe, euen at their heeles; and the citie which was well walled, defended and vittelled, was set on fire in foure sundrie parts, which they saw and beheld with no small grieue of mind. The false traitor then openlie shewing and teaching that credit was to be giuen thenceforth to the Irish nation, who so wickedlie, impudentlie, and perfidiously did perjure themselves. The king of England not long after, being aduertised hereof, is said to haue thus said: Noble was the enterprise in the giuing of the first aduenture vpon the citie, but greater was the rescuing and recovering thereof againe: but it was onelie wisdom, when they left and forsake it. Keimond then returned vnto Dublin with his whole garrison in safetie, and then the erle, whose corps by his commandement was reserved vntill Keimonds comming, was buried in the church of the Trinitie at Dublin, before the rood there, by the appointment of Laurence the archbishop, who did execute all the funerall seruices and obsequies.

The comming of William Fitzaldelme and others ouer into Ireland.

Chap. 16.

THese things thus done, the kings messengers vpon these new changes and changes were to take new aduises; and hauing throughlie debated the state of the countrie, and the necessitie of the time, they thought it best and did conclude that Keimond should tarie behind, and keepe the countrie in good state and order; but they themselves to returne backe to the king. Who accordingly prepared themselves, and at the next westwlie wind then following, they took shipping and passed ouer into England; and being landed, did in post and with all the hast they could, make their repairs vnto the king; vnto whom they declared the death of the earle, & all other things concerning the state of that land. The king then vpon aduise and deliberation had in this matter, sent ouer William Fitzaldelme, with twentie gentlemen of his household, to be his lieutenant, & ioined John de Courcie in commission with him, who had attending vpon him ten men. Likewise Robert Fitzstephans and Spiles Cogan, who had noble serued him in his wars two yeeres, were also sent with them, hauing twentie men attending vpon them. These allone as they were arriued, and come to land, and Keimond hauing vnderstanding of the same, assemblie his companie and souldiers, which was a companie well beset, and marcheth towards Wexford, and there in the confines or marches of the same he met Fitzaldelme and the rest of his companie, whom he verie louingly saluted and embraced: and forthwith according to the kings pleasure, he yelded and deliuered vnto Fitzaldelme, then the kings lieutenant, all the citie and townes, as also all such hostages as he had within that land.

Fitzaldelme when he saw and beheld so solie and

The ladie
Basilia let-
ter to her hus-
band Kei-
mond.

A monstrous
man forgotten
vpon a cow.

lustie a companie about Keimond, and well marking also Spellerius, and others the nephues of Keimond, about the number of thirtie persons, mounted upon their horses, verie lustie and braue, and well besene in like armoz, with their shields about their necks, and their staves in their hands, coursing by & downe after their maner about the fields. He enuied thereat, and turning backe to his men, said secretlie vnto them; I will shortly cut off this pride, and quail this brauerie. Which in the end it perillie so came to passe, for both he and all the rest which followed him in that office, did as it were by a secret conspiracie, enuie and maligne at Keimond, Spellerius, Fitzmaurice, sonnes to Fitzstephans, and all other of their race and kindred. For this was alwaies the lucke and fortune of this kindred and familie.

In all seruices of warres they were then the foremost, and had in best price, and in all martiall affaires they were the best and most valiant men; but when there was no such seruice in hand, and no need of them, then were they contemned and no account was made of them; but by a secret malice they were abased, relected and refused. And albeit great was their malice, yet was their nobilitie so honorable and great; that by no means, do what they could, was the same to be extirpated or rooted out. For euen at this date, such good successe hath their noble beginnings had, that their offspring hath euer since (1) continued in that land, in much honor, force and power. And to saie the truth, who persecuted the force of the enemies in that land? Euen the Geraldines. Who did best keepe & prefer the land in safetie? The Geraldines. Who made the enemies to go backe & be afraid? The Geraldines. Who be they which for their good deserts are most maligne and enuied at? The Geraldines. Suerlie, if it had pleased the prince to haue considered of them, according to their deserts and worthinesse; no doubt the whole state of Ireland long yer this had bene quieted and established. But causelesse were they alwaies had in suspicion, & their worthinesse still had in gelousie: and they put in trust, as in whome was neither valiantnesse of seruice, nor assurednesse of trust. But yet ye worthy and noble men, who for to attaine to honor, haue not bene afraid of death; and for to obtaine fame and renowne, haue not esteemed your selues; be not dismayd, though ye be uncourteouslie considered, and without your deserts disdained and maligne at: but go ye on wards, and proceed in your wonted steps of vertue. And if my pen can go according to worthinesse, I shall be happie, and receiue the guerdon of vertue & immortall fame: for vertue cannot faile nor die, but either in this life or in the life to come, or in both, shall haue his iust reward and desert. And albeit your valiant seruice and worthinesse, either by the slackenes of the king, or by means of other mens secret and enuious practises, haue not bene hitherto considered nor rewarded: yet shall not I faile, with my pen to publish, and in my writings to remember the same. And therefore thinke not now, neither do you giue ouer to labor and trauell from date to date to grow and increase in honor, fame and renowne. For the memorie thereof (farre surpassing all the treasures in the world) for a time through malice maie be couered, but neuer suppressed nor extind: but as fire long hid, shall in the end breake out into great flames, and for euer remaine in perpetuall memorie.

About this time was borne in Owendelocke a monstrous man, begotten by a wicked man of that countrie vpon a cow, a vice then too common in that wicked nation. It had the bodie of a man, but all

the extreame parts of an ore, for from the ankles of the legs and the wrists of the armes, he had the hooves of an ore, his head was all bald, fauing a few small & thin heares here and there: his eyes great, round and blacke, like an ore; nose he had none but onelie two holes, speake he could not but onelie belowed like a cow. This monster did daile resort vnto the house of Maurice Fitzgerald, about dinner times, and such meate as was giuen him he would take in his hooves, and put to his mouth, and so feed himselfe, &c: but to returne to the matter. William Fitzaldeline, being now in high authoritie, and having the gouernement and charge of the land in his hands, marcheth along the sea coasts, and vieweth all the towines, forts and castles that waies: but for the inner countrie, the mounteines and hills vpon the maine land, and bordering vpon the Irishie, he neither cared nor passed for the same: but yet mistaked not the welth and riches thereof. For being a verie greedy and a couetous man, and expectallie hungry to haue gold and treasure, whereof was good store in that land, he greedilie scraped and scratched together whatsoeuer was to be gotten.

About this time, Maurice (2) Fitzgerald in the kalends of September died at Wexford, whose death was lamented, & his departure bewailed of all the countrie. For whie, he was a verie graue & a valiant man, & who for his constancie, truth, courtesie & lone left not his like behind. After his death, William Fitzaldeline sent for the sonnes of the said Maurice, and so dealt with them, that he neuer left them, vntill by one means or other he had craftilie gotten from them the castell of Guendoke. Howbeit afterwards he gaue them Fernes in exchange: which albeit it were in the middle of their enemies, yet like lustie and couragious gentlemen, they builded there a strong castell, which they kept & inhabited mangre all their enemies. Walter Almane, so called in name, and not for that he was ether in nature or stature an Almane, being nephue to William Fitzaldeline, was made seneschall of Wexford; who nothing degenerated from the maners & conditions of his uncle, but was one who was a corrupt man in all his actions & doings, being couetous, proud, malicious and enuious. And suerlie it is commonlie seene, that there is none lightlie worse, than when a beggerlie rascall from nothing, and from a base estate, is aduanced to wealth, credit and estimation. For such a one alwaies doubting and mistrusting all things, suppresseth all things, & thinking all things to be lawfull for him to do, vseth all extremities at his will and pleasure. There cannot be (I saie) a worse beast, than when a cruell rascall and proud begger is raised to estate, and made a ruler ouer his betters.

This Walter entered into acquaintance with Morogh prince of Bencile, and by him being corrupted with great bribes, did what he could to procure the utter destruction of Keimond, and all his foresaid cosins and kinsmen. And to begin the execution of their practises, the foresaid William first toke a waie from Keimond all his lands about Dublin, and about Wexford. And whereas he receiued letters of commandement from the king, to resort vnto Fitzstephans a cantred of land which he had in Wexlan, he being well bribed, detracted and lingered the execution thereof: but yet in the end appointed and assigned vnto them other places which were further off and remoter; and the same the more perillous, because they were in the middle of the enemies.

(1) It is verie true, that these Geraldines euen since haue continued in this land of Ireland, and did daile grow and increase to much honour: there being at this instant two houses aduanced to the

monstrous
man begotten
vpon a cow.

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the

the titles of earledoms, and sundrie to the estates of barons. And so long as they continued in the steps of their ancestors, they were not so honourable as terrible to the Irish nation: but when they leaning English government, liked the loose life of that vicious nation, then they brought in coine and luerie, and a number of manie other Irish and diuellish impositions, which hath bene the ruine of their honour, the losse of their credit, & in the end will be the overthrow of all their houses and families.

(2) This Fitzgerald was buried, and yet lesly in a monasterie of Greie friers without the walles of the towne of Wexford, which house is now dissolved, and the monument of his buriall almost destroyed: there wanting some good and worthy man to restore the same againe. He deserued well of his prince and countrie: and therefore lamentable it is, that in so unkind a countrie no one good man is to be found, that of so worthy a knight will not restore so worthy a monument.

The description of William Fitzaldelme.

Chap. 17.

This Fitzaldelme was a grosse and corpulent man, as well in stature as in proportion, but of a reasonable height; he was verie liberall and courtlike. And albeit he were of great courtesie, and would giue to anie man much honour and reuerence, yet was the same altogether with willes and guiles: for vnder honie he gaue venem, and his sugred words were mingled with poison. And as a venemous serpent couered with greene leaues, he with an outward shew of courtesie couered his mindfull trecherie. For to the outward shew he was liberall and courteous, but inwardlie full of rancoz and malice. In countenance pleasant, but in a stinking bzeast was hid a stinking vapoz: outwardlie as meeke as a lambe, but within as wilie as a fox: carieng vnder sweet honie most bitter venem. His words as smooth as oile, and yet indeed they were deadlie strokes: whome he honoured and reuerenced this daie, he would either spoile or destroye the next daie. A cruell enimie against the weake and feeble, and a flatterer vnto the rebell and mightie: gentle to the wild and sauage, and courteous to the enimie; but extreame to the good subiect, and cruell to the humble; and by that means he was not fearefull to the one, nor trustie to the other. A man full of flatterie, and yet altogether craftie and deceitfull. He was also much giuen vnto wine and to women. He was a greedie couetous man, and an ambitious flatterer, being altogether bent to the one and the other.

(1) This William was the sonne of Aldelme father to Burke erle of Kent (as some saie) and his son Richard was sent into Ireland, and there greatlie advanced: and of him (being lord of Connagh) descended the burgesses called Clanuicards, who were the best blod of the foresaid Richard, and these doe yet remaine in Connagh, of whom is the earle of Clanricke now liuing.

How Iohn de Courcie inuadeth Ulster.

Chap. 18.

Iohn Courcie, who (as is before said) was ioined in commission with William Fitzaldelme, when he saw the course and manner of his dealings, who as he was co-

uetous, and did nothing but for monie; so was he timorous, and did all things in craft and deceit: as also that the enimie feared him not, and the good subiects and garrison at Dublin, by means of their capteins couetousnesse were vnpaid of their wages, and by reason of his slouth and sluggishnesse the vittels were scant, & none went & scouted anie more abrode as they were wont to get anie booties or prizes, he secretlie dealeth with some of them, and by his wise conference, and wittie persuations, allureth and inticeth vnto him euen such as were the valiantest, honestest, and chosen men of them all: who were content and verie glad to accompanie and follow him. And hauing so gotten into his companie two and twentie gentlemen, and about thre hundred others, he boldlie entred and inuadeth into the prouince of Ulster, a countrie which hitherto had not tried the force and strength of the English nation. And then

was fulfilled the prophesie of Aperlun Celodine (as is said, howbeit I will not so affirme it) A white knight sitting vpon a white horse, bearing birds in his shield, shall be the first which with force of armes shall enter and inuade Ulster.

This Iohn Courcie was somewhat of a browne colour, but therewith somewhat whitish, and at that time he rode vpon a white horse, as also did beare in his shield thre painted (1) birds. After that he had passed thre daies iourneie through the countrie of Arrell, he came the fourth daie (being the kalends of Februarie) to the citie of (2) Downe, without anie resistance of the inhabitants thereof: he being an enimie and a ghest vnlooked for. And (3) Downe then the ruler of that countrie, being affrighted and amazed at their so sudden coming, fled awaie. The souldiers which before their coming from Dublin were halfe pined with famine, and hunger starued, hauing now recouered great booties and prizes of neat and cattels, were full and well refreshed.

At this verie present time, there was come thither out of Scotland a legat from Rome named Alufanus, & he toke great pains to intreat & make a peace betwene Downe & Iohn de Courcie, vRING all the persuations that he could, affirming that if he would depart and go awaie, there should be a yeerlie tribute paid to the king of England: but all his words auailed nothing. Downe seeing that words could little auaille, assembleth all the forces of the countrie: and within eight daies hauing gotten about ten thousand souldiours, with force inuadeth, & with great courage commeth to enter & bzeake in to the citie of Downe. For in Ireland, as it is commonlie also in all other lands, they which inhabit in the north, are more warlike and cruell than anie others in other parts. Iohn Courcie seeing the course and bent of the enimies, who not onelie vpon a hope and confidence of their great multitude against so few enimies; but also their valliant and courageous minds, who were fullie determined to inuade the citie: thought it better with his small companie (which though they were but few in respect of their aduersaries, yet they were souldiours valliant, coragious, and of good seruice) to issue out and aduenture the fight with them, than to be pinned & shut vp in a beggerlie ward made with turffes in a corner of the citie, and there for want of vittels to be famished. Wherefore he issued out and ioined the battell with them, where the fight was hot, the bolues a farre off on the one side, and the darts on the other side: then lance against lance, and the bill against the spar, and the sword against the skeine: who buckled so fullie the one against the other, that manie a man fell that daie to the dust. And in this terrible fight and buckling, he that had seene how valliantlie each man shewed

Prophecie of Celodine fulfilled.

shewed himselfe, and spectacillie how John Courcie most valiantlie with the stroke of his sword mangled manie a man, killing some, but wounded and maimed manie, would and must needs haue commended him for a right worthe, noble, and right valiant warrior.

(1) The giueth three birds as this author saith, which by heralds are thus blasoned. Argent three griths or geires gules crowned gold: this grith or geire is a kind of an eagle, but such as is rauenous, and feareth more vpon carrion than vpon anie soule of his owne preteng: & for his cowardnesse carieth neither the name nor praise appertaining to the true eagle.

(2) Downe is a towne lieng in the Ards, which is in Ulster, a profitable and a fertile soile: it is the see of the bishop of that diocese, who beareth his name of the said towne, being called the bishop of Downe.

(3) The Latine word is *Dunlennus*, which I do find to be Englished *Dunell*, which is the name of a great familie or nation in the prouince of Ulster; but whether this Latine be trulie so interpreted, I refer it to the reader, or such as be expert in such Irish names.

The commendation of Roger Power,
and the victorie of John de Courcie, and of
the propheties of Celodine.

Chap. 19.

In this fight there was manie a worthe man, which valiantlie acquitted himselfe: but if it might be said without offense, there was no one man who did more valiant acts than (1) Roger le Power, who albeit he were but a young man and beardless, yet he shewed himselfe a lustie, valiant, & couragious gentleman; & who grew into such good credit, that afterwards he had the gouernment of the countrie about Leighlin, as also in Downe. This fight was verie long & doubtfull, each partie manfullie defending themselves, and none yielding the one to the other. But as the common prouerbe is, be the date neuer so long, yet at the length it ringeth at enenlong: so likewise this fierce, long, and cruell fight had his end, and the victorie fell to John de Courcie, and a great multitude of the enemies were slaine in the field, as also vpon the woars of the seas as they were fleeing and running awaie. When was fulfilled the old prophesie of Celodine the Irish prophet, who foretelling of this battell said, that there should be such a great bloodshed therein of the Irish people, that the enemies perceiuing them should wade vp to the knees in blood. Which thing came so to passe, for the Englishmen perceiuing them and killing them vpon the woars, the same were so soft, that with the weight of their bodies they sunke downe vpon the hard knees or twisels, and so the blood fleeing and lieng vpon the woars, they were said to be therein vpon to the knees.

The same man also (as is said) did write that a poore stranger, and one come out from other countries, should with a small power come to the citie of Downe, and against the will of the gouernor thereof should take the same. Manie other things also he wrote of sundrie battells to be waged, and of the events thereof, which were all fulfilled in John de Courcie. This booke the said John had, and he so esteemed the same, that still he had it about him, and in his hands; and did manie times, yea and for the most part direct his doings by the same. It was also written in the same booke, that a young man with force and armes should breake and enter in through the wals of Waterford, and conquer the same with

the great slaughter of the townsmen: moreover, that the same man should come to Waterford, & from thence to Dublin, where he should enter in without anie great resistance; & all these things (as is apparent) were fulfilled in earle Richard. Likewise he wrote in the same booke, that the citie of Limerike should be twise left and forsaken by the Englishmen: but the third time it should be kept, which thing came so to passe. For first (as is before written) Keimond had it and gaue it ouer: the second was, when the king had giuen the same to Philip de Buse, for he being brought thither by Fitzstephans, and Miles Cogan, to take and enter into the same, and being come to the riuer side of Shenin for the same purpose, was there bitterlie discozaged to proceed anie further, and so without anie thing done, leaueth the same as he found it, and came backe againe; as hereafter in his place it shall be shewed. And thus (according to this vaticine) twise it was left, but the third time it shall be kept.

But this is to be implied and meant of Hamon de Malognies the iusticiarie there appointed; in whose time the said citie being under his gouernment, was by treacherie and treason destroyed, and so forsaken and left; but afterwards recovered by Spellerius: euer since which time it hath remained and bene kept in the possession of the Englishmen. Well then to the battels of John de Courcie, first he had the victorie in two notable battels or fights at Dublin; the one in Februarie, and the other in Iulie: in which he hauing but a small companie of men, fought against sixtene hundred of his enemies, of whom he slue and ouerthrew a great number, and had the victorie. The third was at Ferlic about the taking of a preie, where by reason of the streit & narrow passages, he was too much and euerie estates ouerset by the enemies, and so had the worse; some of his men being killed, and some scattered and dispersed abroad in the woods and fields, so that he had scant eleuen persons left with him. And notwithstanding that he had thus lost his men and horses, yet was he of such a valiant mind and courage, that with those few which were left, he went through his enemies, and in spite of them all trauelled two daies and two nights on foot in their armour without meat or drinke thirtie long miles, vntill he was past danger, & so came safelie vnto his owne castell againe. The fourth battell was at Triell, where manie of his men were killed and manie fled. The fifth was at the bidge of Puno, after and vpon his comming from out of England, and yet therein he had the victorie and conquest. So in three battels he had the victorie, but in two he receiued both the losse and hurt; and yet in them did more annoie the enemy, than was hurted himselfe.

(1) The race & issue of the Powers hath euer since and yet doth remaine in Ireland, who nothing degenerating from this their ancestoz, haue for their part shewed themselves valiant and men of good seruice, for which they haue bene honorablie rewarded, and are now barons and peeres of the realme. Their habitation and dwelling is in the prouince or countie of Waterford, and not far from the citie of Waterford.

The description of John de
Courcie,

Chap. 20.

In this John de Courcie was white and pale of colour, but verie fierce and arrogant, he was sinowous and a verie strong made man, verie tall and mightie, and of a singular audacitie: and being from his verie youth bent

brant to the wars proude a verie valiant souldior. He would be the first in the field and foremost in the fight; and so ambitious and desirous he was of honor, that were the enterprise neuer so perillous, and the seruice neuer so dangerous, yet he would giue the adventure. And albeit he were the generall or capteine, yet setting the priuilege thereof apart, he would be as a common souldior, and serue in the place of a privat seruitor; and manie times being more rash than wise, and more hastie than circumspect, he had the worst side and lost the victorie. And although in seruice he were thus forward, earnest, and belement; yet in time of peace and rest he was verie sober, modest, and altogether giuen and disposed to serue God, and hauing the victorie of his enemies and good successe in his affaires, he would ascribe the honor vnto God, and be thankfull for the same. But as Tullius writeth, nature neuer made anie thing perfect and absolute in all points. And so it appeared in this man; for through his too much pinching and sparing, and by reason he was verie bracerie and vnconstant, his vertues (otherwise great, and deserving great praises and commendations) verie much imperished and blemished. He married the daughter of Gored king of Maime. And after that he had waged manie battels, and fought sundrie times with his enemies, he at length had the masteerie and conquest ouer them: and then hauing brought the whole countrie to a good peace and rest, he builded sundrie and diuerse castles throughout Ulster, in such mete and convenient places as he thought best. And by the way this one thing me thinketh is verie strange, that these three notable & the chiefest posts of Ireland, namelie Veruie, Richmond, and this John de Courcie, by Gods secret (but not vnjust iudgement) neuer had anie lawfull issue. I might also say the like of Mellerius, who as yet hath no lawfull issue by his wife. Thus much hauing brastie and by the waie spoken of the noble acts of John de Courcie, and leaning the same vnto others to be more at large set forth and described, we will now retorne againe to Dublin.

The three
chiefe posts of
Ireland
without issue
lawfull.

The councell or synod kept at Dublin;
of Viuian the popes legat, and of Miles Co-
gans issuing into Connagh.

Chap. 21.

In this meane time, Viuianus the popes legat remained still in Ireland, and held a synod at Dublin of all the clergie, in which he openlie confirmed and published the right which the king of England hath to the realme of Ireland, as also the popes ratification and confirmation of the same; commanding and charging euerie person, of what estate, degree, or condition soeuer he were, that vpon paine of excommunication he should not denie his loialtie, nor breake his allegiance vnto him. And moreover (1) forsomuch as the manner and custome was among the Irishie, that whensoever anie goods, coine, or vittels, were put and kept in anie church, no man would meele or deale to carrie the same awaie; yet neuerthelesse, he gaue licence and libertie to all Englishmen, that whensoever they went, or were to go in anie hostling, and could not elsewhere be prouided of anie vittels, that they might lawfullie take what they found in anie church: so that they left with the churchwardens, or such as had the charge thereof, the true and iust value of so much as they took awaie. These things thus done, Miles of Cogan, who was lieutenant of the bands of souldiors under William Fitzaldelme, as also constable of the citie of Dublin, he

with 40 gentlemen, whereof 20 were vnder the conduct of Ralph the son of Fitzstephans, as also his lieutenant, and they hauing with them 200 horsemen & 300 footmen, passed ouer the riuer of Shenin, & invaded Connagh, which hitherto no Englishman had aduentured. The Connagh men forthwith set on fire and burned all the towne, villages, and churches, as also all such coine as they had in their baggards, and in their caues, and could not carrie with them. Likewise they took downe the images and crucifixes, and hurled them abroad in the fields. Neuerthelesse, the Englishmen marched on wards, till they came to the towne of Thomond, where they staid eight daies together; and finding the countrie forsaken of the people, and barren of vittels, they returned backe againe ouer the Shenin: and by the waie they met with Rothorke prince of Connagh, who late in a wood nere the Shenin waiting for them, and he had three great troops and companies with him of the best fighting men of Connagh. Betwene them there was a long and a cruell fight, in which Miles lost but three of his owne companie, but manie of his enemies were slaine. Which done, he recourted ouer the riuer, & so came safetie to Dublin.

(1) This vsage and custome is yet at this present obserued, and euerie church in the countrie stuffed and filled with great chests full of coine, which the husbandmen doe for safetie keepe therein: and this lieth safe at all times, euen in the verie warres among themselves: howbeit the same is not so religiouslie kept and obserued in these daies as in times past.

How William Fitzaldelme is sent from
home into England, and Hugh de Lacie put in his
place: and how Miles Cogan and Robert Fitz-
stephans haue the kingdome of Conke
giuen vnto them.

Chap. 22.

William Fitzaldelme, who during his abode and being in this land, had done nothing worthe the commendation, sauing that he caused the staffe called Johns staffe to be fetched from Armagh, and brought to Dublin; he (I saie) and Miles Cogan, with Robert Fitzstephans were sent for by the king to come home. In whose come the king sent ouer Hugh de Lacie, and made him his deputie ouer the whole land, joining in commission with him Robert Poole then seneeschall of Waterford and Waterford. The king, after the returne of the aforesaid Fitzaldelme and others, thinking and considering with himselfe the good seruice of Miles Cogan, Robert Fitzstephans, and others; as also how necessarie it were, that such noble seruitors and valiant men were placed among the Irish people, wherby to keepe them in good order and dutifull obedience; he gaue to Robert Fitzstephans, and to Miles Cogan in fee for euer to be equallie diuided betwene them all south Dounster (1) that is to saie, the whole kingdome of Conke, from the west part of the riuer at Leismore vnto the seas, sauing and reseruing the citie of Conke, and one cantred of land there vnto adioining. Also he gaue vnto Philip de Buse all the north Dounster, that is to saie, the kingdome of Limerike, sauing and excepting the citie of Limerike it selfe with one cantred ther vnto adioining, to haue vnto him and to his heires for euer in fee. These men thus rewarded, confederated themselves together to iointe and helpe one another, and euerie of them maketh the best preparation that he can. Which being in redinesse they took shipping and arrived into Ireland in the moneth of Nouember, and landed at Waterford: from thence they coasted

what a can-
ced is.

These ecclie-
ses of the sun
in thre peres.

sted along vnto Corke, where they were receiued with much honoz both by the citizens, and also by an English gentleman named Richard of London, who was depute there vnder Fitzaldelmie.

As soone as they had pacified and quieted Dermot (2) Mac Artie prince of Desmond, and the residue of the noble men and gentlemen in those parties, Fitzstephans and also Miles Cogan diuided betwene them the seauen cantreds, which were nearest to the towne: for these they kept and held in best peace and rest. Fitzstephans had the thre cantreds which laie in the east part, and Cogan had the foure which laie in the west, the one hauing the moze because they were the wooser, and the other had the fewer cantreds that were the better soile and ground. The citie it selfe remained in their ioint gouernement, and the residue of the cantreds being foure and twentie remained in common, and the profits thereof growing they equallie diuided betwene them. A cantred both in English and in Irish is so much land as containeth one hundred villages, as is in our topographie declared, which is commonlie called an hundred. These things thus done, they bying and conduct Philip de Buse vnto Limerike. Fitzstephans had with him twentie gentlemen and fortie horsemen, Miles Cogan had twentie gentlemen & fiftie horsemen, Philip de Buse had twentie gentlemen & thre score horsemen, besides a great number of bowmen & footmen, which they all had when they were come to Limerike, which was about fortie miles from Corke, & onlie the riuer of Sherin was betwene them and the citie: the same at their coming was set on fire before their eyes by the citizens themselves. Penethelless, Stephens and Miles offered to aduenture ouer the water, and to enter the towne; or if Philip thought it so good, they would there build a castell vpon the riuers side right ouer against the towne. But Philip albeit he were a valiant and a good man, yet considering with himselfe how dangerous the place was, being in the middle of the enemies, and farre remoted from all succors and helpe, without which he was not able with his small companie to defend and keepe the same, as also being partly persuaded by the counsell and aduise of his companie, thought it better to retorne home in safetie, than to dwell in the middle of his enemies in continuall perill and danger. And it is not to be much marvelled that in this iourneie he had so euill success: for whie he had gathered & retained to him the notablest murderers, theues, & seditious persons that were in all Southwales, and the marches of the same, and these were of best credit with him, and he most ruled by them.

About this time Amere duke Fitzstephans son, a lustie yong gentleman and a towarddie, died at Corke in March, to the great sorow and græse of all his friends. Here about this time was found and seene a great tode at Waterford, wherof was made much wondering, as is in our topographie declared. Also within the space of thre yeares there was seene thre eclipses of the sun, howbeit these were not vniuersall, but particular eclipses seene onlie in the land. After that Fitzstephans and Miles Cogan had quietlie and peaceablie gouerned and ruled the kingdom of Desmond fve yeres togither, and by their prudence and modestie had restrained the baslie forwardnesse, and rash disposition of their yong men, Miles and Kase the sonne of Fitzstephans a lustie yong gentleman, and who had married Miles daughter, went toward Lismore, there to meet & to haue a parle with Waterford men: as they sate in the fields waiting and looking for them, one Macture with whome they should and had appointed to haue lien at his house the next night following, suddenly

and vnwares came stealing vpon them, and there traitorously slue them, and fve of their companie. By meanes wherof the whole countrie forthwith was in an vproare, insomuch that Dermot Mac Artie, and all the Irishie in those parties, as also the traitor Macture, were out: and denieng to be any longer the kings loiall subiects, made wars against Fitzstephans, who now once againe felt the course of fortunes disposition. And these so much annoyed him, that he could neuer recouer himselfe againe, vntill that his nephue Keimond, who succeeded him in the gouernement there, came and rescued him: yet that notwithstanding, he was neuer his owne man, neither could he be at a perfect peace and rest.

And by the waie this is to be noted and considered, that as the northerne men be warlike and valiant; so are the southerne men craftie and subtil, the one seeking honoz, the other deliting in craft & deceit; the one valiant, the other wille; the one of great courage, the other set all on treason and falshood. But to the matter. When Keimond had how fortune frowned vpon his vncle Fitzstephans, and what distresse he was in, being shut vp in the citie of Corke, and his enemies assailing him round about, forthwith assembled his companie, and hauing in readinesse twentie gentlemen, and one hundred of footmen and bowmen, he taketh shipping at Waterford, and sailing along the coasts, maketh towards Corke with all the hast he can, that he might relieue and comfort his friends, and be a terror vnto his enemies. And in the end hauing oftentimes incountered with the enemies, some he killed, some he drove out of the countrie, and some he compelled (which was the greater number) to submit themselves and to sue for peace: and thus in the end after great stormes and tempest followed a faire weather and a calme. Where shortly after Richard of Cogan, brother vnto Miles, & nothing inferior vnto him in valiantnesse, or any other respect: came into Ireland with a lustie picked companie and chosen men, being sent to the king to supplie his brothers roome. Also in the end of the same winter, and in the moneth of Februarie (3) Philip Barrie nephue to Fitzstephans, a verie honest and a wise gentleman, came ouer with a lustie companie of chosen men, as well for the aid of his vncle, as also for the recouerie of his land in Methan, which was perforce taken awaie (4) from Fitzstephans, as also afterwards from Kase Fitzstephans sonne. In the same passage also came Gerald an other nephue of Fitzstephans, and brother vnto Philip Barrie, who with his good aduise and counsell did verie much pleasure and helpe both his vncle and brother: for he was learned and a great trauelier, in searching to learne the site and nature of that land, as also the first origine of that nation, and whose name the title of the booke beareth. About this time Herrie of Mont Morris professed himselfe a monke in the monastrie of the Trinitie in Canturburie, and gaue to the same in franke and pure almes all his patronages and impropriations of all his churches, lieng by the sea coasts betwene Waterford & Waterford, and so became a monke, & liued a solitarie life in a religious habit: who as he changed his habit, so would God he had changed his mind! & as he hath laid awaie his secular weeds, had cast off his malicious disposition!

(1) The gift which the king gaue vnto these two gentlemen of this countrie is yet extant vnder his broad seale, and was giuen by the name of the kingdom of Corke, being bounded from the riuer which fleteth by Lismore towards the citie of Limerike, vnto Knocke Brendon vpon the seas on the west, to be holden of the king, and of his heires by thre score knights fees. The citie it selfe without cantred of land

what a count
receded.

These eclipses
of the sun
in these yeeres.

land was reserved to the king, saving that they two had the custodie thereof. This kingdome in course of time for want of heires male of them, came to two daughters. The one of them was married to Carew and the other to Courcie, & they in the right of their wives inioined the same during their liues; and after them their heires, untill such time as by a diuision growing amongst the Englishmen, the Irishrie expelled them, and recouered the countrie vnto themselves.

(2) These Mac Arties are yet remaining in the said province of Cozke, and they be now dispersed into sundrie families, but the chieftest of them is named Mac Artie More, and he in the time of king Henrie the eight was advanced to the honor and degree of an earle, being called the earle Clan Artie, which in common speech by interposition of the letter C is pronounced Clancartie.

(3) In this point there is a varietie among the writers, some writing that Fitzstephans should take alwaie the land from Philip Barrie, and giue it to his son Rafe; and to recouer this out of their hands, the said Philip came ouer with such power and force as he could make. Some write againe that the land after that it was giuen to Philip Barrie, he departing into England left it in the custodie and charge of Robert Fitzstephans, who when he listeth not or could not keepe it anie longer, deliuered the custodie thereof to his sonne Rafe: who as his father so was he wearie to keepe the same. And for that cause Philip Barrie minding to inioine, and to make the best thereof, with such force and helpe as he had gotten, came ouer both to helpe his vncke, & also to fortifie & build holds & castles vpon his said land, whereby he might be the better able to defend and keepe the same: and this seemeth to be the truth of the historie.

(4) This Philip of Barrie, hauing seized vpon lands and possessions in Ireland, his posteritie haue euer since continued in that land; and nothing degenerating from their first ancestor, haue from age and to age bene noble and valiant gentlemen, and who for their fidelitie and good seruices, were advanced to honour and made vicounts: and in that title of honor do continue still. But would to God they were not so nuzled, rotted, and altogether seasoned in Irishrie! the name and honor being onelie English, all the rest for the most part Irish.

How Hugh de Lacie builded castels, and fortified in Leinster and Meith.

Chap. 23.

Whilest these things were thus a dooing in Desmond, Hugh de Lacie a good and a wise man builded sundrie castels both in Leinster and Meith, and fortified the same verie stronglie: and among others he builded one at (1) Leighlin vpon the riuer of (2) Barrow besides Desfozic, a place naturallie of it selfe verie strong, which place Robert Poizze by the kings commandement had the charge of, untill he gaue the same ouer and forsooke it. What worthie champions and fit marchmen were this Poizze & Fitzaldelme, to be sent to dwell and rule in a nation, which is destituted and wanteth noble and valiant men! But a man maie see the course of fortune, who when she is disposed to smile, how she aduanceth and raiseth vp men from base estate to high degrees: for why, these two had moze pleasure in chambering and plaieng the wantons with yong girls, and to plaie vpon a harpe than to beare a shield or staffe, or to weare armour. And trulie it was to be marvelled, that so noble a prince could send such cowards to beare rule, and haue ap-

horitie in places of seruice. But to the matter. Hugh de Lacie being a verie wise man, all his care was to bring all things to a peace and quietnesse: and therefore such as were oppressed or diuened out of their lands and territories, he restored them, and with such courteous behauiour and gentle speeches he dealt with all men, that in a verie short time he drew vnto him the hearts of the people, who desirous to dwell vnder his gouernment, manured the grounds; which being then wast and untilled, was in short space full sowed and fraughted both with corne and cattell. And then for the safetie of the people and defense of the countrie, he builded towne and erected castels in euerie place, made orders & established lawes for the gouernment of the people. And by this it came to passe, that ech man inioined the labours of his owne hands, and euerie man liued in peace one with the other, and euerie bodie loued him, and he assured of all men. But hauing thus by his wisdom, policie, and good gouernment recouered that nation to good conformitie and obedience, behold enuie (which alwaies maligneth vertue) he was had in a gealouie and suspition, that his dist and policie was to appropriate the whole land to himselfe, and as the lawfull king and monarch would crowne himselfe king of Ireland. Which opinion was so receiued & false rumour so spred, that it was in a short time caried into England; which when it came to the kings eares, you maie not thinke that he at all liked thereof, or could brooke the same.

(1) This Leighlin standeth full vpon the riuer of Barrow, and it is a verie old & ancient castell called by the name of the Blake castell, a fort in those daies verie strong: it standeth in the baronie of Dore, which is the ancient inheritance of the Carews, who being barons of Carew in Wales, one of them married the daughter and heire of the baron of this Dore, & so the Carews became & were for the course of sundrie yeares, untill in the troublesome times, in king Richard the seconds time they were expelled, as all others or the most part of the English were. But being dwelling there, some one of them builded a religious house of Greie friers nere adioining to the said castell, which being since dissolved in king Henrie the eights time, the same fell into the kings hands, who made thereof a fort, and kept there a perpetual garison, and thus was it dissecured from the baronie. There is also one other Leighlin distant 50 from this about an English mile, where is the cathedrall church of that diocese, and whereof the bishop taketh his name being called the bishop of Leighlin; but for difference sake the same is called old Leighlin, and this other Leighlin bridge, by reason of a bridge builded of stone ouer the riuer at that place, and whereof the one end butteth vpon the foresaid Blake castell.

(2) The Barrow is a goodlie and a notable riuer, hauing his head or spring in the hill called Spons Blandina or Slogh Blome, in which also are the heads or springs of the two other notable riuers Sure and the other Coire. This Barrow keepeth & hath his course through the countie of Ler, and passeth by the market towne of Athie vnto Carlow, and from thence vnto Leighlin, and so to Kosse, a little about which towne it meeteth and ioineth with the Coire, and they together keepe their course about six miles, untill they meet with the Sure, which is nere vnto the late abbeye of Dunbradie: and as they all do spring and rise out of one mountaine, so after they haue taken their seuerall courses, they meet together and take one waie into the seas. They are all navigable, and all a like replenished with sundrie sorts and kinds of fishes.

The

The description of Hugh
de Lacie.

Chap. 24.

If you will know what manner of man Hugh de Lacie was, you shall understand his eyes were blacke and deepe, and his nose somewhat flat, and the right side of his face from the chin upwards by a mischance was shewolke skalled: his necke was short, and his bodie haire, as also not fleshy but sinewy and strong compact; his stature was but small, and his proportion deformed, but in conditions he was verie sober, trustie, and modest. He was verie carefull in his owne priuat matters, but in causes of gouernment and in all publicke affaires he was most vigilant and carefull. And albeit he were a verie good souldier, and one of great experience in martiall affaires, yet in his sundrie adventures wherein he was sometimes rash and verie hastie, he sped not alwaies best nor had the best successe. After the death of his wife he was somewhat lose of life, being much giuen to women, of whom he made no great choise: he was verie greedie and covetous of wealth and possessions, but ouermuch ambitious of honour and reputation. At this time in Leinster florished Robert Fitzhenrie brother unto (1) Meilerius, who in his youthfull yeares was verie lustie like the flower of the garden, which when the winter draweth and is cold, doth wade and wither awaye. Likewise (2) Alexander and Geraldus the two sonnes of Maurice. And albeit Gerald were a man but of meane stature, yet verie wise, sober, and honest. Also Roger le Poivre conestable of Leighlin, Hugh de Lacie, and William le Poivre seneschall of Waterford, Robert Barrie the younger sonne of Philip Barrie, and both the Keimonds were of best fame and credit in these daies. About this time befell and happened the two strange wonders at Fother in Metch, whereof we haue spoken in our topographie; namelie, of the woman violentlie and perforce abused in a mill by a souldier, and of the otes there stolen and caried awaye.

(1) Pessa the daughter of the great Rhesus had thre husbands, by the first named Henrie she had a sonne, who being named after his name, was named Fitzhenrie, who was father to Henrie, Robert, and this Meilerius.

(2) This same Pessa had to hir thirde husband one Gerald of Windsoze, and by him had issue hir fourth son named Maurice, who was father to William Gerald and this Alexander. This Gerald was a valiant and a noble gentleman, and who had wars against Rhesus the father of this Pessa, and kept the towne and castell of Penbroke against him and all his force: but in the end after a peace concluded betwene them, he married this ladie, and had worthe issue by hir.

How Hugh de Lacie vpon a vaine suspicion was sent for into England, and of his returne againe from thence.

Chap. 25.

The suspicion conceiued of Hugh de Lacie daile increased more & more, and as is before said came to the kings eares, who as princes in such causes was verie gelous, and could not like thereof, and therefore forthwith sent for Hugh de Lacie by John conestable of Chester and Richard Pef, whom he appointed to carrie and serue in his place, & to be the gouernours or lordes

iustices of the land. But before he should depart and go awaye, it was agreed by a common consent, that there should diuerse castels and sundrie fortis be builded in Leinster: for Metch was alreadie metlic well and indifferentlie fortified & incastelled. First therefore they builded two castels in Fotheret of Dunolan, the one for (1) Keimond, and the other for Griffith his brother: the thirde was at (2) Treldermont nere to Moxoghs countrie for Walter of Kidentford: the fourth for John (3) Clauill vpon the riuer of Barrow not far from Leighlin: the fift at Collach for John Herford. And as for Kildare, which with the countrie adioining was before by the earle in his life time giuen to Meilerius, was taken from him; & in exchange the countrie of (4) Ler was giuen to him, which was a wild and savage countrie, full of woods, pannes, and bogs, and in the middle of the enimies, as also from anie succour or rescue: howbeit not vnfit for this such a champion of Mars and so worthe a souldier.

These things being thus done in the summer time, Hugh de Lacie toke his passage ouer to England, and made his speedie repaire to the kings presence, where he so wiselie and dutifullie behaued himselfe, that the king not onelie was resolu'd of his truth and fidelitie, but also putting especiall confidence in him, he sent him backe againe. And calling home the foresaid John de conestable and Richard Pef, made him his generall and deputie of the land, and toke assurance of him for his truth in this behalfe: howbeit he ioined in commission with him one Robert of Salisbury, who should in the kings behalfe be a counsellor and a trustie assistant vnto him in all his doings. Now Hugh de Lacie being returned backe againe into Ireland, and there settled and placed, thinketh vpon his first deuises, how to fortifie the countrie and to keepe it in good order. And the more castels he builded, and the more Englishmen he did bestow and place therein, the soner and better did he thinke to bring the same to passe and effect. Among manie castels therfore which he builded, he made one at Tachmeo in Ler, which he gaue to Meilerius, as also gaue him his nece to wife; also one castell nere to Abotwie which he gaue to Robert Bigaret, and not farre from thence an other castell which he deliuered to Thomas Fleming. And not farre from thence he builded one other castell at the Moxach on the riuer of the Barrow, which Robert Fitzrichard had: besides in Metch he builded the castels of Dunach and of Kilaire, as also Adam Fuceport and Gilbert Mogens castels, and manie others, which were now too long to be particularlie repeted and recited.

And about this time was that strange talke and communication in a wood in Metch, betwene a priest and a wolfe, whereof we haue spoken in our topographie: which thing though it may seme verie strange & most incredible, yet the same is not to be discredited. For as S. Jerome saith, you shall find in scripture manie strange things, & which to a mans iudgement shall seme to be nothing true at all: and yet neuertheless they are most true. For nature can not preuaile nor do anie thing against the Lord of nature: neither ought anie creature to contemne or scorne, but rather with great reuerence and honour to consider the workes of God his creator. Not long after this king Henrie the younger, the son of king Henrie the elder, being seduced & caried (the more was the pittie) by lewd and naughtie counsels, rebelled the second time against his father, and had gotten vnto him the most part of the best noble men in all Poitiers, & the lustiest gentlemen in all France: besides his brother Geffreie the earle of Britaine the chiefe author and cause of this rebellion, and manie others of his confederates. But in the end, by

Talke betwene a priest and a wolfe.

Gods

Gods iust iudgement and vengeance for his unnatural ingratitude against his father, who though he were a verie valiant and a lustie gentleman, yet against death nothing can helpe, and so died about June at Mares to the great sorrow of manie. And verie shortly after also the foresaid Gessreie, a noble and a valiant gentleman, & who for his worthinesse and prowesse might haue bene the sonne of Achilles or Achilles, who now reuolting the third time from his father, and rebelling against him, was by Gods iust iudgement about the kalends of August taken out of his life, and so died.

(1) Nessa the daughter of the great Khesus prince of Wales had thre husbands, the third of them was Gerald of Windsor, and these had to their first sonne William Fitzgerald the father vnto this Keimond, and Griffith.

(2) Cresseldermont is a castell about a fise miles from Catherlough, & sometimes a verie faire towne and walled round about, and bordering nere to the baronie of Mdone. The English wryters doe saie that this castell was not builded in this Cresseldermont, but at Kilken, a castell about thre miles from this, and both now belonging to the earle of Kildare. But the Latine bookes, which are of eldest writing and credit, and whom I doe herein follow, doe wryte it by expresse words, Cresseldermont.

(3) This castell of Clanill not far from Leighlin, is supposed to be that which is now called Carlough or Catherlough: howbeit the common fame of the countrie doth attribute this castell of Carlough to Gua the earls wife, and the ladie and heire of Leinster, and that she should build the same. But there appeareth no such things of hir doings, for by the course of the historie it is plaine, that the castels builded in Leinster were done by the Englishmen onelle, and for their defense and safetie.

(4) The countrie of Ler is parcell of Leinster, & lieth in the marches and extreme confines of the same by the west: it is verie strong and fast, being full of woods and bogs, and therefore a safe receptacle for rebels and outlawes. It is within the diocesse of Leighlin, and before now of late no thire ground, but inhabited by the Mores, who were alwayes rebels and traitors. But in hope to reforme the same it was made a countie of it selfe, by an act of parliament in the third and fourth yeares of Philip and Marie, and named the Quenes countie.

The death of Laurence archbishop of Dublin, and of Iohn Comin made arch- bishop in his place.

Chap. 26.

In this meane time Laurence archbishop of Dublin died at the castell of Angiers in Normandie, about the kalends of December 1180. He was a (1) iust and a god man, but somewhat in displeasure with the king, who had him in suspicion because he was at the counsell of (2) Laterane, and there inueighed much against the king of England and his honour; & for that cause in his returne homewards through Normandie was staied, and in the end there died, where he was buried in the high church of our ladie. After him Iohn Comin an Englishman borne, and a monke in the abbey of Euenham, was by the kings means elected orderlie by the clergie of Dublin archbishop, and afterwards confirmed by pope Lucius at Laterbe, where he was also made a cardinall. A man he was verie well learned and eloquent, and verie zealous in causes of the church, wherein he would

haue done verie much good, if that he had not bene too woldie, & haue sought to haue pleased woldie princes, and to haue bene in the kings fauour.

(1) This one thing is and was a common obseruation in the Romish church, that if anie one had received the charact thereof, that although he were neuer so rebellious, nor so great a traitor against his prince; yet the same was to be interpreted to be in defense of the holie church, and such a one was counted a godlie and a holie man, though by the scriptures he who resisteth his prince is said to resist God himselfe.

(2) The counsell of Laterane is said to be one of the greatest synods or generall counells that hath bin, it was kept at Rome vnder pope Innocent the third An. 1204. Many decrees were there made for the aduancing of the Romish antichrist: but yet the counsell could not be brought to his full perfection by reason of the ciuill wars in Italie. But among other decrees this was concluded, that all controuersies betwene kings and princes, the correction thereof should appertine to the pope: as also no man should be counted emperour, except the pope had admitted him and crowned him.

The comming of Iohn the kings sonne into Ireland.

Chap. 27.

The king to aduance his younger sonne named Iohn had giuen him the dominion ouer Ireland, and he thereupon had taken homage of sundrie persons for the same: and now minding to bring the same to a finall end & perfect order, sendeth ouer into Ireland before his sonne Iohn the new archbishop of Dublin, who as a forerunner vnto his sonne should prepare all things in readinesse against his comming, who forthwith toke his iourne about the kalends of August, and sailed ouer into Ireland. Also in the moneth of September then next following, he sent ouer Philip of Worcester, a valiant souldier, a sumptuous and a liberall man, with fortie gentlemen, who was commanded to send ouer (1) Hugh de Lacie, and he to stae there as gouernour of the land untill Iohn his sonne came ouer. This Philip being thus placed in authoritie, the first thing he did he resumed and toke into the kings vse the lands in Mchabesse, and diuerse other parcels which Hugh de Lacie had before sold, and these he appointed to serue for the kings provision and diet. And after the winter was past, he assembled and mustered all his men and companie, & began to trauell from place to place; and in March about the middle of Lent he came to (2) Armagh, where when he had extorted and perforce exacted from the cleargie there a great masse of monie and treasure, he returned vnto the citie of Downe, and from thence to Dublin in safetie: being well laden with gold, siluer, and monie, which he had exacted in euerie place where he came: for other good he did none. In this iourne there happened two strange miracles, the one at Armagh concerning the great anguish and grieve of (3) Philip when he departed and went out of the towne, the other was of a (4) fornicie which Hugh Tirell toke away from the poore priestes at Armagh, as moze at large is declared in our topographie.

(1) This Hugh de Lacie albett he were thus sent for, yet he went not ouer, as it appeareth by the course of the histories of this time: he was about building of a castell at Deruagh, and there being among his labourers,

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Two str-
miracles

laborers, and seeing one not to frame verie well in his worke, taught him what he should do, taking his pickaxe in both his hands and brake the ground. This wicked Irishman when he saw his lord and master thus stooping and labouring, suddenlie came behind him, and with his ax or weapon strake him in the head and slue him, but his inheritance and possessions came & descended to his two sonnes Walter and Hugh.

(2) In Ireland there are foure archbishops, one at Dublin for the prouince of Leinster, another at Cashill for the prouince of Mounster, the third at Thomond for the prouince of Connagh, & the fourth at Armagh for the prouince of Ulster. The chiefest of them is the archbishop of this Armagh, for although euerie one of the others be named a primate of Ireland, yet this one alone is named primate of all Ireland; which title he hath partly because he is successeur to S. Patrike, who first conuerted Ireland to the christian faith, and had his see and church at this Armagh; one other cause is because this archbishop was the first that receiued a pall from the pope. This pall is a certeine inuesture of cloth, which the pope haloweth and giueth or sendeth to euerie archbishop, who weareth the same vppermost vpon his garment. The nature of this pall, of the first inuention thereof and the causes whie it is giuen to euerie archbishop, is not incident nor appertaining to the course and nature of this historie, and therfore I will omit it. This Armagh was sometimes a faire towne, and therein a faire cathedrall church, lieng farre and remote from all good neighbors, and in the middle of the Muel and other sauage people; the same hath bene and still is and lieth wast; and the archbishop removed to a house of his named Terseham, which lieth nere the towne of Drogheda, being a place of better safetie.

(3) The historie is, that this Willp of Worcester being well landed with great riches erected from the cleargie and departed, he was no sooner out of the towne, but that he was taken with a sudden pang, which for the time was so vehement, that it was supposed he would neuer haue recovered it.

(4) This Hugh Wrell among other the spoiles which he toke, he had a great bzuing forname or pan which serued for the whole house, for which his doing the priests cursed him, and he caried this along with him untill he came to the citie of Downe. And on a night he being in his lodging, the same was entred with fire, and the howles which drew the said pan, as also much goods which they brought with them, and a great part of the towne was burned. In the morning, when he saw the great spoile, and yet the said pan as nothing hurt nor perished, he began to repent and be soze, and so restozed the pan againe.

The coming of Heraclius the patriarch into England.

Chap. 28.

While these things were doing in Ireland, Heraclius the reuerend patriarch of Ierusalem, hauing gone a long iourneie from the east to the west, came into England about the beginning of Februarie; who brought with him the keyes of the holie citie and sepulchre, with the kings ensigne and martiall signe, in the behofe of all the states of the holie land, as well of the brethren of the order of the temple as hospitall: and with the consent of all the cleargie and laitie, making supplication to king Henrie the second, falling at his feet with teares, and humble desiring him, that he would be pitifullie moued to the aid of

the holie land, and Christs patrimonie, desperatlie afflicted by the infidels: otherwise affirming (which within two yeares happened) that the whole kingdome would fall shortly into the hands of the Soldane of the Saracens and of Egypt. Wh what a glorie was it to this king and kingdome, that he passing so manie emperours, kings and princes, as though there were no helpe in the middle part of the world, should come into this corner of the earth, & as it were into an other world to requ're aid? How worthe, perpetuall and incomparable had the kings glorie bene, if he setting aside other businesse, and forsaking his kingdoms, had taken without delate (at this calling of Christ) Christs crosse, and haue followed him! Verelie, he should haue receiued of him the euerlasting kingdome, if he had serued him in this necessitie of whom he receiued his kingdome, and so glorious a grace of gouernement on earth. Wh if he would haue defended here (for his abilitie) the patrimonie of so worthe a kingdome in this point of necessitie, and this triall of deuotion, he might haue bene wortheilie fortified in earth by such a patrone and tutor, in all his affaires and necessities whatsoeuer.

The answer of the king to the patriarch.

Chap. 29.

At last for answer herof being appointed at last by the king at London, manie as well knights as of common sort, by the admonishments of the patriarch, as the sermons of Baldwin the archbishop were croised to the seruice of Christ. At the last the patriarch receiued this answer of the king, that it was not good to leaue his realme without defense and gouernement, & leaue open his lands beyond sea to the rapacitie of the Frenchmen that hated him: but as concerning monie, he would giue both that which he sent thither, to be reserued for him, and more also for the defense of the holie land. To whome the patriarch answered by following this aduise. O king you do nothing: and by this meanes you shall neither saue your selfe, nor reserue Christs patrimonie. We come to seeke a prince, and not monie. Euerie part of the world almost sendeth vs monie, but none sendeth vs a prince. Therfore we desire a man that may want monie, and not monie that may want a man. But, when the patriarch could get no other answer of the king, he taketh an other deuise: he desireth him to giue to their aid one of his sonnes, and if none other, yet his yongest sonne John, that the blood descending from the Anlowes might in a new branch raise by the kingdome.

John himselfe, albeit he was readie to passe into Ireland giuen him by his father, with a great armie, (prostrating himselfe at his fathers feet) desired (as they saie) that he might be sent to Ierusalem, but he obtained it not. So the patriarch seeing he could do nothing, and draw no oile out of the hard stone, he spake thus against the king, in the audience of manie, with a threatfull and propheticall spirit. O glorious king, thou hast reigned hitherto among the princes of the world with incomparable glorie, and your princelie honour hath hitherto daile increased to the type of highnesse. But now doubtlesse is this triall being forsaken of God, whom you forsake, and destitute of all heauenlie grace. From henceforth shall your glorie be turned into sorrow, and your honor to reproch so long as you liue. I would to God the king had auoided this threat by penance, like the king of Nininie, and had caused this sentence to be altered!

This was the saying of the Emisto clep.

J. i. The

The holie man spake this thing thirte, first at London, then at Dover, and lastlie at Chymon castell be-
pound the sea. And I would to God the patriarch had
bene a man without that propheticall spirit, & had ra-
ther spoken a lesing, that we may for more euidence
touch such things byelie as were befoze spoken by
that true sozspeaker, whiche we saw shortly to take
effect. Whereas the king reigned thirtie and five
yeares, thirtie yeares were granted him for worlde-
glorie, expectation of his conuersion, & triall of his de-
uotion; but the last five yeares fell vpon him, as vpon
an vngratefull, reprobate, and abiect seruant, in re-
uengement, sorow, & ignominie. For in the two and
thirtieth yeare of his reigne, immediatlie after the
comming of the patriarch, his first enterprise of sen-
ding his sonne John into Ireland, both the labour
and cost was frustrate and lost. The thre and thir-
tieth yeare, whereas he neuer lost land befoze, he lost
to king Philip (being but a child) almost all Antio.
The foure and thirtieth yeare he lost the castell Rader,
and welneere all Berie. The five and thirtieth yeare
of his reigne, and the fourth yeare after the comming
of the patriarch, not onlie king Philip of France,
but his son Richard of Poitiers rising against him,
he lost the cities of Towres and Haine, with manie
castels, and himselfe also; according to that in saint
Gregorie: Those that the Lord hath long forbore,
that they might be conuerted, if they do not conuert,
he condemneth them in the more greuouslie.

The croising of kings.

Chap. 30.

What perchance the king was reserued by
heauenlie disposition to the victorie of deser-
ued loue. How much greater is it to repare
things cast downe, than to vnderprop things
likelie to fall: And who had knowne Hector, if Troie
had continued in prosperitie? By so much as aduer-
sities is more instant and byged, by so much the glorie
of valiantnesse will shine the brightier. For by the se-
cret iudgement of God, within two yeares after the
victorie was given to the pagans and Parthians, a-
gainst the christians, either to reuenge the cold deu-
otion of the east church, or to trie the deuout obedience
of the westerne men; the worthie Richard earle of
Poitiers hearing this ouerthrow, toke deuoutlie the
croisere vpon him at Towres, giuing an example
to other princes in that matter. Wherevpon the king
of England, the earles father, and Philip king of
France, who had bin befoze at variance (with Gods
grace, and the archbishop of Towres perswasion) in
that place and that houre, at their conference at Out-
soz were croised, with manie other great men of the
clergie and laitie. And as kings folowed the example
of the erle, so after their example the emperor Fre-
derike, through the perswasion of the duke of Alba,
with manie states of Almane were croised in the
lords court at Mentz. So as it is thought, the king
of England being reserued more than all other to
the restoring of the decayed state of the holie land, if
he had finished his life in this victorie; doubtlesse that
famous prophesie of Merlin Ambrosius had bene
benefited in him. His beginning (saith he) shall wauer
with wild affections, and his end shall mount to
heauen.

A prophesie of
Merlin Ambrosius:
ching the king

The discord of the kings.

Chap. 31.

Sudden discord rose betwene the kings
and that (which was worse) betwene the fa-
ther and the earle, through the working of the
old enemie, & their sinnes deseruing the same,

to the great hinderance of their noble enterprise: as
though they being vniit for it, the honoz thereof was
reserued for other; or perchance according to the sen-
tence of Gregorie: Aduersities, which is obiect a-
gainst good bowes, is a triall of vertue, and not a
signe of dispraise. Who is ignorant how happie a
thing it was that Paule was driuen into Italie, and
yet he suffered shipwacke: But the ship of his heart
was safe among the surges of the sea. Likewise
therefore as vertue is perfected in infirmities, and gold
tried in the fire: so the constancie of faith that can-
not be craized with tribulations, doth increase more
as sinapis; and the courage of the mind is more va-
liant againe than troublous assaults of fortune. How
much rather would I, that these kings accom-
panied with a few men acceptable to God, had ta-
ken vpon them this laborious, but yet a glorious
iourneie, than to war proude for the great wealth that
they had gathered of manie people to this end. Read
ouer the whole bible, and consider these latter times,
and you shall find, that victorie hath bene gained, not
with force and humane power, but with Gods grace
and force of vertues. For as Cassiodorus saith: An
armed people without the Lord is vnarmed. And as
Seneca saith, Not the number of the people, but the
vertue of a few get the victorie. Of the foure befoze
named, the emperor Frederike, albeit he was the
last croised, yet in the execution thereof he was the
first: whome therefore I account so much the more
worthie of victorie in heauen, and glorie in earth,
that he forsaking large kingdomes and his empire,
delayed not out the matter.

A vision and exposition thereof.

Chap. 32.

Therfore I thought it not inconuenient
to set downe a vision, which he that hideth
much from wisemen & reuealeth it to babes
visited me withall, being a most simple and
vile wretch. In the miserie of this time, in that still
and detestable discord betwene the king and the erle
of Poitiers, I being with the king at Chymon castell
the seventh ides of Maie: at night in my sleepe a-
bout the cocke crowing, me thought I saw a great
multitude of men looking vp into heauen, and as
it were wondering at somewhat. So I lifting vp
mine eyes to see what the same was, I saw a bright
light breake out betwene the thickenesse of the
clouds, and the clouds being incontinentlie seuered
asunder, and the lower heauen as it were being o-
pened, and the sight of mine eyes pearling through
that window to the empyreall heauen, there appeared
the court thereof in great multitude, wide open as
it were to be spoiled, all kinds of munition being
bent against it. You might haue sene there a head
cut from one, an arme from another, and some stri-
ken through with arrowes, some with lances, and
some with swords. And when manie of the beholders
either for the brightnes, or terror, or pitie, had fallen
flat on their faces: me thought that I (to see the end
of the matter) did biew it longer than the rest. So
they hauing gotten the victorie ouer all the other, the
blondie slaues fell vpon the prince of the heauenlie
orders, sitting in his throne as he was wont to be
pictured, and drawing him from the throne on the
right hand, hauing his breast naked, they thrust him
through the right side with their lances, and immedi-
atlie there folliowed a terrible voice in this manner,
Woch, woch, Wholi-ghost! But whether it came fro
heauen, or was uttered by the people beneath, I can
not tell; and so the terror of this voice & the vision a-
wakened me.

The meaning
of the foresaid
vision.

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I call him here to witnesse, to whom all things are apparant and manifest, that immediatlie as I sat in my bed, & revolved these things in my mind, I was in so great an horroz both of bodie and mind, for halfe an houre and more, that I feared least I should haue fallen besides my selfe. But recourring deuotlie to the onlie refuge of humane saluation, & blessing my forehead with the crosse effstones, & fortifying my mind thereby, I passed the rest of the night without sleepe, & so through Gods grace returned fullie to my selfe: yet to this daie I can neuer remember that vision without horroz. What may be more terrible to a creature than to see his creator smitten through with weapons? What man without græfe can abide to see the seruants of God, & patrons of men to be murdered? Who can behold the Lord of nature to suffer, & doth not suffer therewith? What this vision portendeth, without p̄suidice to anie I will shew briefly. He that suffered once in his owne person for all, giueth vs to vnderstand, that he now suffereth againe, but that in his flocke. And he that by triumphing ouer the crosse, and ascending to the right hand of his father, hath victoriously entered his kingdome; his enemies now go about to dep̄sue him of his kingdome, and subuert his church, which he gathered vnto him by the shedding of his blood. Therefore, as I doe suppose, this passion did not appeare vpon the crosse, but his maiestie: as though the crosse now being taken astate, his enemies go about to take that glorie from him, which he got on the crosse. Else that his faithfull had suffered, not in the crosse, but with weapons in that holie land, which he after so manie miracles had consecrated with his blood. So likewise he declared this his passion which he for his susteined, not in the crosse, but in his maiestie: so he signified, that all the court of heauen suffered with the like compassion, mouing his to reuengement with the shewing of so great græfe. As concerning that voice beginning in a barbarous language and ending in Latine, what I thinke I will shew. Woch, woch, in the Germane tong, is a signe of græfe doubled. And where that wofull mourning voice began in the Germane tong, and ended in Latine, it maie be signified thereby, that onelie the Almans and the Italiens take this the affliction of their Lord more grienouslie than other nations, as their halting declareth. God forbid that the passion or lamentation be here vnderstood by anie slaughter of the christians and people in this expedition.

The memorable euent of our time.

Chap. 33.

I thinke it not impertinent to set downe here (by occasion) the aduentures and notable euent in England: and first of all, the sudden death of the detainers of the kingdome of England against the lawfull heire, the nephew of Henrie by his daughter Matild: as well the death of the worthie knight Eustathius the son of king Stephan, and son in law to Lewes the French king: as of his mother quene Matild the countesse of Bullogne. When the concord adoption made betwene king Stephan, and Henrie duke of Normandie. And then after the death of king Stephan, the marriage of quene Eliano, and the translation from crowne to crowne. Immediatlie, the aduancement of the duke to the kingdome, and the coronation of king Henrie the second. The assize of the castell of Widdogenorth vpon Seuerne, and the compulsion of the worthie knight Hugh Mortimer to dedition, to the terrible example of all. What ne-

deeth manie words? To confound the mightie, and to make euen the rugged, there were prosperous successes. And as destruction fell vpon the detainers of the kingdome, so likewise it fell vpon the peacebreakers of the same, as well of the brechren, as also of the sons.

The subduing of prince Dene at Colshull in Northwales in a waddie streit, not without the losse of manie knights. A sumptuous expedition to Tholouse, albeit it was unprofitable. An altercation & warre betwene the king of England and Lewes of France, through the doting of both parts. The yielding vp of prince Rhese by the means of his vncle Dene at Pencador in Southwales, the king of England comming thither. The unwilling & wrested confession onelie by word & by writing (as some say) of Thomas of Canturburie, and his suffragans at Clarendon, as concerning annates: when that prophesie of Merlin Ambrosius seemed to be fulfilled; The buls tongs shall be cut out. The inturious crying out of all the court at Northampton against the father, bearing the crosse, & maintaining the rights of the crucifix, and the priue departure of him to exile that night. The ambassage of Reinold archbishop of Cullen, & chancelor to the emperor, from the said emperor to the king of England: who was an effectuous persuader of marriage to be had betwene Henrie the emperors nephue duke of Saronie and Bauler, and Matild the kings eldest daughter: he moued also, but in vaine, to set cleare the Almans schisme. Not long after the publike persurie through out all the realme, by the kings proclamation against the se of saint Peter, and the archbishop of Canturburie. And incontinentlie the countie Gunceline, and other states of Saronie came from the duke into England for the kings daughter.

The coronation of king Henrie the third, son to king Henrie, solemnized in London by the archbishop of Porke, to the p̄suidice of the church of Canturburie. Ambassadors came from Spaine, and obtained the kings daughter Eliano, to be married vnto Ansaldo, king of Toledo and Castile. The comming of Dernicus (being expelled) to the king, and the sailing ouer into Ireland of Fitzstephans, & earle Richard. The expedition of the lord of Oswalstre in Wales, and his returne by occasion of raine: not without his hurtfull dismembzing of the legges, and great slaughter of his enemies. The martyrdom of Thomas. The often shining miracles. The departure of the noble Henrie bishop of Winchester, descended of the kings blood at Winchester. The biage of the king into Ireland. The conspiracie of the states against their prince, and the children against their father. The comming of two cardinals into Normandie, to make inquirie of the death of the martyr. The sudden returne of the king out of Ireland into Wales, and so into England, thence into Normandie; with an appealing of the said cardinals, and the French king. The first departure of the yong king with his two brethren from his father into France. The victorie of the count and two yeares warre, and the kings mercie towards the vanquished, as we haue shewed before. The comming of Huguntio Petie Leon cardinal of the title of saint Angelo into England, and the celebration of a councill vnder him of all the cleargie of England, at London, as concerning the contention of sup̄emasie betwene Richard archbishop of Canturburie, and Roger of Porke: but the allegations on both sides with fitts and stanes bzaie it off. The bishop of Capua, and Diaferus elect of Croia, and earle Flozius, came from William king of Sicill, to haue marriage betwene him and Joane the kings yonger daughter.

F. ii.

The

A prophesie
of Merlin
filled.

*Albimona
sterij.

The meaning
of the foresaid
vision.

A strange
vision.

The ambassadores of the kings of Spaine, Castile, and Navar, came into England: who as concerning lands and castles (whereof they contended) promised altogether to stand unto the king of England arbitrement. Wherefore the king assembling at London all the lawyers & wise men in the land of both orders; when the cause was proposed, and the allegations heard on both sides, by famous advocats; among whom, Peter of Cardon, that came in the behalfe of the king of Navar, excelled in eloquence: the king vsing wise counsell, and intending to end the contention by transaction, that giving somewhat from one, and keeping somewhat from an other, he would hurt neither partie much. But as he was appointed iudge by both, so he was carefull for the commoditie of both as much as could be. So making a transaction, and ingrossing it in writing, he wrot the iudiciall examination for a prouiso; That if either part refused to stand to his arbitrement, the definitiue strife might be dirempted by sentence. The comming of Lewis king of France into England, who went on pilgrimage to Canturburie, to the martyr Thomas, to require his helpe deuoutlie, whom he in the time of his exile had helped: and offering a cup pretious both for matter & substance in the place where the holie bodie was buried, when he had declined a while prostrat on his face, and had laid his bare head a while in the right side hole of the marble stone that standeth thereby; at last, rising from his praier (that he might confirme the memorie of his pilgrimage with everlasting record) in the presence of the king of England, the earle of Flanders, the archbishop of the see, the prior of the couent, and other men of state, he gaue yearelie vnto Canturburie abbey an hundred tuns of wine.

The second defection of king Henrie the third, and earle Gesteire, with the sudden death of the yonger king at Marcell. The comming on pilgrimage of Godfrie archbishop of Cullen, and Philip earle of Flanders vnto Canturburie. The death of earle Gesteire. The comming of Heraclius the patriarch, and the sailing of earle John into Ireland. Almost all things as they be here set in order, chanced in our time, in no great distance betwene, in and about the space of three and thirtie yeares. How glorious had all these things bene, if they had sorted to a good end! Which surely would haue hapned, if he setting other things aside, had followed Christ, when he was called, of whom he receiued all these benefits; and had spent the last five yeares reigne in his seruice. But these things being before rehearsed by the way, let vs returne to the historie.

The recapitulation of fundrie acts,
and of the comming of John the kings
sonne to Ireland, with his
successe there.

Chap. 34.

When omitting the building of three castles, one at Tipperarie, the other at Archphin, & the third at Lismore, after the comming of earle John, & speaking nothing of the euill fortune of three worthy yong men; Robert Barrie at Lismore, Keimond Fitzhugh at Dethan, and Keimond Cantinensis at Adona. Of part of the garrison of Archphin slaine in the wood there, by the prince of Limerike on Midsummer daie, & foure knights there killed, not without manfull defense. Of them of Limerike, and the noble man Dgraine slaine at Tipperarie. Of them of Archphin slaine, & gaine by those of Limerike in taking of a preie,

Of Dermuctus Mac Arthie prince of Desmond, with others slaine in a parlee nere Corke by them of Corke, and the garrison of Theobald brother to Walter. Of the slaughter of them of Kencolon, with their prince inuading Meth by the men there, of, & William Little, and one hundred of their heads sent to Dublin. Of the finding out of the bodies of Patrike, Wigld, & Columbe at Dundalke, & their translation from thence by the procurement of John de Curcie.

Of the heading of Hugh Lacie at Dornach, through the treason of his owne Irishmen. Of the killing of twelue noble knights vnder John de Curcie, in the returne from Connagh. Of the traitorous and lamentable slaughter of Roger Dolwe, and manie others in Mserie: and though that occasion, the priuie conspiracie of all Ireland against the Englishmen, manie castles being therewith destroyed. All which things are not vnworthy to be recorded, when the dominion was translated to the kings son. But assigning these doings to other writers, we will proceed to more profitable matters. How and wherefore this first enterprize of the kings son had no good successe I thought good to declare briefly: that this finall addition (albeit it can not be a cure to that which is past) yet it may be a caueat for things to come. ¶ This recapitulation followeth in a more absolute forme, pag. 53. which being deuiered out of sundrie copies, doo perfect one another.]

When all things meete and necessarie for so great a iournie or voyage were at the king his commandement and charges made readie; then John the kings yonger sonne a little before made lord of Ireland, was sent ouer; and in the Lent time (1) he tooke leaue of his father, and as he trauelled towards saint Pauls to take shipping, he passed and rode along by the sea coasts of Southwalis, and so came to (2) Penbroke. There brought and accompanied him vnto the ship a noble and a worthy man named Reinulfe Glanulle, one of the best his most priuie counsell in all weightie matters, as also chiefe iustice of England. And on wednesday in the Easter weeke, the wind being at east and blowing a good gale, he tooke ship in Millford haven, but for hast he left to do his deuotion and oblation at saint Pauls, which was but an euill halsoning: neuerthelesse on the next morrow about noontide he arriued in safetie vnto Waterford with all his companie, which were about three hundred gentlemen, and of bowmen, footmen, horsemen, and others a great number. Then was fulfilled the prophesie of old Merlin: A burning globe shall rise out of the east, & shall compass about the land of Ireland, and all the soules of that Island shall slee round about the fire. And hauing spoken these words of the father, he continueth his speech, and thus speaketh of his sonne: And of this fire shall rise a sparkle, for feare of which all the inhabitants of the land shall tremble and be afraid: and yet he that is absent shall be more esteemed than he that is present, and better shall be the successe of the first than of the second.

John at this his first arriual into Ireland was of the age of 12 yeeres, which was from the first arriual of his father thirtene yeares, of the landing of the earle Strangbow foureteene yeares, and from the first entrance of Robert Fitzstephans fifteene yeares, and the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred eightie and five, Lucius then Romaine bishop, Frederike the emperour, and Philip the French king. There passed ouer with the king in the same fleet manie good clerks, among whom (3) one was speciallie commended vnto this yong lord by his father, for that he was a diligent searcher of naturall

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hystories, as also had bene before two yeaeres in the same land, and there collected sundrie notes, and sufficient matter as well for his hystorie, as for his topographie: and which after that he was returned home, and attending in the court, did (as leisure serued him) digest and set in good order of a booke, the same being his laboꝝ of thre yeaeres. A trauell to him painefull, but to his posteritie profitable, although much mistaked and enuied at by such as then were liuing: the one liked it well, but the other dispraised it; the one reaped a benefitt and commoditie, but the other of a secret malice maligning the same, fretted in his humoꝝ, and was grauelled in his owne follie.

(1) The first voyage of the king his sonne, being then but a child of twelue yeaeres of age: the English chronicles doe make small mention thereof. But such as doe write thereof, doe report that the king brought his sonne as farre as Glocester on this soynie: and there dubbing and honoring him with the degree of knight-hood, sent him on his soynie.

(2) Penbroke is an old and an ancient towne, builded by a noble man named Arnulph Montgomerie the ancestor of the Carews, whose names are Montgomeries, & lieth in Westwales named Demetia, but now of this towne is called Penbroke, shire. It standeth vpon a cræke of Milford haueu, about two miles from the castell Carew: of which castell the Montgomeries builded, and there dwelling toke the name thereof, & were called Carews, which name that familie doth yet retaine. In this towne of Penbroke standeth a goodlie and a strong castell, which hath bene in times past the seat and house of manie a noble man bearing the name of the earles of Penbroke. In this was king Henrie the seuenth boꝝne. It is now in great ruine and in decaye.

(3) This man ment here is Giraldus Cambrensis the authoꝝ of this booke, who (as it appeareth by this and other his woꝝks) was learned and much giuen to studie. He was archdeacon of saint Dauids, and descended from Girald of Windsoꝝe, and the ladie Isesta his wife, for he was the son of Imaurice, and the sonne of the foresaid Girald and Isesta: and so this Girald of Windsoꝝe was his Proauus or great grandfather.

The praise and commendation as also
the excuse of Robert Fitzstephans and
the earle Strangbow.

Chap. 35.

Robert Fitzstephans was the first who taught and shewed the waie to the earle, the earle to the king, and the king to his sonne. Great praise-worthie was he that gaue the first aduenture, and much was he to be commended who next followed and increased the same: but aboue all others he deserued best, who fulfilled, absolued, and ended the same. And here is to be noted, that albeit both Fitzstephans and the earle did helpe Wermont Mac Morogh to recouer his countrie of Leinster, as also defended and kept the same from robbers, theues, & enemies: yet they did it in diuerse respects. The one in respect of his faith and promise, the other for loue of Gria, & of the (1) inheritance, which by his shoulde grow and come vnto him. But as concerning the intruding vpon Waterford, and the conquests of sundrie territories as well in Desmond as in Meth, I can not excuse them. The earle, who in right of his wife was lord of Leinster, the fift part or portion of Ireland, surrendꝝed and yelded vpon all

his right and title there vnto the king himselfe, and toke it againe to hold of him. The like also did all the princes of the land. Whereby as also by other old and ancient records it is apparant, that the English nation entred not into this land by wrong and inturie, (as some men suppose and deeme) but vpon a good ground, right, and title.

(1) The course of this hystorie in the beginning doth plainelie declare, how that Wermont after his departure from the king came to the citie of Waterford, and there hauing conference with Richard Strangbow erle of Chepstow, did offer vnto him his onelie daughter and heire in marriage, with the inheritance of all Leinster: conditionallie that he would passe ouer into Ireland, and to helpe him to recouer his land, which conditions were accepted and afterwards performed. Afterwards he lieng at saint Dauids for passage, there he met with Robert Fitzstephans, & did condition with him, that if he would passe ouer into Ireland to helpe him, he would giue him the towne of Waterford with certeine cantreds therevnto adioining, which conditions were then accepted and afterwards performed. Thus it appeareth that the one for loue of the gentlewoman, and the other in respect of his promise did passe ouer into that land and realme.

The causes of lets whie this conquest could not nor had his full perfection.

Chap. 36.

Happie and for euer happie had Ireland bene, which being ballantlie conquered, well replenished with townes, and fortified with castles from sea to sea of the first (1) aduenturers, who were then minded to haue established a good order and gouernment, had not they through the secret malice and treacherie of some men bene called awaie and sent from home. Pea happie had it bene, if the first conquerors (being noble and balliant men) might according to their deserts haue had the charge of gouernment committed vnto them. For whie, a nation which at the first comming ouer of our men, when they were galled with our arrows, and afraid of our foꝝce, they were then easie to be reclaimed. But partlie by meanes of trifling and delateng of time, which is alwaies dangerous, and partlie by reason that the best seruitors being called home from thence, new rulers toke too much ease, and liued in too much securitie; nothing was done to anie purpose: and therevpon the people of that countrie toke hart of grace, and practised our manners in shooting and the vse of our weapons: and by little and little they became so well expert and skillfull therein, that whereas at the first they were easie to be ouercommed, were now strong and hardie, and not onlie able to resist, but also readie to put vs in danger and hazard. And the causes herof whose listeth to search, shall easilie find out the same: for if you will read ouer the bookes of the kings & prophets, examine the course of the old testament, and well consider the examples of these our latter daies; you shall find it most certeine and true, that no nation, no state, no citie, no common-wealth was euer ouerthrowne by the enimie, nor ouercome by the aduersarie but onelie for sinne and wickednesse. And albeit the Irish people and nation for their sinfull and abhominable life did well deserue to be ouerthrowne and ouerrun by strangers; yet was it not Gods will and pleasure that they shoulde vtterlic be brought into subiection: neither was it his god will & pleasure that the Englishmen, though they had brought some of them into subiecti-

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Prophecies
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The foure
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on, yet they should not therefore haue the whole empire and entire soueraintie ouer them: for both were sinfull people and merited not anie fauour at Gods hand, but deserued to be seuerellie punished, and therefore neither the one (albeit he were a conqueror, and had the ouer hand) could yet obtaine a seat (2) in Pallas castell, nor yet the other be fullie subdued & brought into perfect subiection. The Irish people are said to haue the foure men whome they account to be great prophets, and whome they haue in great veneration and credit (3) Merlin, Bracton, Patrike, and Columkill, whose books and prophesies they haue among themselves in their owne language, and all they intreating and speaking of the conquest of this land, doe affirme that the same shall be assailed with often warres, the strifes shall be continuall, and the slaughters great. But yet they doe not assure nor warrant anie perfect or full conquest vnto the English nation (4) not much before dooms daie. And albeit the whole land of Ireland, from sea to sea, haue for the most part bene in the power of the Englishmen, and by them fortified and replenished with sundrie and manie castels, though sometimes to their perilles and smarts: yet Bracton saith, that the king who shall make the absolute and finall conquest, shall come from out of the deserts and mounteins of saint Patrike, and vpon a sun daie at night shall with force breake into a castell builded in the fastnesse of Whahle: and untill that time the English nation shall from time to time be in continuall troubles with the Irishie, sauing that they shall hold and intote the whole land bordering vpon the east coasts of the seas.

(1) The course of this historie dooth at full declare in particulars, how the first aduenturers were maligne, & as much as might be discredited. First Robert Fitzstephens, whose seruice was counted notable, and his fidelitie to his prince and king trustie and assured: yet fell he into the kings displeasure, was cast into prison, and albeit deliuered out againe, yet the king conceiuing some gelousie of him, had him ouer into Normandie, where he serued two yeares in his warres: and although he were againe afterward sent ouer into Ireland, yet was he not in anie authoritie or office. The earle Strangbow although he came ouer with the king his speciall licence, yet his good successe was so enuided at, that the king made proclamation, that all his subiects being in Ireland with the earle, should returne & come home; and that no vittels, no munition, nor anie reliefe should be transported out of anie of his dominions into Ireland. And albeit the earle afterwards were reconciled to the king, yet was he faine to yeld vnto him all his land and dominion of Leinster vnto the kings deuotion, & to receiue the same againe to be holden of the king. Keimond who could not be charged, nor spoiled with anie vntruth: yet the treacherous Veruie with his false informations so inueigled and falselie informed the king against him, that he was sent for home, and not trusted with anie gouernement. Hugh de Lacie, who (as the historie saith) was the first that made waie into Ulster, who fortified the prouince of Leinster and Meth with manie strong holds & castels, and brought all the countrie to a peaccable state; he was suspected to haue meant the impropriation of the whole land to his owne vse, and was dismissed of his charge and gouernement, and sent for home: and in place and lieu of these were sent ouer William Fitzaldelme, Philip of Chester, and others, in whome was no value at all, but onelie to pill and poll the people, and to heape vp treasure and riches.

(2) Pallas was the daughter of Jupiter, who for

hir excellent gift in inuention, is said and fained by the poets to be bozne of the braine of Jupiter without anie mother, she inuented the order of warres, and deuised the maner of fightings, she maketh men to be bold, and giueth the victorie. And because Englishmen could not obtaine a full and a perfect victorie: therefore they were said not to sit in Pallas castell.

(3) There were two Merlin, and both were prophets: the one was named *Merlinus Calidonius*, or *Syluester*, because his dwelling and habitation was nere or by a wood called *Calidonia*, he was borne in the marches of Scotland, but a man verie excellentlie well learned in philosophie, and in knowledge of all naturall causes; and by diligent obseruations he would gesse maruellouslie at the euent of manie things. Wherevpon he was taken for a prophet, and reputed for a magician or a diuino. He was in the time of king Arthur, about the yeare five hundred and threescore, and of this Merlin it is spoken in this historie. The other Merlin was before this man and in the time of Mordiger: about the yeare of our Lord foure hundred and threescore, and he was named *Ambrosius Merlinus*, who was also excellentlie well learned, both in philosophie and the art magike; but his sentences were so darkelie couched, that nothing could be conceiued nor vnderstood by them before the euent.

(4) Much adoe there hath bene, and manie books written, concerning the full conquest of this land: so manie heads, so manie reasons. But if men would haue the truth plainelie told, it is sone to be sene how the verie cause proceedeth and is continued for want of a generall reformation. But Pluto hath so blinded mens eyes, that seeing they can not nor will not see: but hereof I shall moze at large write in an other place.

A breefe repetition of certeine things
done within the course of the historie
that are omitted.

Chap. 37.

Here by the waie it were not amisse brieflie to touch & declare of certeine things which happened, & which (for certeine causes) are not at full discoursed in this storie, as we wished that we might haue had the oportunitie so to haue done. First therefore you shall vnderstand, that John the kings sonne at his first comming ouer builded three castels, one at Tiblach, an other at Archeminan, and the third at Lisemoze. Wherof these two thie gentlemen were lost and killed: namely, Robert Barrie at Lisemoze, Keimond Fitzhugh at Dithan, and Keimond Kantune at Moszie. Also how Donald the prince of Limerike secretlie stole vpon the earles armie in Moszie, as they were coming from Dublin towards Limerike, and slew foure hundred Mosmans, and foure noble gentlemen, which were their capteines; among whom was Mgranie an Irishman. And also Dermond Mac Artie prince of Desmond, being at parlee with certeine men of Cork not farre from the said towne, was there set vpon by the said Corkemen & (1) Theobald Fitzwalter, and there was he and the most part of his companie slaine. The like happened in Meth, where they of Kencole & their capteine made a robe, and being set vpon by one William the iustice of that countrie, they were all slaine and a hundred of their heads sent vnto Dublin. Moreover John de Courcie found the bodie of saint Patrike, saint Wigis, and saint Colome at Downe, and removed them from thence. Hugh de Lacie builded his castell at

at Wernach, was there traitorouslie slain. John de Courcie at his returne from out of Connagh lost streene of his best gentlemen. Roger le Botz a valiant and a lustie yong gentleman, was by treason taken and murdered in Ossioe, whereupon the Irishmen forthwith brake out from their due obeliance to the king of England, and rebelled against the Englishmen, destroyed manie castels, and set the whole realme in a great sturre and inquietnesse. Other sundrie things happened which were too long to recite: and therefore leaving the same, we will returne to our historie.

(1) This Theobald Fitzwalter, who by his nation was named Becket but by his office Butler, was the sonne of Walter the sonne of Gilbert: & was the first Butler that came into Ireland, who being a wise and an expert man, was first sent with William Fitzalbine. Afterwards he was sent over by king John to view and serch the countrie; and in the end he grew into such credit, that he was incoffed with great livings there, as also advanced (and his posteritie after him) to great honors & promotions, which now are named earles of Desmond and Ossioe.

The causes why England could not
make the full and finall conquest
of Ireland.

Chap. 38.

IT were not amisse, that we now did consider the causes, and declare the impediments, why the kings sonne had not the best successe in this his so honourable a tourne, and therefore his so famous attempt toke not effect: that albeit the same can not reuoke and remedie that which is past and done, yet that it maie be a forewarning to that which maie follow and insue. The principall and chiefe cause I suppose and thinke to be, because that whereas the patriarch of Jerusalem named Heraclius came in an ambassage vnto him, in the name and behalfe of all the whole land of Palestine called the holie land, requesting that he would take vpon him to be their helpe, and defending the same against the Saladine then king of Egypt and of Damasco: who hauing bent his whole force against them, was like within two yeares following utterly to be ouerrun, the said holie land, vnlesse some rescue in the meane time and with expedition were provided: he utterly denied and refused the same. And being further begged to send one of his sonnes, although it were the yongest: he denied that also: making no account neither of the cause it selfe, which was Christ; nor of the people, which were Christians: neither yet of the person, which was a reuerend and honourable personage.

And yet neuerthelesse he sent forth his yonger sonne in a tourne of hosting, more sumptuous than are needfull or profitable: And whether I praise you, Was it into the east and against the Saracens and miscreants? No, no, it was into the west, & against his euen christian, nothing seeking the aduancing of Gods glorie, nor promoting of his cause, but onelie for his owne priuat lucre and singular commoditie. An other cause was this. At the first landing and entrie of the kings sonne at Waterford, a great manie of the chiefe of the Irishmen in those parties, and who since their first submission to king Henrie had continued faithfull and true, they being aduertised of this his arriuall did come and resort vnto him in peaceable maner, and after their best order to salute him, and congratulate his comming. But

our new men & Normans, who had not before bene in those parties making small account of them, did not onelie mocke them, and laugh them to scorn for the manner of their apparell, as also for their long beards and great glibbs, which they did then wear and vse according to the vsage of their countrie: but also they did hardlie deale and all intreat manie of them. These men nothing liking such intertainment thrust themselves out of the towne, & with all hast sped themselves home: euerie one into his owne house; & from thence they with their wiues, children, and household, departed and went some to the prince of Munster, some to the prince of Conke, some to the prince of Connagh, and some to one lord, and some to an other: and to these they declared orderlie how they had bene at Waterford, and what they had seene there, and how they were intreated; and how that a yong man was come thither garbed with yong men, and guided by the counsels of yong men: in whom there was no feare, no sobrietie, no stedfastnesse, no assurednesse, whereby they and their countrie might be assured of any safetie.

These princes and namelie they three of Connagh, Conke, and Munster, who were the chiefe, and who were then preparing themselves in a readinesse to haue come and saluted the kings sonne, and to haue yielded vnto him the dutifull obeliance of faithfull subiects: when they heard these newes, they began straightwaies to imagine, that of such euill beginnings worse endings would insue: and reasoning the matter among themselves, did conclude, that if they thus at the first did deale so discourteously with the humble, quiet, and peaceable men: what would they do to such as were mightie and stout, and who would be loth to receiue such discourtesies at their hands? Wherefore with one consent they concluded to stand and loine together against the English nation, and to their uttermost to aduenture their liues, and to stand to the defense of their countrie and libertie. And for the performance thereof, they enter into a new league among themselves, and swore each one to the other, and by that means enemies before are now made friends and reconciled. This we know to be true, and therefore we speake it, and that which we saw we do boldly witness. And for so much as we thus fondlie and in our pride did abuse them, who in humblenesse came vnto vs: therefore did we well deserue by Gods iust iudgement (who hateth the proud and high minded) to lose the others, for by this example they were utterly discouraged to like of vs. And this people and nation though it be barbarous and rude, not knowing what apertineth vnto honour: yet most and aboue all others do they desire to be exalted and honoured. And although they be not ashamed to be found false of their word, and vniust in their dealings: yet will they greatlie commend lieng and commend truth, louing that in others, which is not to be found in themselves. But to the matter. What great evils and inconueniencies do grow by such follies and insolencies, a wise man may some by learne the example of Rehoboam the sonne of Salomon, & so by an other mans harme to learne to beware of his owne: (2) for he being lead and carried by yong mens counsels, gaue a yong mans answer vnto his people, saiering vnto them; My finger is greater than was my fathers loins, and whereas he beat you with rods, I will scourge you with scorpions, by reason whereof ten tribes forsoke him for euer, and followed after Jeroboam. Another cause is this, when Robert Fitzstephan came first over, and also the earle; there were certeine Irishmen which toke part with them, and faithfully serued vnder them: and these were rewarded and had giuen vnto them for recompense certeine lands

lands, which they quietly held and inioied, vntill this time of the coming ouer of the king his sonne: for now the same were taken from them, and giuen to such as were new come ouer, contrarie to the promise & grant to them before made: Whereupon they forsooke vs and fled to our enemies, and became not onelie spies vpon vs, but were also guides and conductors of them against vs: they being so much the more able to hurt and annoie vs, because they were before our familiars, and knew all our orders and secrets. Besides this, the cities and towne vpon and nere the seacoasts, with all such lands, reuenues, tributes, and commodities as to the same did belong and appertene, and which before was imployed and spent for the defense of the commonwealth & countrie, and in the seruice against the enemies, were now all assigned and bestowed vpon such as were giuen to pilling and polling, and who laie still within the towne, spending their whole time, and all that they had in drunkenness and surfeiting, to the losse and damage of the good citizens and inhabitants, and not to the annoiance of the enemies. And besides sundrie other commodities, this was one, and a speciall one; that at the very first entrie of the king his sonne into this vnrulie and rebellious land, the people being barbarous, and not knowing what it was to be a subiect, nor what apperteineth to gouernment, such men were appointed to haue the charge, rule and gouernement, as who were more meet to talke in a parlour than to fight in the fields, better skill to be clad in a warme gowne than to be shrowded in armour, and who knew better how to pill and poll the good subjects than to resist and incounter the enemy: yea for their valiantnesse and prowesse they might well be resembled vnto William Fitzaldelme, vnder whose gouernement both Ireland and Wales were almost vtterlie destroyed & lost. For whie, they were neither faithfull to their owne people nor dreadfull to their enemies; yea they were vtterlie void of that affect, which is naturallie ingrafted in man, which is to be pittifull to the humble and prostrate, and to resist the proud and obstinat; but rather of the contrarie, they spoiled their owne citizens, and winked at their enemies: for to resist and withstand them nothing was done, no castles nor fortresses builded, no passes for safetie made, no waies for seruice opened, but althings went to ruine, and the common state to wacke. Moreover, the seruicemen and the soldiers which were in garrison, they liking well of their captains and masters maners and loose life, gaue themselves to the like, spending their whole time in rioting, banketing, whoresome, and all other dissolute and wanton orders, carrying still within the towne and places far off from the enemies. For as for the marches (so called because the same bordered vpon their enemies; or rather of Mars, because in those places martiall affaires were and are wont to be most exercised) they would not come nere the sight thereof, and by that means the people there dwelling and seated, the soles there manured, the castles there builded, were altogether destroyed, wasted, spoiled, and burned. And thus the prowesse of the old captains, the good seruices of the veterans & well experimented soldiers by the insolent, dissimularat, and lewd life of these new comes was discredited: whereof was nothing else to be awaited for but after such calmes must needs insue stormes and tempests. And albeit they thus lieng in the towne in securitie and at rest, wallowing in lose and wanton life, euerie daie being a holie daie to Bacchus and Venus: yet the state of the land at large was most miserable and lamentable. For euerie where was howling and weeping, the manured fields became waste, the castles destroyed, and the people

The inconueniences following euill gouernment.

murdered, and no newes but that the vtter destruction of the whole land was at hand. And in this distress and necessitie it had bene verie requisite and needfull that the souldiers should haue taken up their weapons, serued against the enemy, and haue defended the common state: but it was farre otherwise, for there was such lawing & verasion in the towne, one daile laing and troubling another, that the heretane was more troubled with lawing within the towne, than he was in perill at large with the enemy. And thus our men, giuen ouer to this trade and kind of life, became fainthearted, and afraid to looke vpon the enemy: and on the contrarie the enemy most strong, stout, and bold. Thus was the land then gouerned, and thus the same posseed towards the destruction of the English nation and gouernment, which had doubtlesse verie shortly followed and ensued, had not the king provided a speedie remedie for the same. For the king being advertised how disorderlie things framed, and considering with himselfe in what perill the state of his realme and people stood, he with all speed sendeth for all these new come souldiers, in whome (other than the name of a souldier was nothing of ante value and commendation) and commandeth them to repaire and come home, and sendeth ouer in their places these old beaten and well tried souldiers, by whose seruice the land before had bene conquered and kept, among whome one and the chiefeest was John de Courcie, who was made lord deputie, and had the gouernment of the land committed vnto him: who, according to his office and dutie, setteth in hand the reformation of all things meet and requisite to be redressed: who the more valiant and forward he was in his said affaires and seruices, the more the land grew to good order, and inioied peace & quietnesse. For whie, he would not be idle himselfe, neither would he suffer his souldiers to lie idle like loiterers and sluggards: but was alwaies labouring and traouelling abroad, and marching still towards the enemies, whome he followed and pursued euery through the whole land, to the vttermost parts thereof, as well in Cooke, Thomond, Connagh, and elsewhere; and if by any means he could haue ante aduantage of them, he would suerlie giue the onset and aduenture vpon them: which for the most part was to their ouerthrowne, though he and his sometimes were galled, and felt the smart. And would to God he had bene as proud a captaine as he was a valiant souldier; and as proud in the one as skilfull and hardie in the other! But to my former purpose. Among the many and sundrie inconueniences happened by euill gouernment of these new officers (as is before said) there was none greater, nor more to be lamented than was this: that notwithstanding God of his goodnesse did giue the victorie, and send the happie successe in this noble conquest: yet was there neither due thanks attributed vnto God, nor any remembrance giuen vnto his church; but to increase a further ingratitude, they tooke and spoiled alwaies from the same their lands and possessions, as also minded to abridge them of their old and ancient priuileges & liberties. So great a note of ingratitude, and an argument of too much vnbankfulness: whereof that vnguietnesse and troubles did insue, the sequel therof (for the course of sundrie years) did shew and declare.

So many outrages & disorders, which did crepe in by the disorderd gouernment vnder the king his sonne, were not so much to be imputed to his yong and tender yeares, as vnto the euill counsels and directions of such as were about him, and had the speciall charge thereof: for such a sauage, rude, and barbarous nation was by good counsels, discret directions

Lawing
waspie than
warring.

Who could
doubt but
that
curried fault
and abuser

ations and prudent gouvernement to haue bene gouerned and reduced to good order and conformance. For whie, if a realme which by wise and prudent gouernement is brought and reduced to a perfect state, yet being committed to the gouernement of a child is cursed and brought to manifold distresses, troubles and miseries (5) how much more then is it to be so thought of that land, which of it selfe being rude and barbarous, is committed to the gouernement of such as be not onelie rude and barbarous, but also lewd and euill disposed. And that this did so happen and come to passe in Ireland, all wisse men doe know it; and the elder sort doe confesse it to be true, although young men to couer their folles, would reiect it to some other causes & impediments. For whie, such of them as had procured vnto themselves great liuings, lordships and territories, they pretended at the first that they would be readie to serue the king his sonne, to defend the countrie, to resist the enimie, and that they would doe this and that with manie god morowes. But when they had gotten what they would, and had that they fought for, then it manifestlie appeared that it was singular gaine & priuat profit which they shot at: for hauing obtained that, they neuer remembred their oth to their lord, nor cared for the common state, nor passed for the safetie and defense of the countrie, which in dutie they ought chieselie to haue considered.

(1) The Irish nation and people euen from the beginning haue bene alwayes of a hard bringing vp, & are not onelie rude in apparell but also rough & ouglie in their bodie: their beards and heads they neuer wash, cleanse, nor cut, especiallie their heads; the haire whereof they suffer to grow, sauing that some doe vse to round it: and by reason the same is neuer kembered, it groweth fast togither, and in procelle of time it macteth so thicke and fast togither, that it is in stead of a hat, and keepeth the head verie warme, & also will beare off a great blow or stroke, and this head of haire they call a glibe, and therein they haue a great pleasure.

(2) The historie is written in the first booke of the kings the twelue chapter, and in the second of the chronicles the tenth chapter: the effect therof, is that after the death of Salomon the people of Israel requested Rehoboam his sonne, to ease them of the grievous burdens and heauie yoke which his father laied vpon them, who leauing the counsell of the old counsellors, gaue them answer by the aduise of young heads, as in this place is recited.

(3) What these Irishmen were, there are diuerse opinions. Some thinke that they were such as did inhabit about Wexford, some thinke that they were they of Kencelo, for they saythfullie serued the Englishmen vnder their capteine named Morogh at Limerike, when the earle of Redmond recovered the same. But I find it to be noted of the Irish, who are now dwelling within the baronie of Dron, and had a seat there by the gift of the Hauenaughs, but since resisting against them and denieng to pate there accustomed cheuerie, yelded themselves vnto the earle of Dromond, paing vnto him a certeine blacke rent to be their defender against the said Hauenaughs, but in right they are tenants to the barons of Dron.

(4) This is meant of that which is before spoken in the twentie chapter in the description of this Iohn de Curcie, where his too much rashnes is noted to be a great fault in him.

(5) It is written by the preacher of Ecclesiastes; Who be vnto thee O thou land whose king is but a child. Which is not meant absolutlie of a child, but of such a one who (as a child) hath an euill affection, and

is bold of that grauntie, wisdomie, and maiestie as is required in a prince and gouernour. For Josias when he was crowned king of Iehuda, was but eight yeares of age; and yet bicause he did that which was right in the sight of God, and ruled the land godlie and vpightlie, he is commended in the scriptures for the same.

Three sorts of people which came and serued in Ireland.

Chap.39.

There were three sundrie sorts of scrutoys which serued in the realme of Ireland, (1) Normans, Englishmen, and the Cambrians, which were the first conquerors of the land: the first were in most credit and estimation, the second were next, but the last were not accounted nor regarded of. The Normans were verie fine in their apparell, and delicate in their diets, they could not feed but vpon deinties, neither could their meat digest without wine at each meale; yet would they not serue in the marches, or anie remote place against the enimie, neither would they lie in garrison to keepe anie remote castell or fort, but would be still about their lords side to serue and gard his person; they would be where they might be full and haue plentie, they could talke and brag, sweare and stare, and standing in their owne reputation, disdain all others. They receiued great intertainment and were liberallie rewarded, and left no meanes vnsought how they might rule the roff, beare the sway, and be advanced vnto high estate and honour. In these things they were the first and foremost, but to serue in hosting, to encounter with the enimie, to defend the publike state, & to follow anie martiall affaires, they were the last and furthest off. And for asmuch as those noble and worthy scrutoys, by whose seruice, trauels and industrie, the said land was first entred into and conquered, were thus had in contempt, disdain, and suspicion, and onelie the new comes called to counsell, and they onelie credited and honored: it came to passe that in all their doings they had small successe, & by whole and little their credit decated, and nothing came to effect or perfection which they toke in hand.

The Normans fine in their apparell and delicate in their diet.

(1) This king, besides England and Scotland, had in his rule and gouernement the duchie of Normandie, and the earledomes of Gascoine, Guen, Antou, & Poitiers, beside the losse of that which came to him by the right of his wife. And albeit he trusted the Englishmen well enough, yet being borne on the other side of the seas, he was more affectionated to the people of those prouinces there subiect vnto him: for of them he chose both them which were of his counsell in peaceable gouernment, as also his scrutoys in martiall affaires. And albeit he had of euertie of these prouinces some, yet bicause Normandie was the chiefe, and he duke thereof, they went all vnder the name of Normans, and so called Normans.

How or by what manner the land of Ireland is throughlie to be conquered.

Chap.40.

It is an old saying, that euertie man in his owne art is best of credit & most to be believed: & so in this matter they are speciallie to be credited, who haue bene the chiefe travellers and scrutoys in and about the first reco-

Laming
worse than
warring.

Tha Ciral.
dual could
you see that
cursted fault
and abuser

verie of this land, do know and can best discover the nature, manners, and conditions of these people and nation: for as the matter speciallie toucheth them, so none can do it better than they. For whie, by reason of their continuall warres with them being their most mortall enemies, none can better saie than they how they are either to be conquered or vanquished. And he by the wale hapie had Wales bin, I meane that Wales which the English people do inhabit, if the king therof in governing the same or when he incountred with his enemies had used this deuise & policie. But to the matter. These Frenchmans although they were verie good souldiers and well appointed, yet the manner of the warres in France far differeth from that which is used in Ireland and Wales; for the soile & countrie in France is plaine, open, & champaine; but in these parts it is rough, rockie, full of hills, woods, & bogs. In France they weare complet harnesses, and are armed at all points, not onelie for their honor, but especiallie for their defense and safeties; but to these men the same are combersome & a great hinderance. In France they keepe standing fields & trie the battels, but these men are light horsemen & range alwaies at large. In France they keepe their prisoners and put them to ransomes, but these chop off their heads and put them to the sword. And therefore when the battell is to be waged in the plaine, open, & champaine countrie, it behoueth all men to be armed, some in complet harnesses, some in iackets, some in Almaine riuets, & some in bigandines & shirts of maille, according to their places of seruice. So on the contrarie, where the fight & trial is in narrow streits, rockie places, & where it is full of woods & bogs, & in which footmen are to serue and not horsemen, there light armor and slender harnesses will best serue. To fight therefore in such places and against such men, as be but naked and unarmed men, and whome at the first push and aduenture, either the victorie must be had or lost, light and easie armor is best and conuenient. And againe these people are verie nimble & quicke of bodie, and light of foot, and for their safetie and aduantage they seeke waies through streits and bogs, and therefore it is not for anie man laden with much armor to follow and pursue them. Moreover, the Frenchmen and Frenchmans most commonlie are horsemen, and do serue on horsebacke, & these men haue their saddles so great and deepe, that they cannot at ease leape by and downe; and being on foot by reason of their armor, they cannot serue nor traueil. And you shall farther vnderstand, that in all the seruices and hostings, both in Ireland & in Wales, the Welsh seruitors, and especiallie such as do dwell in the marches, by reason of their continuall wars, they are verie valiant, bold, and of great experiences, they can endure anie paines and trauels, they are used to watchings and wardings, they can abide hunger and thirst, and know how to take aduantage of their enemy; and their seruice by horse is such, that they are readie to take aduantage of the field, being quicke & readie to take and leape to the horse, as also to leaue the same, & to follow the enemy at their best aduantage, whether it be on horse or on foot. And such kind of seruitors and souldiers were they, which first gaue the aduenture and first preuailed in Ireland; and by such also in the end must the same be fullie conquered, that when the battell is to be fought & waged in the plaine and champaine countrie, and against such as be thoroughlie armed and appointed for the same, it is reason that the aduerser part be likewise armed and appointed. But when the matter is to be waged in deepe places, rough fields, rockie hills, or in marshy and boggy grounds, and against such as be quicke of foot, and do seeke others to

tops of hills, or to bogs, and woods: then men of the like exercise, and hauing light armour, are to be allowed. And in the Irish wars this one thing is to be considered, that you do in euery thing loue your bowmen with your footmen and horsemen, that by them they may be defended from the enemy, whose nature and conditions are to run in and out, and with their darts are wont shewable to annoy their enemies, who by the bowmen are to be kept off. And moreover, that the hither part of the land lieng on the east side, or part of the Shenin which diuideth the three other parts from this, and this being the fourth part must be well fortified with castles and forts: but as for Connagh & Thomond, which lie in the further side of the Shenin, and all those parties (saining the citie of Limerike which must needs be recovered and kept in the English gouernement) must for a time be borne withall, and by little and little by fortifying of the frontiers in meet places be gotten and recovered, and so by little and little to grow in vpon them as occasion shall serue.

How the Irish people being vanquished, are to be gouerned.

Chap. 41.

If there be means and policies to be used in conquering this people, who are now more light in their bodies than inconstant in mind: so when they are vanquished, they must in an order be ruled and gouerned. First and principally therefore it is to be considered, that whosoever shall be gouernor over them, that he be wise, constant, discret, and a staid man; that in time of peace, and when they are contented to liue vnder law and in obedience, they maie be gouerned by law, directed by right, and ruled by iustice; as also to be stout and valiant, readie, and able with force seuerelie to punish all such as (contrarie to their dutie and allegiance) shall either rebell and breake out, or otherwise liue in disordered manner. Moreover, when anie haue done amisse, and contrarie to dutie haue rebelled, and do yet afterwards knowledge their folkie, and yelding themselves haue obtained pardon; that in no wise you do afterwards euill intreat them, neither yet laie their former faults to their charges, neither cast them in the teeth of their follies: but hauing taken such assurance of them as you maie, to intreat them with all courtesies and gentleness, that by such good means they maie the better be induced and incouraged to keepe themselves within their dutie, for loue of their good gouernement which they see: and yet be afraid to do euill for feare of punishment, which they are to receiue for their euill and lewd doings. And if they will not thus order and gouerne them, but confound their doings, being slacke to punish the euill, and quicke to oppresse the good and obedient, to flatter them in their rebellions and outrages, and to spoile them in peace; to fauor them in their treasons and treacheries, and to oppresse them when they liue in loyalte, as we haue seene manie so to haue done: surely these men so disorderedlie confounding all things, they in the end shall be confounded themselves. And because harms foresene do least annoy & hurt, let them which be wise looke well, that in time of peace they do prepare for the warres. For after the Alcion daies and calme seas do follow stormes and tempests: and therefore, when they haue vacant times and leisure, let them build and fortifie castles, cut downe and open the passes, and do all such other things as the nature of warres requireth to be preuented. For this people being vn certaine, craftie, and subtil, vnder colour of peace, are wont alwaies to be studying and deuising of mischiefes. And also because

Great odds
betwixt the
warres in
France and
Ireland or
Wales.

No better
reacher's than
examples.

Chap. 4th.

can it be god to be wise by another mans harme,
warie by other mens examples. For nothing doth
better teach a man than examples, and the paterns
of things done afore time. Let not them forget what
became of these worthy men, Miles of Cogan,
Rafe Fitzstephans, Hugh de Lacie, Roger Poivre,
and others, who when they thought of least danger
they were in most perill: and when they thought
themselves in most safetie, they were intraped and
destroyed. For as we haue said in our Topographie;
this people is a craftie and a subtle people, and more
to be feared when it is peace, than when it is open
warres: for their peace indeed is but enmitie, their
policies but craft, their friendships but coloured,
and therefore the more to be doubted and feared. And by
experience the same in some part hath bene proued:
and therefore, as Euodius saith, Let the fall and ruine
of things past be forewarnings of things to come.

And because herein a man can not be too wise nor
warie, it were god that an order were taken (as it
is in Sicilia) that none of them should weare anie
weapon at all, no not so much as a staffe in their
hands to walke by. For euen with that weapon,
though it be but slender, they will (if they can) take
the advantage, and bewreake their malice and can-

kered stomachs. Finally, forsomuch as the kings of
England haue a iust title, and a full right to the land
of Ireland in sundrie and diuerse respects; and con-
sidering also that the same is chieflie maintained by
the intercoure and traffike of merchandizes out of
England; and without the same cannot releue and
helpe it selfe; it were verie expedient that for the ac-
knowledging of the one, and for the inioieng of the
other, as also for the supporting of the continuall
charges of the king of England there yeaerlie be-
stowed: that there be a yeaerlie tribute paid and an-
swered vnto the kings of England, either in monie,
or in such commodities as that land breedeth, aswell
for the continuance of the title in memorie, as also
for the auoiding of manie inconueniences. And be-
cause time weareth awaie, and men doe daile perishe
and die, that this order for the perpetuall honour of
the king and of his realme, and the memorie of this
conquest, the same be ingrossed and registred in a
publike instrument to indure for euer. And thus ha-
uing spoken that we know, and witnessed that we
haue seene, we doe here end this historie, leauing vnto
others of better knowledge and learning, to con-
tinue the same as to them shall be thought most need-
full and conuenient.

Thus farre Giraldus Cambrensis.



The processe of Irish affaires (beginning where
Giraldus did end) vntill this present age, being a wit-
nesse of sundrie things as yet fresh in memorie: which
processe from henceforward is intituled
the Chronicles of Ireland.



Leauing at the conquest of Ireland penned
by *Giraldus Cambrensis*, we are now to pro-
ceed in that which followeth: wherein our
authour (as he himselfe writeth) vsed such
notes as were written by one Philip Flat-
burie, out of a certeine namelesse author,
from this place vnto the yeare 1370: and
we hauing none other helpe besides (ex-
cept onelie Henrie of Marleborow) do set downe that which we
find in our oft mentioned authour, and in the same Marleborow
in all the whole discourse that followeth, except in some cer-
teine particular places, where we shew from whence
we haue drawne that which we write
as occasion serueth.



THE CHRONICLES of Ireland, &c.



A castle built
at Derwath.

Hugh de Lacie (of whom such memorable mention is made heretofore) the rather to meet with such hurly burlies as were like to put the state of the Irish countrie in danger, if the same were not the sooner brought to quiet, erected and built a number of castles and forts in places convenientlie seated, well and sufficientlie garnished with men, munitions, and vittels, as one at Derwath, where diuerse of the Irish praied to be set on worke for wages. Lacie came fundrie times thither to further the worke, full glad to see them fall in byz with anie such exercise, wherein might they once begin to haue a delight, and tast the sweetnesse of a true mans life, he thought it no small token of reformation: for which cause he visited them the oftner, and merilie would command his gentlemen to glue the laborers example to take their toles in hand, and to worke a season, whilste the poore soules looking on might rest them. But this pastime grew to a tragicall end. For on a time, as each man was busilie occupied, some lading, some heaving, some plastering, some grauing, the generall also himselfe digging with a pickaxe: a desperat villaine among them, whose tole the noble man used, espieng both his hands occupied, and his bodie inclining downwards, still as he stroke watched when he so stopped, and with an axe cleft his head in sunder, little esteeming the torments that for this traitorous act ensued. This Lacie was reputed to be the conqueror of Meth, for that he was the first that brought it to anie due order of obedience vnto the English power. His bodie the two archbishops, John of Dublin, and Mattheu of Cashill buried in the monasterie of Beete, and his head in saint Thomas abbete at Dublin.

186
Lacie is traitor
to the
king.

Curcie and
Hugh Lacie
were younger
brothers in
law.

199.
Hugh John
Lacie his ne-
phew Arthur.

By occasion of this murder committed on the person of Hugh Lacie, John Curcie, and Hugh Lacie the yonger, with their assistants, did straight execution vpon the rebels; and preventing euerie mischief per it fell, staied the realme from byzozes. Thus they knittng themselves together in friendship, continued in wealth and honor vntill the first yeare of king Johns reigne, who succeeding his brother king Richard, took his nephue Arthur, son to his brother Gessreie earle of Britaine, and dispatched him (some said) with his owne hands, because he knew what claime he made to the crowne, as descended of the elder brother. And therefore not onlie the French king, but also certeine lords of England and Ireland fauored his title: and when they understood that he was made awaie, they took it in maruelous euill part. And Curcie either of zeale to the truth, or parcialitie, abhorring such barbarous crueltye, whereof all mens eares were full, spake bloudie words against king John, which his lurking aduersaries (that laie ready to undermine him) caught by the end, and used the same as a meane to lift him out of credit: which they did not onlie bring to passe, but also procured a commission to attach his bodie, and to send him ouer into England. Earle Curcie mistrusting his part, and belike getting some inheling of their dyrt, kept himselfe aloofe, till Hugh Lacie lord iustice was faine to leuie an armie and to inuade Ulster, from whence he was oftentimes put backe: whereupon he proclaimed Curcie traitor, and hired fundrie gentlemen with promise of great recompense, to bring him in either quicke or dead. They fought once at Dolone, in which battell there died no small number on both parts; but Curcie got the vpper hand, and so was the lord iustice soiled at Curcies hands: but yet so long he continued in practising to haue him, that at length Curcies owne capitaine were inuethed to betraie their owne master: insomuch that vpon Good fridaie, whilste the earle out of his armour visited barefooted certeine religious houses for deuotion sake, they laid for him, took him as a rebell, & shipped him ouer into England the next waie, where he was adiudged to perpetual prison. One Seintleger addeth in his collections (as Champion saith) that Lacie paid the traitors their monie, and forthwith thereupon hanged them.

This Curcie translated the church and prebendaries of the trinitie in Dolone, to an abbete of blake monks brought thither from Chester, and caused the same to be consecrated vnto saint Patrike: for which alteration, taking the name from God to a creature; he deemed himselfe worthilie punished. Not long after (as saie the Irish) certeine French knights came to king Johns court, and one among them required the combat for triall of the right to the duchie of Normandie. It was not thought expedient to ieopard the title vpon one mans lucke, yet the chalenge they determined to answer. Some friend put them in mind of the earle imprisoned, a warriour of notable courage, and in pitch of bodie like a giant. King John demanded Curcie, whether he could be content to fight in his quarrell: Not for that said the erle, whose person I esteeme vnto this thy aduenture of my blood, but for the crowne & dignitie of the realme, in which manie a good man liueth against thy will, I shall be contented to hazard my life.

Curcie here
richly disple-
sant to king
John.

He is ar-
rested.

He is pro-
mised to
the king.

He is taken.

Translation
of prebenda-
ries to monks.

A chalenge
to combat
by the
French
knights.

Curcie
was
taken
by
John.

He is taken
by the
king.

Curcie depar-
ted this life.
The descrip-
tion of Cur-
cie.

John
went into
Ireland.

He more
went in En-
gland.

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These words were not construed in the worst part, as proceeding from an offended mind of him that was therein esteemed more plaine than wise. Therefoze being chertished and much made of, he was sed so wonderfullie (now he came to so large allowance in diet after hard keeping) that the French challenger took him for a monster: and fearing to deale with him, prinitie stole awaie into Spaine. It is further reported, that the French king, being desirous to see Curcie, requested king John that he might come before them, and shew of what strength he was by striking a blow at an helmet. Whereupon forth he was brought, and presented before the kings, where was an helmet set upon a block. Curcie taking a sword in his hand, and with a sterne & frowning countenance cast upon the kings, gave such a stroke to the helmet, that cleaving it in sunder, the sword stuck so fast in the log, that no man there was able to plucke it forth, except Curcie himselfe. When he therfore had plucked forth the sword, the kings asked him what he meant to looke upon them with such a grim & froward countenance: for he gave the blow to the helmet? He answered, that if he had missed in his stroke, he would have killed all the whole companie, as well the kings as others. When was he released of bonds, and crossing the seas towards Ireland whither he was bound, was sixtē times beaten backe againe to the English shore, & going into France to change the coast died there. This Curcie was white of colour, mightie of lims, with large bones and strong of sinews, tall & broad in proportion of bodie, so as his strength was thought to exceed, of boldnesse incomparable, and a warrior even from his youth; the foremost in the front of euerie battell where he came, and ever ready to hazard himselfe in place of most danger, so forward in fight, that oftentimes forgetting the office of a capteine, he took in hand the part of a soldier, pressing forth with the foremost, so that with his ouer rash violence, and desire of victorie, he might seeme to put all in danger. But although he was thus hastic and hot in the field against his enemies, yet was he in conuersation modest and sober, and verie religious, hauing churchmen in great reuerence, ascribing all to the goodnesse of God; when he had achieved ante praise-worthie enterpryse, praising thanks to his diuine maiestie accordingly. But as seldome times ante one man is found perfect in all things, so these vertues were spotted with some vices; namely, too much nigardnesse in sparing, and inconstancie. He married the daughter of Godfrey king of Spain, and after manie combats and battels had against the Irish, he conquered (as before ye haue heard) the countie of Ulster, and building diuerse strong castles therein, he established the same under his quiet rule and gouernment, till he and Lacie fell out, as before is exprest.

After Curcies decaise, because he left no heires, the earledome of Ulster was giuen vnto Hugh Lacie in recompense of his good seruice. There was one of the Curcies remaining in Ireland that was lord of Kathermie and Kilbarroche, whome (as an esptall of all their practises and informer thereof to the king) Walter and Hugh the sons of Hugh Lacie sue, by reason whereof great trouble and disquietnesse ensued: those Lacies bearing themselves (now after the decaise of their father) for gouernors out of checke. To set the realme in quiet, king John was faine to passe thither himselfe in person with a maiue armie, banished the Lacies, subdued the residue of the countie yet not conquered, took pledges, punished malefactors, established the execution of English lawes, coined monie of like value current sterling in both realmes. The two Lacies repen-

ting their misdeamear, fled into France disguised in poze apparell, and serued there in an abbey as gardeners, till the abbat by their countenance and behauior began to gesse their estates, and opposed them so farre that they disclosed what they were; beseeching the abbat to keepe their counsels, who commending their repentant humblenes, aduised them yet to make sute for their princes fauor, if it might be had, promising to do what he could in the matter, and so took vpon him to be a suter for them vnto the king that was his godceit and well acquainted with him. He trauelled so earnestlie herein, that at length he obtained their pardons: but yet they were fined, Walter at foure thousand, and Hugh at five and twentie hundred markes: and hereupon Walter was restored vnto the lordship of Meth, and Hugh to the earledome of Ulster.

King John appointed his lieutenants in Ireland, and returning home, subdued the Welshmen, and some after with Pandulfus the legat of pope Innocentius the third, who came to release him of the censure, wherein he stood excommunicat, to whom as to the popes legat he made a personall surrender of both realmes in waite of submission; and after he was once absolved, he receiued them againe. Some adde, that he gaue awaie his kingdome to the se of Rome for him and his successors, recognising to hold the same of the popes in fee, paying yearelie therefoze one thousand markes, as seauen hundred for England, and three hundred for Ireland. Blondus saith, *Centum pro utroque auri marchias*. Sir Thomas More (as Campion saith) a man both in calling & office likelie to sound the matter to the depth, writeth preciselie, that neither such writing the pope can shew, neither were it effectual if he could. How farre forth, and with what limitation a prince may or may not aduise his realme feodarie to another, John Maior a Scottish choncler, and a Sorbonist not vnlearned partlie scanneth, who thinketh three hundred markes for Ireland no verie hard penitworth. The instrument (as Campion thinketh) which our English writers rehearse, might happilie be motioned and drawn, and yet not confirmed with ante seale, nor ratified: but though the copie of this writing remaine in record, yet certeine it is, king Johns successors neuer paid it. After John Comin archbishop of Dublin, and founder of saint Patricks church succeeded Henrie Landozes in the see, who builded the kings castell there, being lord chiefe iustice of Ireland, him they nicknamed (as the Irish do commonly giue additions in respect of some fact or qualitie) Scozhuillein, that is, Burnebill, because he required to peruse the writings, of his tenants, colorable pretending to learne the kind of echmans seuerall tenure, and burne the same before their faces, causing them either to renew their takings, or to hold at will.

In the yeare one thousand two hundred and sixtē king John departed this life. In his daies diuerse monasteries were builded in Ireland, as beside those that before are mentioned) in the fourth yeare of his reigne the abbey of Dowlish was founded; in the first the abbey of Wetherham in the countie of Limerike, by Theobald le Butler lord of Carrackie, and in the twelue yeare Richard Dute builded the monasterie of Grenard. In the daies of Henrie the third that succeeded his father king John great warres were raised in Ireland betwixt Hugh Lacie & William Marshall, so that the countie of Meth was greuouslie afflicted. In the yeare of our Lord 1228, after the death of Landozes archbishop of Dublin, that was lord chiefe iustice, king Henrie the third vnderstanding the good seruice done by the Giraldines euer since their first coming into Ireland, although by wrong re-

They fled into France.

They are pardoned, and put to their fines.

An hundred markes of gold. Blondus.

John Bale in his apologie against bowes.

Henrie the third. warres betwixt Lacie and Marshall. 1228 The Giraldines.

G. J. ports

Horice Fitzgerald.
Lucas arch-
bishop.

1230

1234

1241

The lord
Weldon.
Geffrie
Genuill.

1252

1253

The castell of
Schligath.

Odonill.

John Fitz-
geffrie lord
iustice.
Alaine de la
Zouch lord
iustice.
Stephan de
long Espée.

William Dene
lord iustice.
Greene castell
destroyed.
Mac Carcie.

1261

Sir Richard
Capell lord
iustice.

Lord John
Fitzthomas
laine.

The lord in-
lice taken.

ports the same had bene to their prejudice for a time
finisterlie misconstrued, so as the gentlemen had
still bene kept backe, and not rewarded according
to their deserts. The king now informed of the truth
made Horice Fitzgerald the sonne of Horice afore-
said lord chiefe iustice of Ireland. Lucas succeeded
Londres in the archbishops see, and was consecrated.
In the yeare one thousand two hundred and thirtie,
Richard Sparshall was taken prisoner in battell at
Kildare. Some write that he was wounded there, and
within few daies after died of the hurt at Kilkennie,
and was buried there in the quere of the church of the
friars preachers, nere to the place where his brother
William was interred, who departed this life in the
yeare one thousand two hundred thirtie and one.

In the yeare one thousand two hundred fortie and
one, Walter Lacie lord of Meth departed this life
in England: he left two daughters behind him that
were his heires, Margaret married to the lord Weldon,
and Matilda the wife of Geffrie Genuill. King
Henrie in the fir & thirtieth yeare of his reigne, gaue
to Edward his eldest sonne, Gascoigne, Ireland,
and the countie of Chester. In the yeare following,
Hugh Lacie earle of Ulster departed this life, and
was buried at Cragfergus, in the church of the
friars minors, leaving a daughter behind him, that
was his heire, whome Walter de Burgh or Bourke
married, and in right of hir was created earle of Ulster,
as after shall appeare. Horice Fitzgerald lord
iustice of Ireland, being requested by this prince to
come and assist him with a power of men against the
Welsh rebels, left a sufficient garrison of men in
the castell of Schligath, which he had latelie builded,
and then came ouer with Helin Ochoher, and a
lustie band of souldiers: & meeting the prince at
Chepstow, behaued themselves so valiantlie, that returning
with victorie, they greatlie increased the fauor
of the king and prince towards them; and vpon their
returne into Ireland, they joined with Cormacke
Mac Dermot Mac Roie, and made a notable
victory against Odonill the Irish enimie, that when
Lacie was once dead, inuaded & sore annoyed the kings
subiects of Ulster. Odonill being vanquished, the
lord iustice forced pledges and tribute of O'neale
to keepe the kings peace, and diuerse other exploits
praise-worthie did he, during the time of his gouern-
ment, as Flatsburie hath gathered in his notes for
the lord Girald Fitzgerald earle of Kildare, in the
yeare one thousand siue hundred and seuentene. After
Horice Fitzgerald succeeded in office of lord iustice,
John Fitzgeffrie knight, and after him Alaine
de la Zouch, whome the earle of Surrie Fitzwarren
died. And after de la Zouch, in the yeare one thousand
two hundred fiftie and eight, being the two and fortieth
of Henrie the third his reigne, was Stephan de
long Espée sent to supplie that come, who due
neale with three hundred fiftie & two of his men in
the streets of Downe, and shortly after departed this
life; then William Dene was made lord iustice, and
Greene castell was destroyed. Also Mac Carcie plaid
the diuell in Desmond.

In the yeare one thousand two hundred sixtie and
one, sir William Dene lord iustice of Ireland de-
ceased, and sir Richard Rochell (or Capell as some
copies haue) was sent to be lord iustice after him,
who greatlie enuied the familie of the Giraldins; during
his gouernement the lord John Fitzthomas
and the lord Horice his son were slaine. In the yeare
one thousand two hundred sixtie and foure, Walter
de Burgh was made earle of Ulster, and Horice
Fitzmoice took the lord iustice of Ireland together
with Theobald Butler, Miles Cogan, and diuerse
other great lords at Trillickdermot, on saint Nicholas

daie. And so was Ireland full of warres, betwixt the
Burghs and Giraldins. In the yeare one thousand
two hundred sixtie and six, there chanced an earth-
quake in Ireland. In the yeare following, king Henrie
tooke by the variance that was in Ireland be-
twixt the parties, and discharging Wene, appointed
David Barrie lord iustice in his place, who tamed
the insolent dealings of Horice Fitzmoice, couline
germane to Fitzgerald.

In the yeare one thousand two hundred sixtie and
eight, Conhur O'Brien was slaine by Dermot Mac
Mogonard, and Horice Fitzgerald earle of Desmond
was drowned in the sea, betwixt Wales & Ireland.
And Robert Wofford was sent ouer to remaine lord
iustice of Ireland, and Barrie was discharged, who
continued till the yeare one thousand two hundred
sixtie and nine, and then was Richard de Creffer
made lord iustice. And in the yeare following, was
the lord James Audleie made lord iustice. Richard
Weldon, and John Weldon were slaine, and Fulke
archbishop of Dublin deceased. Also the castles of
Ablecke, Roscoman, & Scheligagh, were destroyed.
The same yeare was a great dearth and mortalitie
in Ireland. In the yeare one thousand two hundred
seuentie & two, the lord James Audleie was slaine
by a fall from his horse in Thomond, and then was
Horice Fitzmoice made lord iustice of Ireland, and
the castell of Kandon was destroyed. In the yeare
one thousand two hundred seuentie and two, king
Henrie the third departed this life, and the lord Walter
Genuill latelie returned home from his tour-
nie into the holie land, was sent into Ireland, and
made lord iustice there. In the yeare one thousand
two hundred seuentie and siue, the castell of Rosco-
man was estones repared and fortified.

In the yeare one thousand two hundred seuentie
and six, there was an ouerthrow giuen at Glenbu-
rie, where William Fitzroger, prior of the knights
hospitalers, & many other with him, were taken pri-
soners, and a great number of other were slaine.
The same yeare, John de Weldon departed this world,
and Thomas de Clare married the daughter of Ho-
rice Fitzmoice. In the yeare following, Robert Wofford
was appointed to supplie the come of Genuill,
being called home, and so was this Wofford the second
time ordeined lord iustice of Ireland. He hauing oc-
casion to passe into England, made his substitute
Fulborne bishop of Waterford till his returne, and
then resumed the gouernement into his owne hands
again. In the yeare one thousand two hundred seuen-
tie and seauen, Thomas de Clare slue Dermot
king of Molethmond: and yet after this the Irish
closed him by in Slewbani, together with Maurice
Fitzmaurice, so that they gaue hostages to escape,
and the castell of Roscoman was twone. In the yeare
next ensuing, was John de Werlington consecrated
archbishop of Dublin. There was also a counsell
holden at Grenoke, and Mac Dermot slue Cathur
Donchir king of Connagh. In the yeare one thou-
sand two hundred seuentie and nine, Robert Wofford
vpon occasion of busines came ouer into England,
and left sir Fulborne bishop of Waterford to sup-
plie his come, and Rafe Bishard and Dhaulan
chased O'neale in a battell.

In the yeare one thousand two hundred and foure
score, Robert Wofford came the third time to occupie
the come of lord chiefe iustice in Ireland, resuming
that come into his hands againe. In the yeare fol-
lowing, the bishop of Waterford was established by
the king of England lord iustice of Ireland. Adam
Cusacke the younger slue William Barret, and ma-
nie other in Connagh. And in the next yeare, to wit,
one thousand two hundred foure score and two, Hen-
rique slue Murtagh, & his brother Art Mac Murtagh at

Donat church
mapes.

Donat bishop
of Dublin.

Strangbow
some risto-
red by Henrie
donic.

Capitine
Mandole.

Wandon.
The head
of king Henrie
the third
was sent
to the king
at London.

John Sam-
son consecra-
ted archbishop
of Dublin.
In ouerthrow
at Rathob.
Roxburgh and
Kilcol burnt
1286

1288
Samson
archbishop of
Dublin lord
iustice.

1290
of Wals-
Coughla-
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Mac Car-
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Theobald
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at Athlon. Also the lord James de Birmingham, and Piers de Lute departed this life. Also the archbishop of Durlington deceased. And about the same time the cite of Dublin was defaced by fire, and the people of Myss church bitterlie distressed. The citizens before they went about to repaire their stone priuat buildings, agreed together to make a collective for reparing the ruines of that ancient building first begun by the Danes, and continued by Cetrus prince of Dublin at the instance of Donat sometime bishop of that cite, and dedicated to the blessed trinitie.

At length Strangbow earle of Penbrooke, Fitzstephans, Laurence, that for his vertue was called saint Laurence archbishop of Dublin, and his four successors, John of Cuesham, Henrie Scortchbill, and Lucas, and last of all John de saint Paule finished it. This notable building, since the time that it was thus defaced by fire, hath bene beautified in diverse sorts by many zealous citizens. Strangbowes tome defaced, by the fall of the rofe of the church, sir Henrie Stonele, when he was lord deputie, restored; & likewise bjd cost upon the earle of Kildares chapel for an ornament to the quier, over the which he left also a monument of capteine Kandalfe, late coronell of the English bands of footmen in Ulster that died there valiantlie, fighting in his princes service, as after shall appeare. In the yeare one thousand two hundred four score and thre, Edmund chancelor of Ireland, and Richard Lute departed this life, and friser Stephan Fulborne was made lord iustice of Ireland.

In the yeare 1285, the lord Theobald Butler fled from Dublin, and died shortly after, and the lord Theobald Vernon lost his men and horses as he went towards Offalie, & the next day Gerald Fitzmaurice was taken, and John Samford was consecrated archbishop of Dublin. Pozeouer at Rathob, the lord Cestrete Genuill fled, and sir Gerard Doget, and Kate Petit were slaine, with a great number of others. The Porwagh and Ardscoll with other townes and villages were burnt by Philip Stanton the sixteenth daie of Nouember, in the yeare 1286. Also Calwagh was taken at Kildare. In the yeare 1287, diuerse nobles in Ireland deceased, as Richard Deceter, Gerald Fitzmaurice, Thomas de Clare, Richard Caffie, & Nicholas Teling knights. The yeare next ensuing, deceased friser Fulborne lord iustice of Ireland, and John Samford archbishop of Dublin was aduanced to the roome of lord iustice. Also Richard Burgh earle of Ulster besieged Theobald Vernon in the castell of Athlon, and came with a great power vnto Trim, by the working of Walter Lacie.

In the yeare 1290, was the chafe or discomfiture of Offalie, & diuerse Englishmen slaine. Also Pac Coghlán king of Connaught was discomfited at Deluin by William de Basingfeld lord iustice of Ireland, and entered into that office on S. Martins daie. Vnto this iustice, Edward Balioll king of Scotland did homage for an earldome which he held in Ireland, in like manner as he did to king Edward for the crowne of Scotland. In the yeare 1292, a fifteenth was granted to the king, of all the temporall goods in Ireland, whilst Clesie was as yet lord iustice. This Clesie was a ferre man and full of courage. he called John earle of Kildare before him, charging him with foule riots and misdeemeanors, for that he ranged abroad, and sought reuenge vpon priuat displeasures out of all order, and not for any aduancement of the publicke wealth or seruice of his soveraigne.

The earle as impatient to heare himselfe touched

as the iustice to suffer euill doing, answered thus. By your honors and mine (my lord) and by king Edwards hand (for that was accompted no small oth in those daies among the Irish) per would if you durst approach me in plainte for treason or felonie: for where I haue the title, and you the place of it, dare, I wote well how great an eieboze I am in your sight, so that if I might do handfome, I trusted by for a fellow, then might I challenge your sonne by come a gentleman. A gentleman quoth the iustice, thou proud earle: I tell the, the Clesies were gentlemen before Kildare was an earle-dame: and before that Clesie bankrupt thy doctine fettered his nest in Leinster. But seeing thou varest me, I will surely breake thy heart. And therewith he called the earle a noxious thiefe and a mischiefier. Then followed facing and bracing among the soldiers, with high words, and terrible swearing on both sides, vntill either part appeased his owne.

The lord iustice shortly after, leaving his deputie William Haie, toke the sea, and hastened ouer to the king. The earle immediatly followed, and as he would as the lord iustice accused him of felonie, Kildare no lesse appealed him of treason. For trill hereof, the earle asked the combat, and Clesie refused not: but yet when the lists were provided, Clesie was slippt auaite into France, and so discredited of all his lands in the countie of Kildare, which were bestowed vpon the earle and his heires for ever. The earle swaring losse of mind in such prosperous success, squared with diuerse nobles, English and Irish of that land. The same yeare died John Samford archbishop of Dublin, and John Fitzthomas earle of Kildare, and John de la Spere toke prisoners, Richard Burgh earle of Ulster, and William Burgh within the countie of Meth, and the castell of Kildare was taken, and all the countie wasted by the English on the one side, and the Irish on the other, and Calwagh burnt all the rolles and tallies concerning the records & accompts of that countie. Great deareth and death reigned in Ireland this yeare, and the two yeeres next ensuing. The earle of Kildare detained the earle of Ulster prisoner, vntill by authority of a parlement holden at Bilkennie, he was delivered out of the castell of Leie, for his two somes, and for the inuasion which the earle of Kildare had made into Meth, and other his baronie and misordered parts, was disseized of the castell of Sligagh, and of all his lands in Connagh.

William Dodingfelds, being this yeare made lord iustice of Ireland, after Clesie died, in the yeare next following, that is 1295, and the thre and twentieth of king Edward the first. After him succeeded in that roome the lord Thomas Fitzmaurice. In the yeare 1296, friser William de Bothum was consecrated archbishop of Dublin. In the yeare 1298, and six and twentieth of Edward the first, the lord Thomas Fitzmaurice departed this life, and an agreement was made betwixt the earle of Ulster and the lord John Fitzthomas earle of Kildare, by John Wogan that was ordeined lord iustice of Ireland. In the yeare 1299 William archbishop of Dublin departed this life, and Richard de Fringie was consecrated archbishop in his place. The king went vnto John Wogan lord iustice, commanding him to giue summons vnto the nobles of Ireland, to prepare themselves with horse and armor to come in their best arraie for the warre, to serue him against the Scots: and withall wrote vnto the same nobles, as to Richard de Burgh earle of Ulster, Cestrete de Genuill, John Fitzthomas, Thomas Fitzmaurice, Theobald lord Butler, Theobald lord Vernon, Piers lord Birmingham of Chetemoie, Constance lord Poize, Hugh lord Purcell, John de Cogan, John

The death of the archbishop Samford. The earle of Ulster taken prisoner.

Great deareth and death.

William Dodingfelds lord iustice.

Thomas Fitzmaurice lord iustice.

Rec. Turris.

1299

de Barrie, William de Barrie, Walter de Launce, Richard de Excester, John Wipurd, Walter Lonsant, John of Oxford, Adam de Stanton, Simon de Wether, William Cadell, John de Male, Maurice de Carre, George de la Roch, Maurice de Rochford, and Maurice Fitzthomas de Kerto, commanding them to be with him at Wiltwelaun the first of March. Such a precept I remember I have read, registered in a close roll among the records of the tower. But where Marlburrow saith, that the said John Wogan lord justice of Ireland, and the lord John Fitzthomas, with manie others, came to king Edward into Scotland, in the nine and twentieth yeare of king Edwards reigne, Campion noteth it to be in the yere 1299, which fell in the seven & twentieth of the reigne of king Edward, & if my remembrance faile me not, the close roll aforesaid beareth date of the four and twentieth yeare of king Edwards reigne. All which notes may be true, for it is verie like, that in those warres against the Scots, the king sent diuerse times to the Irish lords to come to serue him, as it behoued them to do by their tenures: and not onelie he sent into Ireland to haue the seruices of men, but also for prouision of vittells, as in close rolles I remember I haue also sene recorded of the seauen and twentieth and thirtieth yeare of the said king Edward the first his reigne. For this we find in a certeine abstract of the Irish chronicles, which shuld seme to be collected out of Flatburie, whom Campion so much followed, that in the yeare 1301, the lord John Wogan lord justice, John Fitzthomas, Peter Birmingham, & diuerse others went into Scotland in aid of king Edward, in which yeare also a great part of the citie of Dublin, with the church of saint Werburgh was burnt in the night of the feast daie of saint Coline. Also the lord Genuill married the daughter of John de Pontfort, and the lord John Woxtmer married the daughter and heire of Peter Genuill, also the lord Theobald de Werdon married the daughter of the lord Roger Woxtmer. The same yeare in the winter season, the Irish of Leinster raised warre against the towncs of Wicklow and Rathdon, doing much hurt by burning in the countrie all about: but they were chastised for their wickednesse, losing the most part of their prouision and cattell. And in the Lent season the more part of them had bene bitterlie destroyed, if discord and variance had not risen among the Englishmen, to the impeachment of their purposed enterprises.

In hartest there were three hundred thienes slaine by the Helanes. Also Walter le Poluer wasted a great part of Mounster, burning manie farmes and places in that countrie. In the yeare 1302, pope Boniface demanded a tenth of all the spirituall liuings in England and Ireland, for the space of three yeares, to mainteine wars in defense of the church of Rome, against the king of Arragon. In the yeare 1303, the earle of Ulster, and Richard Burgh, and sir Cusface le Poluer, with a puissant armie entered Scotland. The earle made three and thirtie knights at Dublin, before he set forwarde. The same yere Gerald, sonne and heire to the lord John Fitzthomas departed this life, and likewise the countesse of Ulster. William de Wellislete, and sir Robert de Persuall were slaine the two and twentieth of October. In the yeare 1304, a great part of the citie of Dublin was burnt by casuall fire. In the yeare next ensuing, Jordaine Comin with his complices slue Paritagh Mconhur king of Ossalie, and his brother Calwagh, with diuerse others within the court of Piers de Birmingham at Carricke in Carbie. Also sir Gilbert Sutton steward of Wexford was slaine by the Irishmen, nere to the same

of Desmond de Grace, which Desmond bare himselfe right valiantlie in that fight, and in the end through his great manhood escaped.

In the yeare 1306 a great slaughter was made in Ossalie nere to the castell of Geshill, the thirtenth daie of Aprill upon Mconhur and his friends by the Dempsies, in the which place were slaine a great number of men. Also Mzen king of Thomond was slaine. Moreover, Donald Oge Mac Arthie slue Donald Kasse king of Desmond. And upon the twelue of Maie in the confines of Meth, a great onerthow chanced to the side of the lord Piers Butler, and Ballimore in Leinster was burnt by the Irish, where Henrie Cesse was slaine at that present time. Hereof followed great wars betwixt the English and Irish in Leinster, so that a great armie was called together forth of diuerse parts of Ireland, to restraine the malice of the Irish in Leinster, in which iournie sir Thomas Pandeuill knight entred into a condict with the Irish nere to Glenfell, in the which he bare himselfe right manfullie, till his horse was slaine under him, and yet then to his great praise and high commendation he saued both himselfe and manie of his companie. The lord chancellor of Ireland, Thomas Caucocke, was consecrated bishop of Imaleie within the Trinitie church at Dublin, and kept such a feast as the like had not lightlie bene sene nor heard of before that time in Ireland, first to the rich & after to the poore. Richard Flerings archbishop of Dublin deceased on the euen of saint Luke the euangelist, to whom succeeded Richard de Hauerings, who after he had continued in that see about a fure yeares, resigned it ouer by dispensation obtained from Rome, and then his nephew John Leech was admitted archbishop there.

In the yeare 1307 the first of Aprill, Murcod Ballagh was beheaded nere to Merton by sir David Caunton knight, and shortly after was Adam Daune slaine. Also, a great discomfiture and slaughter fell upon the Englishmen in Connagh by the Oscheles the first daie of Maie, and the robbers that dwelt in the parties of Ossalie raised the castell of Geshill, and in the bigill of the translation of Thomas Becket, being the first of Julie, they burnt the towne of Leie and besieged the castell: but they were constrained to depart from thence shortly after, by John Fitzthomas and Edmund Butler that came to remoue that siege. In the yeare 1308 king Edward the first departed this life the seventh of Julie.

Edward the second.

Richard archbishop of Dublin, after that he had governed that see the space of fure yeares, by reason of a vision that he saw in his sleepe, feeling himselfe troubled in conscience, with consideration of that dreame, resigned the next morrow all his title to the archbishops dignitie (as before ye haue heard) and contented himselfe with other ecclesiasticall benefices as seemed conuenient to his estate. This yeare by vertue of letters directed from the pope to the king of England, he caused all the Templers as well in England as Ireland to be apprehended, and committed to safe keeping. The profession of these Templers began at Jerusalem, by certeine gentlemen that remained in an hostell nere to the temple, who till the counsell of Trois in France were not increased aboue the number of nine, but from that time forth in little more than fiftie yeares, by the zealous contribution of all chris-

Chr. Pembrig.

1301
Irishmen in-
uade Scot-
land.

Walter
Power.
1302

1303
The earle
of Ulster.

1304

1304
The billes
were at
fallie.

Ballimore
burnt.

warres in
Leinster.

The lord
chancellor
of Ireland
created bishop
of Imaleie.

The arch-
bishop of Du-
blin deceased.

1307

A discomfiture
in Connagh.

1308

1300
The order of
the Templers
suppressed.

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man realmes, they had houses erected euerie where, with liuings bountifullie assigned to the same for their maintenance, in so much as they were augmented vnto the number of three hundred, that were knights of that order, beside inferior brethren innumerable: but now with wealth they so forgot themselves, that they nothing lesse regarded, than the purpose of their foundation: and withall being accused of horrible heresies (whether in all things iustlie or otherwise, the Lord knoweth) they were in the council at Lions in France condemned, and their liuings transferred to the knights Hospitallers, otherwise called the knights of the Rhodes, and now of Malta. The manner of their apprehension and committing was sudden, and so generall in all places upon one daie, that they had no time to shift for themselves.

For first, the king sent forth a precept to euerie shiriffe within the realme of England, commanding them within each of their roomes to cause a prescribed number of knights, or rather such men of credit, on whose fidelities he might assure himselfe to assemble at a certeine towne named in the same writ, the sundefaie next after the Epiphanie, & that eue of the same shiriffes failed not to be there the same daie, to execute all that should be intained them by any other writ, then and there to be deliuered. The shiriffe of Poike was commanded to giue summons to foure and twentie such knights, or other sufficient men to meet him at Poike. The shiriffe of Dorset folke and Suffolke, to summon twentie to meet him at Wykeford. The other shiriffs were appointed to call to them some ten, some twelue, or some fourtene, to meet them at such townes as in their writs were named. The date of this writ was from Westminster the fifteenth of December, in the first yeare of this king Edward the secondes reigne. The other writ was sent by a chapleine authorized both to deliuer the same writ, and to take an oth of the shiriffe, that he should not disclose the contents, till he had put the same in execution, which was to attach by assistance of those aforementioned knights, or as manie of them as he thought expedient to vse, all the Templers within the precinct of his roome, and to seize all their lands, goods, and cattels into the kings hands, and to cause an inuentarie of the same intainted be made in presence of the warden of the place, whether he were knight of the order or any other, and in the presence of other honest men neighbours thereabouts, keeping the one counterpane with himselfe, sealed with his seale that made the seizure, and leaving the other in the hands of the said warden: and further to see the same goods and cattels to be put in safe keeping, and to prouide that the quicke goods might be well kept and looked vnto, and the grounds manured to the most profit, and to cause the bodies of the Templers attached, to be so deteined in all safetie, as that they be not yet committed to irons nor to streit prison, but to remaine in some conuenient place other than their owne houses, and to be found of the goods so seized accordinglie as falleth for their estates, till he haue otherwise in commandement from the king: and what is done herein, to certifie into the archeher the morrow after the purification. The date of this second writ was from Willel the twentieth of December. There was likewise a writ directed to John Wogan lord iustice of Ireland, signifieng vnto him what should be done in England, touching the apprehension of the Templers, and seizure of their lands and goods, commanding him to proceed in semblable manner against them in Ireland: but the date and place when the shiriffes should there assemble, was left to the discretion of the said iustice and trea-

suro of the archeher there, but so as the same might be done before any rumour of this thing could be brought ouer out of England thither. Also a like commandement was sent vnto John de Britaine earle of Richmond, lord warden of Scotland, and to Custace Cotesbach chamberleine of Scotland, also to Walter de Pederton lord iustice of west Wales, to Hugh Aldighleigh alias Auderleie lord iustice of north Wales, and to Robert Holland lord iustice of Chester. Thus much for the Templers. Now now to other doings in Ireland.

In the yeare 1308, the twelke of Aprill deceased Peter de Werningham a noble warrior, and one that had bene no small scourge to the Irish. The eleuenth of Maie the castell of Kinnun was burnt, and diuers of them that had it in keeping were slaine. by William Macbalthar, and other of the Irish, and likewise the towne of Courconle was burnt by the same malefactors. And the first of June, John lord Wogan lord iustice was discomfited nere to Glindelozie, where John de St. Hogelin, John Porton, John Breton, and manie other were slaine. The firste of June, Dunloun, Tobie, and manie other townes were burnt by the Irish rebels. About this season, John Decer maior of Dublin builded the high pipe there, & the bidge ouer the Liffie towards St. Wilsons, and a chappell of our ladie at the friers minors, where he was buried, repaired the church of the friers preachers, and euerie fridaie tabled the friers at his owne costs.

John Wogan hauing occasion to passe into England, William Burgh did supplie his roome, vnto whom king Edward recommended Piers de Caueson, when (contrarie to the kings mind) he was banished by the lords of England, and about the natistie of our ladie he came ouer into Ireland, being sent thither by the king with manie iewels: and beside the letters which he brought of recommendation from the king, he had assigned to him the comodities rofall of that realme, which bred some trouble and bickerings there, betwixt Richard Burgh earle of Ulster, and the said Caueson, who notwithstanding bought the good willes of the souldiers with his liberalitie, slue Dermot Odeмпsie, subdued Obren, edified sundrie castels, cauesies, and bidges, but the next yeare he was renoked home by the king, as in the historie of England it maie appeare.

In the bigill of Simon and Jude, the lord Roger Sportimer landed in Ireland with his wife, right heire to the seignorie of Meth, as daughter to Piers Genuill, that was sonne to the lord Gessreie Genuill, which Gessreie became a frier at Trim of the order of the preachers: by reason whereof, the lord Sportimer and his wife entered into possession of the lands of Meth. In the yeare 1309, on Candlemas day, the lord John Bonneuill was slaine nere to the towne of Ardscoil, by the lord Arnold Powze and his complices, his bodie was buried at Athie in the church of the friers preachers. In the yere following, at a parlement holden at Kildare, the lord Arnold Powze was acquit of that slaughter, for that it was proued it was done in his owne defense. In the yeare 1311, or (as some booke haue) the yeare 1309, Wogan lord iustice summoned a parlement at Kilkennie, where diuerse whole some lawes were ordeined, but neuer executed. There fell the bishops in contention about their iurisdicions, namelie the bishop of Dublin forbad the primat of Armagh to raise his croiser within the prouince of Leinster.

Shortlie after, Rowland Joyce the primat stale by night (in his pontificals) from Howth to the priozie of Grace Dieu, where the bishops seruants met him, & with force chased him out of the diocese. This bishop was named John a Leakes, and was consecrated

1308

This Macbalthar was after hanged at Dublin. The lord iustice discomfited.

1308

John Decer maior of Dublin.

Borgh.

Piers Caueson sent into Ireland.

Lord Roger Sportimer.

1309

Lord John Bonneuill slaine.

1310

A parliament at Kilkennie. Campion.

1311

1304
The discomfited at Willel.

Wogan
burnt.
Warren in Leinster.

The lord chancelor conspired bishop of Amaleie.

The archbishop of Dublin deceased.

1307

A discomfited in Connagh.

1308

1300
The order of the Templers suppressed.

Sir Richard
de Clare.

John Lacie
flame.

1312
Robert Wern-
don raised a
riotous mu-
lt.
John Wogan
lord justice.

1313
Campion.

The earle of
Ulster's sonne
and heire de-
ceased.

1314

1315
Edward Bruce in-
vaded Ireland.

Captains of
name with
Bruce.

Dundalk taken and burnt

Edmund
Butler lord
justice.

not long before he kept this floure. Richard earle of Ulster with a great armie came to Bonrath in Thomond, whereas sir Robert or rather sir Richard de Clare discomfited his power, took sir William de Burgh prisoner, or (as some booke have) the earle himselfe. John Lacie the sonne of Walter Lacie, and diuerse others were slaine. The twelue of November this yere, Richard de Clare slue sir hundred Galloglasses, and John Pogoghedan was slaine by Omolmote. Also Donat Obzen was murdered by his owne men in Thomond.

The one and twentieth of Februarie began a riot in Argile by Robert Werdon, for the appealing wherof an armie was lead thither by John Wogan lord chiefe justice in the beginning of Iulie, but the same was discomfited, and diuerse men of account slaine, as sir Nicholas Auerell, Patrike de Koch, & others. At length yet the said sir Robert Werdon, and many of his complices came and submitted themselves to prison within the castell of Dublin, abiding there the kings mercie. The lord Edmund Butler was made deputie justice vnder the lord John Wogan, who in the Lent next ensuing besieged the Obzens in Glindelow, and compelled them to yield themselves to the kings peace. Also in the yere abovesaid 1312, Paurence Fitzthomas married the ladie Katharine, daughter to the earle of Ulster at Grane castell, and Thomas Fitzjohn married an other of the said earles daughters in the same place, but not on the same daie: for the first of those two mariages was celebrated the morrow after saint Dominikes daie, and this second marriage was kept the morrow after the feast of the assumption of our ladie. Also Robert de Bruce ouerthrew the castell of Span, and took the lord Donegan Dohwill on saint Barnabies daie.

In the yere 1313, John a Leekes archbishop of Dublin departed this life: after whose decease were elected in schisme and diuision of sides two successors, Walter Thomeburie lord chancellor, and Alexander Bigno: treasurer of Ireland. The chancellor to strengthen his election, hastie went to sea, and together with an hundred and fiftie and six persons perished by shipwracke. The other submitting his cause to the pprocess of law, taried at home and sped. Moreover, the lord John de Burgh, sonne and heire to the earle of Ulster, deceased at Galbie on the feast daie of saint Marcell & Marcelline. Also the lord Edmund Butler created thirtie knights in the castle of Dublin on saint Michaels daie being fundaie. The knights hospitallers or of saint Johns (as they were called) were inuested in the lands of the Templers in Ireland. The same yere was the lord Theobald Werdon sent lord justice into Ireland.

In the ninth yere of king Edwards reigne, Edward Bruce, brother to Robert Bruce king of Scots, entered the north part of Ireland with six thousand men. There were with him diuerse captains of high renoume among the Scottish nation, of whome the chiefe were these: the earles of Purrie and Pentith, the lord John Steward, the lord John Campbell, the lord Thomas Randolph, Fergus de Andressan, John Wood, and John Bisset. They landed nere to Cragfergus in Ulster the five & twentieth of Maie, and joining with the Irish, conquered the earldome of Ulster, and gaue the English there diuerse great ouerthrowes, took the towne of Dundalk, spoiled & burnt it, with a great part of Argile: they burnt churches & abbeies, with the people whom they found in the same, sparing neither man, woman nor child. Then was the lord Edmund Butler chosen lord justice, who made the earle of Ulster and the Geraldines friends, and reconciled himselfe with sir John Pandeuill, thus seeking to preserve the residue

of the realme which Edward Bruce meant wholte to conquer, hauing caused himselfe to be crowned king of Ireland. The lord justice assembled a great power out of Pounster, and Leinster, and other parts therabouts, and the earle of Ulster with another armie came vnto him nere vnto Dundalk, where they consulted together how to deale in defending the countrie against the enemies: but hearing the Scots were withdrawne backe, the earle of Ulster folowed them, and fighting with them at Coiners, hee lost the field.

There were manie slaine on both parts, and William de Burgh the earls brother, sir John Pandeuill, and sir Alane Fitzalane were taken prisoners. Herewith the Irish of Connagh and Meth began forthwith to rebell against the Englishmen, and burnt the castell of Athlon and Kandon. And the Bruce coming forward burnt Kenlis in Meth, and Cranard, also Finnagh, and Newcastell, and kept his Christmas at Loughsodie. From thence he went through the countrie vnto Kachimegan and Kilbare, and to the parties about Trilfeldermot and Athie, then to Kaban Sketlier and nere to Ardskoll in Leinster: where the lord justice Butler, the lord John Fitzthomas, the lord Arnold Potore, and other the lords and gentlemen of Leinster and Pounster came to encounter the Bruce: but through discord that rose among them, they left the field vnto the enemies, sir William Pendergast knight, and Desmond le Grace a right valiant esquier were slaine there. And on the Scottish side sir Fergus Andressan and sir Walter Murrie, with diuerse other that were buried in the church of the fraters preachers at Athie.

After this the Bruce in his returne towards Meth burnt the castell of Leie, and so passed forth till he came to Kenlis in Meth. In which meane time Roger lord Mortimer, trusting to win himselfe fame if he might ouerthrow the enemies, called forth sixtene thousand men, and understanding that the Scots were come to Kenlis, made thitherwards, and there encountering with them, was put to the worse, his men (as was supposed) wilfullie thinking from him, as those that bare him hollow hearts. With the newes of this ouerthrow, vppstart the Irish of Pounster, the Dolles, Obzens, Amozes, and with fire and sword wasted all from Arclow to Leie. With them coped the lord justice, and made of them a great slaughter, fourescore of their heads were sent to the castell of Dublin.

In time of these troubles and warres in Ireland by the inuasion thus of the Scots, certeine Irish lords, faithfull men and true subjects to the king of England, did not onelie promise to continue in their loiall obedience towards him, being their soveraigne prince; but also for more assurance deliuered hostages to be kept within the castell of Dublin. The names of which lords that were so contented to assure their allegiance were these, John Fitzthomas lord of Dikalie, Richard de Clare, Maurice Fitzthomas, Thomas Fitzjohn le Polwer baron of Donoille, Arnold le Power, Maurice de Rochford, Wauld de la Koch, and Miles de la Koch. These and diuerse other resisted with all their might and maine the iniurious attempts of the Scots, although the Scots had drawne to their side the most part of the wild Irish, and no small number also of the English Irish, as well lords, as others of meaner calling: so that the countrie was miserable afflicted, what by the Scots on the one part, and the Irish rebels on the other, which rebels notwithstanding were ouerthrowne in diuerse particular confusions. But yet to the further scattering of the English forces in Ireland, there rose foure princes of Connagh, but the Burghes

A great ouer-
throw.

The king of
Connagh
slaine.

Obellie slaine.

The lord
Mortimer
discomfited
by the Scots

Sir Thomas
Pandeuill
slaine.

A marriage
taken by the
lords of Ire-
land for their
loialtie.

Burghes and Birminghams discomfited them, and slue cleuen thousand of them beside Athenrie. Amongst other were slaine in this battell Fedelmicus, Deonbur king of Connagh, Dkellie, and diuerse other great lords and capteins of Connagh and Deth. The lord Richard Birmingham had an esquier that belonged to him called John Husseie, who by the commandement of his maister went forth to take bieu of the dead bodies, and to bring him word whether Dkellie his mortall fo were slaine among the residue. Husseie comming into the field with one man to turne by and surueie the dead carcases, was streight espied by Dkellie, that late lurking in a brake bush thereby, who hauing had good proue of Husseie his valiance before that time, longed sore to traine him from his captiue; and presuming now vpon his good oportunitie, discovered himselfe, not doubting, but either to win him with courteous persuasions, or by force to worke his will of him, and so comming to him said: Husseie, thou seest that I am at all points armed, & haue mante esquire here likewise furnished with armour & weapon readie at mine elbow; thou art naked with thy page, a yongling, & not to be accounted of: so that if I loued thee not, and meant to spare thee for thine owne sake, I might now doe with thee what I would, and flea thee for thy maisters sake. But come & serue me vpon this request here made to thee, and I promise thee by saint Patrikes staffe to make thee a lord in Connagh, of more possessions than thy maister hath in Ireland. When these words might nothing moue him, his owne man (a great stout labber) began to reprove him of follie, for not consenting to so large an offer, which was assured with an oth, whereupon he durst gage his soule for performance.

Now had Husseie three enemies, and first therefore turning to his knaue, he dispatched him. Next he raught vnto Dkellies esquier such a knocke vnder the pit of the eare, that downe he came to the ground and there he laie. Whirle, he laid so about him, that yer ante helpe could be looked for. he had also slaine Dkellie, and perceiving the esquire to be but assonied he recouered him, and holpe him vp againe, and after he was somewhat come to himselfe, he forced him vpon a truncheon, to beare his lords head in to the high towne before him, who did so; and Husseie presented it to Birmingham, who after the circumstances declared, he dubbed Husseie knight, aduancing him to manie preferments. The successors of that familie afterwards were barons of Galtrim. Sir Thomas Handeuill and others in this meane while made oftentimes enterprizes against the Scots, and slue diuerse of them in sundrie conflicts. But howsoeuer it chanced, we find recorded by Henrie Marleburgh, that either the said sir Thomas Handeuill (that thus valiantlie behaued himselfe against the Scots) or some other bearing the same name, and his brother also called John Handeuill were both slaine shortly after at Downe, vpon their comming forth of England, by the Scots that were readie there to assaile them.

Thus may we see, that those lords and knights, which had giuen pledges for their loialtie to the king of England, fought by all waies and means how to beat backe the enemies: which they might haue done with more ease, if the Irish had not assisted the Scots, and presuming of their aid, rebelled in sundrie parts of the countrie; who neuertheless were oftentimes well chastised for their disloiall dealings, as partly we haue touched; although we omit diuerse small ouerthrowes and other particular matters, sith otherwise we should increase this booke further than our first purposed intent would permit.

Whilest the Scots were thus holden by in Ireland, that they could not in all things worke their wils, Robert le Buse king of Scots came ouer himselfe, landed at Cragfergus to the aid of his brother, whose souldiours most wickedlie entred into churches, spoiling and defacing the same of all such tomes, monuments, plate, copes, & other ornaments which they found, and might laie hands vpon.

The castell of Cragfergus, after it had bene straitlie besieged a long time, was surrendered to the Scots, by them that had kept it, till they for want of other vittels were driuen to eate leather, and eight Scots (as some write) which they had taken prisoners. The lord Thomas, sonne to the earle of Ulster departed this life. And on the sundaie next after the natiuitie of our ladie, the lord John Fitzthomas deceased at Laragh Wyne nere to Spatinoth, and was buried at Kildare, in the church of the friers preachers. This John Fitzthomas, a little before his death, was created earle of Kildare; after whome succeeded his sonne Thomas Fitzjohn a right wise and prudent personage. The fourteenth of September, Conhor Mac Kiele, & slue hundred Irishmen were slaine by the lord William de Burgh, and lord Richard Birmingham in Connagh. Also on the mondaie after the feast of All saints, John Loggan and sir Hugh Bisset slue a great number of Scots, among the which were one hundred with double armors, and two hundred with single armors: so that of their men of armes there died three hundred beside footemen.

The fifteenth of Nouember chanced a great tempest of wind and raine, which threw downe manie houses, with the steeple of the Trinitie church in Dublin, and did much other hurt both by land and water. On the first of December, sir Alane Sterward that had bene taken prisoner in Ulster by John Loggan, and sir John Sandale, was brought to the castell of Dublin. After Canlemas, the Lacies came to Dublin, & procured an inquest to be impanelled to inquire of their demeanour, for that they were accused to haue procured the Scots to come into Ireland: but by that inquest they were discharged, and therewith toke an oth to keepe the kings peace, and to destroye the Scots to the uttermost of their power. In the beginning of Lent, the Scots came in secret wise vnto Slane, with twentie thousand armed men: and with them came the armie of Ulster, destroying all the countrie before them. Whereouer, on mondaie before the feast of S. Mathias the apostle, the earle of Ulster lieng in the abbey of S. Marie nere to Dublin, Robert Pottingham maior of that citie, with the communalitie of the same went thither, toke the earle, and put him in prison within the castell of Dublin, slue seven of his men, and spoiled the abbey.

The same weeke, Edward Buse marched towards Dublin, but herewith, turning to the castell of Inoke, he entred the same, and toke Hugh Tirrell the lord thereof, together with his wife, and ransomed them for a summe of monie. The citizens of Dublin burnt all their suburbs for feare of a siege, and made the best purueiance they could to defend their citie, if the Buse had come to haue besieged them: but he turning another waie, went vnto the towne of Paas, and was guided thither by the Lacies, contrarie to their oth. From thence he passed vnto Criffeldermot, and so to Baliganam, and to Callan, at length he came to Limerike, and there remained till after Easter. They of Ulster sent to the lord iustice lamentable informations of such crueltie as the enemies practised in those parts, beseeching him to take some order for their reliefe in that their so miserable estate. The lord iustice deliuered to

Campion.
1316
The king of
Scots in
Ireland.

Cragfergus
deliuered by
to the Scots.

Then eaten.

John Fitz
thomas the
first earle of
Kildare de
ceased.

Scots over
throwne.

A great tem
pest.

1317

The earle of
Ulster appe
hended.

Hugh Tir
rell taken by
the Scots.

A great over
throw.

The king of
Connagh
died.

William de
Burgh.

The lord
Ozborne
comfited
the Scots.

Sir Thomas
Handeuill
died.

Warrence
in by the
do of
for their
allie.

The kings
standard be-
lieved to
them of Al-
ster.

to them the kings power with his standard, where-
with under pretense to expell the Scots, they got vp
in armie, and ranging through the countrie, did
more here and moche the subiecs, than did the stran-
gers. The Scots proceeded and spoiled Castells,
& wherefoever they lighted vpon the Butlers lands,
they burnt and spoiled them vnmmercifullie.

In this meane while had the lord iustice and Tho-
mas Fitzjohn earle of Kildare, Richard de Clare,
and Arnold le Poivre baron of Donnoill leuied an
armie of thirtie thousand men, readie to go against
the enimies, and to giue them battell, but no good
was done. For about the same time the lord Roger
Mortimer was sent into Ireland as lord iustice, and
landing at Foghall, wrote his letters vnto the lord
Butler, & to the other capitaine, willing them not to
fight till he came with such power as he had brought
ouer with him. Whereof the Butse being warned,
retired first towarde Kildare. But yet after this he
came within foure miles of Trim, where he late in a
wood, and lost manie of his men through famine, and
so at length about the beginning of Maie he retur-
ned into Ulster.

Roger Mor-
timer iustice
of Ireland.

Slaughter of
Irishmen.

1317

The earle of
Ulster deliue-
red out of pri-
son.

Scarifice of
birels in
Ulster.

The lord Edmund Butler made great slaughter
of the Irish nere to Tristledermot, and likewise at
Balithan he had a good hand of Amorch, and slue
manie of his men. The lord Mortimer pacified the
displeasure and variance betwixt Richard earle of
Ulster, and the nobles that had put the said earle vnder
safe keeping within the castell of Dublin, accus-
ing him of certeine riots committed to the prejudice
and losse of the kings subiecs, whereby the Scots in-
creased in strength and courage, whose spoiling of
the countrie caused such horrible scarifice in Ulster,
that the soldiors which the yeare before abused the
kings authoritie, to perneie themselves of ouer fine
diet, surfatted with flesh and *Aqua vite* all the Lent
long, polled and pilled insatiablie wherefoever they
came without need, and without regard of the poore
people, whose onelie provision they deuoured. These
people now lining in slauerie vnder the Butse, star-
ued for hunger, hauing first experienced manie la-
mentable shifts, euen to the eating of dead carcasses.

The earle of
Ulster deliue-
red.

Great dearth.

The earle of Ulster was deliuered by maine,
prife and vpon his oth, by the which he undertooke ne-
uer to seeke reuenge of his apprehension otherwise
than by order of law, and so had daie giuen him vnto
the feast of the natiuitie of saint John baptist: but he
kept not his daie, whether for that he mistrusted to
stand in trial of his cause, or through some other rea-
sonable let, I cannot tell. A great dearth this yeare
afflicted the Irish people: for a measure of wheat
called a chzonecke was sold at foure and twentie
shillings, & a chzonecke of otes at sixtene shillings,
and all other vittells likewise were sold according to
the same rate; for all the whole countrie was soze wa-
shed by the Scots and them of Ulster, insomuch that
no small number of people perished through famine.

About the feast of Pentecost the lord iustice Mor-
timer toke his iourne towarde Drogheda, and sent
to the Lacies, commanding them to come vnto him,
but they refused so to do. Whereupon he sent sir Hugh
Crossa vnto them, to talke with them about some a-
greement of peace: but they slue the messenger, for
whome great lamentation was made, for that he
was reputed & knowne to be a right worthie knight.
The lord iustice soze offended herewith, gathereth an
armie, & goeth against the Lacies, whome he chased
out of Connagh, so that Hugh Lacie withdrew to
Ulster, & there ioined himselfe with Edward Butse.
Whereupon, on the thursdaie next before the feast of
saint Margaret, the said Hugh Lacie and also Wal-
ter Lacie were proclaimed traitors. This yeare pas-

Sir Hugh
Crossa slaine.

The Lacies
recuolt to the
Scots.

sed verie troublesome vnto the whole realme of Ire-
land, as well through slaughter betwixt the parties
enimies one to another, as by dearth and other mis-
fortunes. Hugh Canon the kings iustice of his
bench was slaine by Andrew Birmingham betwixt
the towne of Paas and castell Marten. Also in the
feast of the purification, the popes bulles were publi-
shed, whereby Alexander Bignoz was consecrated
archbishop of Dublin. About the same time was
great slaughter made of Irishmen, through a quar-
rell betwixt two great lords in Connagh: so that
there died in fight to the number of foure thousand
men on both parties.

After Easter Walter Mep tresuroz of Ireland
was sent ouer into that realme, who brought let-
ters to the lord Mortimer, commanding him to re-
turne into England vnto the king: which he did, and
departing south of Ireland, remained indebted to
the citizens of Dublin for his provision of vittells in
the summe of a thousand pounds, wherof he paid not
one farthing, so that manie a bitter curse he carried
with him to the sea, leauing William archbishop of
Castell lord chancelloz gouernoz of the land in his
place: and so by this meane was the said archbishop
both chancelloz and iustice, and so continued till the
feast of saint Michaele. At what time Alexander Big-
noz archbishop of Dublin arriued at Foghall, being
constituted lord iustice, and came to Dublin on saint
Denise daie, being the seauenth of October. But
here is to be remembred, that a little before the de-
parture of the lord Mortimer south of Ireland, to
wit, the fist of Maie, the lord Richard de Clare with
four knights, sir Henrie Capell, sir Thomas de
Paas, sir James Cauntton, and sir John Cauntton;
also Adam Apilgard and others (to the number of
foure score persons) were slaine by Owen and Mac
Archie. It was said that the enimies in despite cau-
sed the lord Richards bodie to be cut in peces, so to
satisfie their malicious stomachs; but the same pec-
es were yet afterwards buried in the church of the
friers minors at Limerike. Also before the lord Mor-
timers returne into England, John Lacie was had
south of the castell of Dublin, and carried to Trim,
where he was arreigned and adjudged to be pressed
to death, and so he died in prison.

But now to returne vnto the doings in time of
Bignozs gouernment. Immediatlie vpon his ar-
riual, the lord John Birmingham being generall of
the field, and hauing with him diuerse capitaine of
worthie fame, namelie sir Richard Tute, sir Miles
Merton, sir Hugh Crippetton, sir Herbert Sutton,
sir John Cusacke, sir Edmund Birmingham, sir
William Birmingham, Walter Birmingham the
primat of Armagh, sir Walter de la Hulle, and
John Maupas led south the kings power, to the num-
ber of one thousand three hundred foure and twentie
able men against Edward Butse, who being accom-
panied with the lord Philip Potwylate, the lord Wal-
ter de Soules, the lord Alaine Steward, with his
three brethren, sir Walter, and sir Hugh, sir Robert,
and sir Aimerie Lacies, and others, was incamped
not past two miles from Dundalke with three thou-
sand men, there abiding the Englishmen, to fight
with them if they came forward: which they did with
all conuenient speed, being as desirous to giue bat-
tell as the Scots were to receiue it.

The primat of Armagh personallie accompani-
eng the English power, & blessing their enterprise,
gaue them such comfortable exhortation, as he
thought serued the time yet they began to incoun-
ter. And herewith buckling together, at length the
Scots fullie and whole were vanquished, and two
thousand of them slaine, together with their capitaine
Edward Butse. Maupas that pressed into the
throng

Bignoz con-
secrated arch-
bishop of Du-
blin.

Walter Mep
tresuroz of
Ireland.

The lord B-
chard de
Clare slaine.

The lord
Birmingham
and other
capitaine of
gaine the
Scots.

The primat
of Armagh.

The battell of
Armagh.
The Scots
vanquished.
Edward
Butse slaine.

Birmingham
made earle of
Louth.

Sir Richard
de Clare
slaine.
1319

1310
The earle of
Kildare lord
iustice.

In diuerse
places created at
Dublin.

1311

Acc. Turris.

1312

1313
An Darce
iustice.

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of king
Darcie

strong to encounter with Bluse hand to hand, was found in the search dead aloft upon the flaine bodie of Bluse. The victorie thus obtained upon saint Calistus daie, made an end of the Scottish kingdome in Ireland, & lord Birmingham sending the head of Bluse into England, as Marlburrow hath, being the messenger himselfe, presented it to king Edward, who in recompense gaue to him and his heires males the earledome of Louth, and the baronie of Ardich and Athenrie to him and his heires generall for ever. Shortly after sir Richard de Clare with foure other knights of name, and manie other men of warre were slaine in Thomond. The lord Roger Mortimer came againe into Ireland to gouerne as lord iustice there now the second time, and the townes of Athell and Plebs were burned by the lord Fitzthomas brother to the lord Maurice Fitzthomas. And about this season the bridge of Kilkennin was builded by Maurice Jakis.

In the yeare following, to wit, one thousand three hundred and twentie, which was the fourteenth yeare of king Edwards reigne, Thomas Fitzthomas earle of Kildare was made lord iustice of Ireland. Here is to be remembred, that about this time also Alexander Bignoz archbishop of Dublin sent to pope John the two and twentieth, for a priuilege to institute an vniuersitie within the citie of Dublin, and his sute toke effect: and the first three doctors of diuinitie did the said archbishop himselfe creat, William Harvitt a frier preacher, Henrie Cogio a frier minor, and frier Edmund Bernerden; and beside these one doctor of canonlaw, to wit, Richard archdeacon of saint Patrikes that was chancelor of the same vniuersitie, who kept their terms and commendments solemnlie: neither was this vniuersitie at a nie time since disfranchised, but onlie through change of times discontinued, and now since the dissolving of monasteries vtterlie decayed.

A motion was made (as Campion hath noted) in a parlement holden there, whilst sir Henrie Sidneie was the quenes lieutenant, to haue it againe erected, by waie of contributions to be laid together: the said sir Henrie offering twentie pounds lands, and an hundred pounds in monie. Other there were also, that according to their abilities and deuotions followed with their offers. The name was deuised; A worthy plantation of Plantagenet & Bullogne. But while they disputed of a conuenient place for it, and of other circumstances, they let fall the principall.

In the yeare one thousand three hundred twentie and one, there was a great slaughter made of the Deonhurs at Balibagan, by the English of Leinster and Meth. And John Birmingham earle of Louth was lord iustice of Ireland. Unto this man, whilst he was lord iustice, the king wrote, commanding him to be with him at Carleill in the octaues of the Trinitie, in the fiftenth yeare of his reigne, with three hundred men of armes, one thousand hobellars, and sir thousand footmen, ech of them armed with an aketon, a sallet, and gloues of maill, which number was to be leuied in that land: besides three hundred men of armes which the earle of Ulster was appointed to serue within that iourne, which the king at that time intended to make against the Scots. The date of the letter was the third of Aprill. In the yeare one thousand three hundred twentie and two, diuerse nobles in Ireland departed this life, as the lord Richard Birmingham, the lord Edmund Butler, and the lord Thomas Persuall. Moreover, the lord Andew Birmingham, and sir Richard de la Lond were slaine by Molan. In the eighteenth yeare of king Edward the second his reigne, the lord John Parcie came into Ireland to be lord iustice, and the

kings lieutenant there. In these daies liued in the diocesse of Ossorie the ladie Alice Kettle, whome the bishop ascited to purge hir selfe of the same of inchantment and witchcraft imposed vnto hir, and to one Petronill and Basill hir complices. She was charged to haue nightlie conference with a spirit called Robin Artisson, to whome she sacrificed in the high waie nine red cocks, and nine peacocks eyes. Also that she swept the streets of Kilkennie betwene compleine and twilight, raking all the filth towards the doores of hir sonne William Outlaw, murmuring & muttering secretlie with hir selfe these woords:

To the house of William my sonne,

Hie all the wealth of Kilkennie towne.

At the first consultation they abtured & did penance, but shortly after they were found in relapse, & then was Petronill burnt at Kilkennie, the other twaine might not be heard of. She at the houre of hir death accused the said William as priuie to their sojournes, whome the bishop held in durance nine weeks, forbidding his keepers to eat or to drinke with him, or to speake to him more than once in the daie. But at length, thorough the sute and instance of Arnold le Powze then seneschall of Kilkennie, he was deliuered, and after corrupted with bribes the seneschall to persecute the bishop; so that he thrust him into prison for three moneths. In rising the closet of the ladie, they found a wafer of sacramentall bread, hauing the diuels name stamped thereon in steed of Iesus Christ, and a pipe of ointment, wherewith the greased a staffe, vpon the which she ambled and galloped thorough thicke and thin, when and in what maner she liued. This businesse about these witches troubled all the state of Ireland, the more; for that the ladie was supported by certeine of the nobilitie, and lastlie conueied ouer into England, since which time it could neuer be vnderstood what became of hir. In the yeare one thousand three hundred twentie and six, & last of king Edwards the seconds reigne, Richard Burgh earle of Ulster departed this life.

Edward the third.

Verth was the businesse about the witches at an erd, when it was signified, that a gentleman of the familie of the Stoules in Leinster, named Adam Duffe, possessed by some wicked spirit of error, denied obstinately the incarnation of our saulor, the trinitie of persons in the vnitie of the Godhead, & the resurrection of the flesh; as for the holie scripture, he said it was but a fable: the virgin Marie he affirmed to be a woman of dissolute life, and the apostolike see erroneous. For such assertions he was burnt in hogging greene beside Dublin. About the same time, Fitzarke Macmoroch, and sir Henrie Traherne were taken prisoners. In the yeare following, the lord Thomas Fitzthomas erle of Kildare, and the lord Arnold Powze & William earle of Ulster were sent ouer into Ireland, & Roger Outlaw prior of saint Johns of Jerusalem in Ireland, commonlie called the prior of Kilmainan, was made lord iustice. This man by reason of barbaunce that chanced to rise betwixt the Geraldins, the Butlers, and Birminghams, on the one side; and the Powzes & Burghs on the other, for terming the earle of Kildare a rimer, to pacifie the parties called a parlement, wherein he himselfe was faine to make his purgation of a slander imposed to him, as suspected of heresie.

The bishop of Ossorie had giuen an information against Arnold le Powze, conuicted & conuicted in his

Cheladie Alice Kettle accused of sojournes.

1326

1327

Adam Duffe an heretike.

The prior of Kilmainan lord iustice.

Arnold Powze accused of heresie.

1318

Signoz conuicted archbishop of Dublin.

Birmingham made earle of Louth.

Sir Richard de Clare slain.

1319

After Fitzthomas earle of Ireland.

1320

The earle of Kildare lord iustice.

In vniuersitie created at Dublin.

The lord Birmingham made earle of Louth.

The lord Birmingham and other captives against the Scots.

1321

Sir Turis.

The priat of Armagh.

The battell of Armagh. The Scots vanquished. Edward slain.

1322

John Parcie lord iustice.

his confessor of certeine hereticall opinions, but because the beginning of Dowys accusation concerned the iustices kinsman, and the bishop was mistrusted to prosecute his owne wrong, and the person of the man rather than the fault: a date was limited for the iustifying of the bill, the partie being apprehended and respited thereunto. This dealing the bishop (who durst not stirre out of Kilkennie to prosecute his accusation) was reputed parciall: and when by meanes hereof the matter hanged in suspense, he insaured the said prior as an abbettoz and fauourer of Arnolds heresie. The prior submitted himselfe to the triall, and thereupon were seuerall proclamations made in court, that it should be lawfull to anie man to come into the court, and to inferre, accuse, and declare what euidence he could, against the lord iustice: but none came. Then passed a decre by the counsell, commanding all bishops, abbats, priors, and the maiors of Dublin, Cork, Limerike, Waterford, and Droghebagh, the shirifs, knights, & seneeschals of euerie shire, to appeare at Dublin. From amongst all these, they appointed six inquisitors, which examining the bishops and other persons aforesaid singularlie one by one, found that with an vnuerfall consent they deposed for the prior, affirming that (to their iudgements) he was a zelous and a faithfull child of the catholike church. In the meane time, Arnold le Dowze the prisoner deceased in the castell, & because he stood unpurged, long he late buried.

In the peare one thousand three hundred twentie and nine, John de Birmingham earle of Louth, and his brother Peter, with many other of that surname, and Richard Talbot of Malahide were slaine on Whitten euen at Balibagan by men of the countrie. Also the lord Thomas Butler, and diuerse other noblemen were slaine by Mac Cogoghdan & other Irishmen nere to Spolinger. For the Irish as well in Leinster as in Meth made insurrections in that season, and so likewise did they in Mounster vnder the leading of Owen, whom William earle of Ulster and James earle of Desmond vanquished. So outrageous were the Leinster Irish, that in one church they burnt foure score innocent soules, asking no more but the life of their priest then at masse, whome they notwithstanding tricked with their lauelins, spurned the host, and wasted all with fire: neither forced they of the popes interdiction, nor anie ecclesiasticall censures denounced against them (matters of no small consideration among them name lie in those dates) but maliciouslie perseuered in the course of their furious rage, till the citizens of Waterford somewhat tamed them, and slue foure hundred of them in one skirmish, the rest flieng were all drenched in the water of Slane. In the peare one thousand three hundred and thirtie, the earle of Ulster with a great armie made a iourne against Owen, and the prior of Kilmalman lord iustice put Maurice Fitzthomas earle of Desmond in prison in the marshalsee, out of the which he scellie escaped, and the lord Hugh Lucie returned into Ireland, and obtained the kings peace and fauour.

In the peare one thousand three hundred thirtie and one, the earle of Ulster passed ouer into England, and great slaughter was made vpon the Irish in Dhenkie. Also the castell of Arco was taken by the Irishmen, and great slaughter made of the English in the Cowlagh by Othell and others. Also the lord Anthonic Lucie was sent ouer lord iustice into Ireland, and great slaughter was made of the Irish at Thuelis by the knights of the countrie, & at Firrath in Meth, there were manie of them slaine by the English; but yet was the castell of Fernis taken and burnt by the Irish. On the feast daie of the as-

sumption of our ladie, which falleth on the fifteenth of August, Maurice Fitzthomas earle of Desmond was apprehended at Limerike by the lord iustice, and sent vnto the castell of Dublin. Moreover, the lord iustice took sir William Birmingham at Clonmel by a wife, whilest he was sicke in his bed, & sent him (together with his sonne Walter Birmingham) vnto the castell of Dublin, the thirtieth of April. In the peare one thousand three hundred thirtie and two the said sir William was hanged at Dublin, but Walter was deliuered by reason he was within orders.

Campion following such notes as he hath scene, writeth that the death of this William Birmingham chanced in time of the gouernement of William Durlaw prior of Kilmalman, being lieutenant vnto John lord Darcie, that was made lord iustice (as the said Champion hath noted) in the peare one thousand three hundred twentie and nine. Although Marburrow affirmeth that he came thither to beare that office, in the peare one thousand three hundred thirtie and two, after the lord Lucie was discharged, as hereafter shall be recited. But whensoever, or vnder whome soeuer Birmingham was executed, he was accounted an od knight, and such a one as for his valiancie, his match was not lightlie to be anie where found. The castell of Clonmore was taken the same peare by the Englishmen, and the castell of Bonrath was destroyed by the Irish of Thomond. Also Henrie de Mandeuill was taken and sent prisoner to be safelte kept in Dublin. Likewise Walter Burgh with two of his brethren were taken in Connagh by the earle of Ulster, and sent to the castell of Rosburgh.

This peare the lord Antonie Lucie was discharged of his come by the king, and so returned with his wife & children into England, and the lord John Darcie was sent ouer lord iustice in Lucies place, and great slaughter was made vpon Owen Owen, and Mac Arthie in Mounster, by the English of that countrie. This John Darcie (as should appeare by gifts bestowed vpon him by the king) was in singular fauour with him. Amongst other things which he had of the kings gift, we find that he had the manors of Louth, and Ballogarte, and other lands in Ireland which belonged to the earle of Ew. And for that the said earle was a Frenchman, and took part with Philip de Malois the kings enemie, they were seized into the kings hand. The earle of Desmond vpon suerties was set at libertie, and by the parliament holden at Dublin in this peare 1333, was sent ouer into England vnto the king; and William erle of Ulster a yong gentleman of twentie peares of age, in going towards Knockfergus the seauenth of June, was slaine nere to the fords in Ulster, by his owne people, but his wife and daughter escaped into England: and the daughter was after married vnto the lord Lionell the kings sonne. She deceased afterwards at Dublin, and left a daughter behind hir that was his heire, married to Roger Mortimer earle of March, and lord of Crim.

This murder was procured by Robert Fitzmartine Mandeuill, who was the first that presumed to glue to the earle anie wound. To reuenge the death of this earle of Ulster (slaine as yee haue heard beside Knockfergus) the lord iustice Darcie with a great power went into Ulster, to pursue those that through Mandeuills seditious tumults had so traitorously murdered their lord. At his setting forward, the said iustice Darcie appointed sir Thomas Burgh treasurer, to gouerne as lieutenant to him in his absence. When the lord iustice had punished the traitors in Ulster, he passed ouer into Scotland, there to make warre against the Scots that were enemies at

1329
The earle of
Louth slaine.

The lord
Butler slaine.

1330

The prior of
Kilmalman
lord iustice.

1331

Anthonic
Lucie lord iustice.

The earle of
Desmond
apprehended.

1332
William
Birmingham
executed.

Campion

1336

1337
Sir John
Charleton
iustice.

1338
The bishop of
Hereford lord
iustice.

1340
John Darcie
lord iustice
during life.

Calling in of
liberties.

The lord
Darcie iustice

The earle
of Ew.

1333
A parliament.

Articles of
questions.

The earle of
Ulster slain.

1343
Rafe Fitzoyle
lord iustice.

Sir Thomas
Burgh.

The lord
iustice
since Mandeuill
Scotland.

The countess
of Ulster.

at that present to the king of England, and on the feast daie of saint Margaret, great slaughter was made of the Scots by the Irishmen: and so what by the king in one part, and the lord iustice of Ireland in another, Scotland was in maner wholie conquered, and Edward Balioll was established king of Scotland. The lord iustice might haue possessed the Isles if they had bene worth the keeping: into the which Isles, except the said Darcie and the earle of Suffer late lieutenant of Ireland, no gouernor at anie time yet aduentured. At Darcies coming backe into Ireland, and exercising the office of lord iustice, he deliuered Walter Birmingham out of the castell of Dublin.

1336 In the yere 1336, and tenth of Edward the thirde reigne, on S. Laurence daie, the Irish of Connagh were discomfited and put to flight by the Englishmen of the countrie there, with the losse of one Englishman, and ten thousand of the enimies. The lord John Charleton baron came into Ireland to be lord iustice, and with him his brother Thomas bishop of Hereford lord chancelor, and John Rice lord treasurer, and two hundred Welshmen souldiours. The bishop was ordeined afterward lord iustice, in whose time all the Irish of Ireland were at defiance with the English, and hostilie brought againe into quiet by the earles of Kildare and Desmond. The lord John Darcie by the kings letters patents was (during life) ordeined lord iustice of Ireland, in the fourth yere of king Edward the thirde reigne, which king abused by euill counsell and sinister informers, called in vnder his signet roiall, the franchises, liberties and grants, whatsoeuer had bene deuised, made and ratified to the realme of Ireland, and to euerie each person thereof. This reuoking of liberties was displeasing to the English of birth and the English of blood falling at words, were diuided into factions about it, for which contention the Irish still waited, so as the realme was enen vpon the point to glue ouer all, and to rebell. For redresse whereof, the lord iustice called a parlement at Dublin, to the which the nobles refused to come, and in quiet wise assembled themselves together at Kilkennie, where they with the commons agreed vpon certaine questions to be demanded of the king by waie of supplication, signifieng in the same partle their grieues. Which questions were in effect as followeth.

1 How a realme of warre might be gouerned by one both vnskillfull and vnable in all warlike seruice?

2 How an officer vnder the king, that entered herie poore, might in one yere grow to more excessive wealth, than men of great patrimonie and livelihood in manie yeares?

3 How it chanced, that sith they were all called lords of their owne, that the soueraigne lord of them all was not a penne the richer for them?

The chiefe of them that thus seemed to repine with the present gouernment, was Thomas Fitzmaurice earle of Desmond, through whose maintenance and bearing out of the matter, the countrie was in great trouble; so as it had not lightlie bene seene, that such contrarietie in minds and disliking had appeared amongst those of the English race, in that realme at anie time before. Herewith Kase Ufford was sent ouer lord iustice, who bringing his wife with him, the countesse of Ulster arrived about the thirteenth of Iulie. This man was verie rigorous, and through perswasion (as was said) of his wife, he was more extreme and couetous than otherwise he would haue bene, a matter not to be forgotten. For if this ladie had bene as readie to moue hir husband to haue shewed himselfe gentle

and mild in his gouernement, as she was bent to pricke him forward vnto sharpe dealings and rigorous proceedings, she had bene now aswell reposed of, as she is infamed by their pens that haue registred the doings of those times. But to the purpose. This Ufford lord iustice, in paine of forfeiture of all his lands, commanded the earle of Desmond to make his personall appearance at a parlement, which he called to be holden at Dublin, there to begin the seventh of Iune. And because the earle refused to come according to the summons, he raised the kings standard, and with an armie marched into Mounster, and there seized the earles possessions into the kings hands, letting them forth to farme for an annuall rent vnto other persons.

And whilst he yet remained in Mounster, he deuised waies how to haue the earle of Desmond apprehended: which being brought to passe, he afterward deliuered him vpon mainprise of these suerties whose names insue. William de Burgh earle of Ulster, James Butler earle of Ormond, Richard Tate, Nicholas Urdon, Maurice Rochford, Eustace le Poivre, Gerald de Rochford, John Fitzrobert Poivre, Robert Barrie, Maurice Fitzgiralde, John Mellesleie, Walter le Fant, Richard Kelleie, Henric Traherne, Roger Poivre, John Lenfant, Roger Poivre, Mattheu Fitzhenric, Richard Walleis, Edmund Burgh sonne to the earle of Ulster, knights: David Barrie, William Fitzgiralde, Foulke de Fraxinus, Robert Fitzmaurice, Henric Fitzberkleie, John Fitzgeorge de Koch, Thomas de Lees de Burgh. These (as yee haue heard) were bound for the earle. And because he made default, the lord iustice verelie took the aduantage of the bond against the mainpernours, foure of them onelie excepted, the two earles and two knights.

The lord iustice is charged with strict dealing by writers in this behalfe, for that the same persons had assisted him in his warres against Desmond. But trulle if we shall consider the matter with indifferencie, he did no more than law and reason required. For if euerie suertie vpon forfeiture of his bond should be forborne, that otherwise doth his duettie, what care would men haue either to procure suerties or to become suerties themselves? But such is the affection of writers, speciallie when they haue conceived anie misliking towards those of whom they take occasion to speake, so as manie a worthy man hath bene defamed, and with slander greatly defaced in things wherein he rather hath deserued singular commendation. But howsoeuer this matter was handled touching the earle of Desmond, vpon the death of the lord iustice, which insued the next yere, bonifiers were made, and great joy shewed through all the relme of Ireland. His ladie verelie (as should appeare) was but a miserable woman, procuring him to extortion and biberie. Much he abridged the prerogatiues of the church, and was so hated, that euen in the sight of the countrie he was robbed without rescue by Mac Cartie, notwithstanding he gathered power, and dispersed those rebels of Ulster. Robert Darcie was ordeined iustice by the counsell till the kings letters came to sir John Fitzmaurice, who released Fitzthomas earle of Kildare left in durance by Ufford at his death. Fitzmaurice continued not long, but was discharged, and the lord Walter Birmingham elected to succeed in that roome, who procured a safe conduct for Desmond to plead his cause before the king, by whom he was liberallie intreated, and allowed towards his expenses there twentie shillings a day at the princes charge. In consideration of which courtesse shewed to his kinsman, the earle of Kildare, accompanied with diuerse lords, knights, and chosen horsemen, serued the king at Calis,

The earle of Desmond.

Suerties for the earle of Desmond.

Ufford earle spoken of

Foule conceited for the death of the lord iustice Ufford.

1346 Robert Darcie lord iustice John Fitzmaurice iustice. L. Birmingham iustice.

1343 Kase Ufford lord iustice.

The countesse of Ulster.

The earle of Desmond ap-
hended.

1332 William Birmingham
appointed.

champion.

1337 Sir John Charleton
iustice.

1338 The bishop of
Hereford lord
iustice.

1340 John Darcie
lord iustice
during life.

Calling in of
franchises.

The lord
Darcie iustice

The earle
of Ew.

1333
A parlement.

Articles of
questions.

The earle of
Ulster slain.

Sir Thomas
Burgh.

The lord iustice
in maner
Scotland.

Calis, a towne thought impregnable, & returned after the winning thereof in great pompe and solitic.

1347
Record. Tur.

1348
The prior of
Keshmaman.
Baron Cas-
saw iustice.
Sir Tho-
mas Rokel-
bie iustice.
Record. Tur.

1349

John de S.
Paule arch-
bishop of
Dublin.

1350
Kemwizke
Shereiman.

Sir Robert
Sauage.

We find that Thomas Berkeleie, & Reinold lord Cobham, and sir Horke Berkeleie became mainpernours for the said earle of Desmond, that he should come into England, and abide such triall as the law would award. John Archer prior of Kilmainan was substituted lieutenant to the lord iustice. To whom succeeded Baron Carew, and after Carew followed sir Thomas Rokelbie knight, unto whom was assigned about his ordinarie retinue of twenty men of armes, a supplie of ten men of armes, and twenty archers on horsebacke, so long as it should be thought needfull. Great mortalitie chanced this yeare, as in other parts of the world, so especiallie in places about the seacoasts of England and Ireland. In the yeare following departed this life Alexander Bignor archbishop of Dublin. And the same yeare was John de saint Paule consecrated archbishop of that see. This yeare deceased Kemwizke Shereiman sometime maior of Dublin, a great benefactor to euery church and religious house within twenty miles round about the citie. His legacies to the poore and others, beside his liberalitie shewed in his life time, amounted to three thousand marks.

In this season dwelled in Ulster a welthie knight one sir Robert Sauage, who the rather to preserve his owne, began to wall and fortifie his manor houses with castles and piles against the Irish enimie, exhorting his heire Henrie Sauage to apply that worke so benefitfull for himselfe & his posteritie. Father (quoth yong Sauage) I remember the proverbe Better a castell of bones than of stones. Where strength & courage of valiant men are prest to helpe vs, neuer will I (by the grace of God) cumber myselfe with dead walles. My fort shall be where soeuer yong blouds be stirring, & where I find route to fight. The father in a fume let lie the building, and forswore to go anie further forward in it. But yet the want thereof and such like hath bene the decaye as well of the Sauages, as of all the English gentlemen in Ulster: as the lacke also of walled townes is one of the principall occasions of the rude wilfulness in other parts of Ireland.

This Sauage, having prepared an armie against the Irish, allowed to euery souldier before they should buckle with the enimie, a mightie draught of Aqua vite, wine, or old ale, and killed in provision for their returne, beefe, venison, and fowle, great plenty: which doings diuerse of his captiues misliked, because they considered the successe of warre to be vn certaine, and therefore esteemed it better policie to poison the eates, or to doe them awaie, than to keepe the same; and happlie to feed a sort of rogues with such princelie food, if ought should happen to themselves in this aduenture of so sely against so manie. Herat smiled the gentleman and said, Tush ye are too full of enuie: this world is but an inn, to the which ye haue no speciall interest, but are onelie tenants at will of the Lord. If it please him to command vs from it as it were from our lodging, and to set other good fellows in our rooms, what hurt shall it be for vs to leaue them some meat for their suppers? Let them harolde win it & weare it. If they enter our dwellings, good manner would no lesse but to welcome them with such fare as the countrie breedeth, and with all my heart much good may it doe them. Notwithstanding I presume so far vpon your noble courages, that berkeleie my mind giueth me we shall returne at night, & banquet our selues with our owne sfoze. And so did, hauing slain 3000 Irishmen.

1355
The earle of
Desmond

In the yeare 1355 deceased Maurice Fitzthomas earle of Desmond lord iustice of Ireland, who had that office of the kings grant for terme of life.

After him succeeded in that same Thomas de Rokelbie, a knight, sincere and upright of conscience, who being controlled for suffering himselfe to be seruiced in trene cups, answered: These homilie cups & dishes paie trulie for that they containe: I had rather drinke out of trene cups & paie gold and siluer, than drinke out of gold & make wooden payment. This yeare began great variance betwixt Richard Kase priuat of Armagh, & foure orders of begging friers, which ended at length by the deaths of the said Richard Kase, and Richard Kilminton, in the yeare 1360: Kase deceasing in the popes court, and Kilminton in England. Almerike de S. Amand, John O' (as other haue) James Butler earle of Desmond, and Maurice Fitzthomas earle of Kildare, were appointed lord iustices of Ireland by turnes. In Desmonds time, and in the three and twentieth yeare of king Edward the thirde reigne, order was taken that the Irish lords should remaine and dwell in their houses on the marches, to defend the subiects from inuasions of enimies. And further, proclamation went forth, that no mere Irish bozne should be made maior, bailiffe, porter, officer, or minister in anie towne or place within the English dominions: nor that anie archbishop, abbat, prior, or anie other being of the kings allegiance, vpon forfeiture of all that he might forfeit, should aduance anie that was mere Irish bozne to the roome of a canon, or to haue anie other ecclesiasticall benefice that late among the English subiects.

To Maurice Thomas earle of Kildare, when he was ordeined lord iustice, the kings letters assigned in yearelie fee for his office 500 pounds, with condition, that the said gouernour should find twenty great horses to serue in the field, he himselfe to be the twentieth man in going against the enimie: which allowance and conditions in those daies (so farre as I can gesse) should seeme to be ordinarie to the office. Lionell duke of Clarence sonne to king Edward the third, came ouer into Ireland to be lord iustice there, and was in right of his wife earle of Ulster. He published an inhibition to all of the Irish birth not once to approach his armie, nor to be in anie wise imployed in seruice of the wars. He vanquished Owen, but yet suddenlie (no man vnderstanding how) an hundred of his souldiers were wanting as they laie in garrison, the losse of whom was thought to be occasioned by that displeasing decree afore rehearsed. Wherevpon he toke better aduise, and receiued the Irish into like fauour, as other lieutenants had them in before that present, shewing a tender loue towards them all, and so euer after prospered in his affaires. He created diuerse knights, as Plessen, now knowne by the name of the familie of Gormanston, Holiewood, Talbot, Cusac, de la Hyde, Patrike, Robert and John de Frarinis: all these being gentlemen of worthie fame in chivalrie. The erchebisher he removed to Catherlagh, & bestowed in furnishing that towne five hundred pounds.

In the yeare 1362 John de S. Paule archbishop of Dublin departed this life the first dayes of September. And in the yeare following was Thomas Pinot consecrated archbishop of that place. Gerald Fitzmaurice earle of Desmond was appointed lord iustice, untill the coming of the lord Windsoze, the first lieutenant in Ireland, who came ouer in the yeare 1369. This Windsoze called a parlement at Kilkennie, in the which was granted to the king a subsidie of three thousand pounds to be leuied of the people, subiects to the king in that land. And in an other parlement holden by him at Baliboill they granted two thousand pounds to be likewise leuied. Which said sums were granted of the mere and free good wils of the nobles and communalitie of the land.

lord and
decease
Thomas de
Rokelbie
iustice of
Ireland.

1360
Discession
betwixt the
priuat of
Armagh, &
the foure
orders of
friers.
Chas. lord
iustice.

Record. Tur.

1373
Sir Richard
Shon lord
iustice.

1373
Slaughter.

1375

1381
The earle of
March the
kings lieut-
enant.

1383

The earle of
Kildare lord
iustice.

1385

Lionell duke
of Clarence.

1390

1394
King Richard
goeth ouer in-
to Ireland.

1361

1367
The lord
Windsoze
lieut-
enant.

1397

1369
Record. Tur.
A parliament
at Kilkennie.

Sir hundred
Irishmen
slaine.

land, for
ses in bi-
tith pear
said lord
leueng
commat-
nied and
The
great in
Gerald
John J.
marie
Mac C.
lie. In
ouer to
lowing
lith of
both sid
sele bar
peth, a
leigh.
Dublin
Robert



fell. 1
Camp
daies.
specta
said C
Jame
Drfo
who b
and i
realn
anie
all of
mer
charg
Robt
ted fl
debit
Aug
In
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an

Roger Mo-
rimer lord
lieutenant.
Thom. Wall.
1397

Roger Orde
lord justice of
Ireland.

1398
King Richard
passeth the se-
cond time o-
uer into Ire-
land.

The fourth kalends of Iulie, king Richard came to Dublin, and remained there for a time; during the which diuerse lords and princes of the countrie came in and submitted themselves vnto him, by whome they were courteously bled, and trained to honourable demeanour and ciuillitie, as much as the shortnes of time would permit, as in the English historie you maie find set forth more at large. Whilest king Richard thus laie in Dublin to reduce Ireland into due subiection, he was aduertised that Henrie duke of Lancaster, that latelie before had bene banished, was returned, & ment to bereaue him of the crowne. The sonne of which duke, together with the duke of Glocesters sonne, the king shut vp within the castell of Trim, and then taking the seas, he returned and landed in Wales, where he found his defense so weake, and vnsecure, that finallie he came into his aduersaries hands, and was deposed by authoritie of parlement, and then was the said duke of Lancaster admitted to reigne in his place.



1469

1401
Sir John
Stanley lord
lieutenant.
Sir Steph^a
Scrope.

Roger Bort-
tmer lord
lieutenant.
Thom. Walf.
1397

Die hundert
Freiwilligen
Garde.

1357
Dissentions
betwixt the
primat of
Armagh, &
the four or-
ders of friers,
& 1200
illuces.

Record. Tur.

The carle of
Kildare lord
iustice.

Lionell Duke
of Clarence,

1362

1367
The lord
windsor lieut
tenant.

1369
Record. Turris
A parlement.
A subsidie.

poore people, insomuch that the ladie his wife hearing of such exclamations, would in no wise continue with him there, except he would receiue a solempne oath on the bible, that twittinglie he should wrong no christian creature in that land, but dulie and trulie he should see payment made for all expenses: and hercof (he said) he had made a vow to Christ so determinatlie, that unlesse it were on his part firmitie promised, he could not without perill of soule go with him. His husband assented and accomplished his request effectualle, recovered a good opinion for his bysight deling, reformed his caters & puruelors, enriched the countrie, mainteined a plentiful house, remission of great offenses, remedies for persons indangered to the prince, pardons of lands and liues he granted so charitable and so discretlie, that his name was neuer recited among them without manie blessings and pzaiers, and so cherefullie they were readie to ferue him against the Irish upon all necessarie occasions. The lord Thomas of Lancaster the kings sonne, and lord lieutenant of Ireland, arrived the same yeare at Dublin, upon saint Bices daie.

The maior of Dublin John Drake, with a band of his citizens nere to Bre, due foure thousand of the Irish outlawes (as Campion noteth out of the records of Christs church) but Marlburrow speaketh onelie of 493, and these being all men of warre. The vertie same daie that this victorie was atchiued, to wit, the eleventh day of Julie, the church of the fraters prechers of Dublin was dedicated by the archbishop of that citie. The same yeare in September, a parliament was holden at Dublin, during the which in Regile sir Bartholomew Weldon knight, James White, Stephan Gernon, and other their complices, due the thirthe of Louth John Dowdall. In the yere 1403, in Maie, sir Walter Betterleie steward of Ulster, a right balliant knight was slaine, and to the number of thirtie other with him. The same yeare about the feast of saint Martin, the lord Thomas of Lancaster the kings sonne returned into England leaving the lord Stephan Scrope his deputie there: who also in the beginning of Lent sailed ouer into England, and then the lords of the land chose the earle of Dymond to be lord iustice.

In the fifth yere of Henrie the fourth, John Colton archbishop of Armagh the seven & twentieth of Aprill departed this life, unto whom Nicholas Stoning succeeded. The same yeare on the daie of saint Vitale the martyr, the parlement of Dublin began before the earle of Dymond then lord iustice of Ireland, where the statutes of Kilkennie and Dublin were confirmed, and likewise the charter of Ireland. In the first yeare of Henrie the fourth, in the moneth of Maie, three Scottish barkes were taken, two at Green castell, and one at Alkeie, with capteine Macgolagh. The same yeare the merchants of Wodagh entered Scotland, and toke pzeles and pledges. Also on the even of the feast day of the seven brethren, Mghgard was burnt by the Irish. And in June sir Stephan Scrope that was come againe into Ireland, returned effones into England, leaving the earle of Dymond lord iustice of Ireland. About the same time they of Dublin entered Scotland at saint Martin, and balliantlie behaued themselves against the enemies, and after crossing the seas, directed their course into Wales, and did much hurt to the Welsh men, bringing from thence the thirne of saint Cabbins, & placed it in the church of the Trinitie in Dublin. James Butler earle of Dymond died at Balingam, whilst he was lord iustice, unto whom succeeded Gerald earle of Kildare.

In the seventh yeare of king Henrie on Corpus Christi day, the citizens of Dublin with the countrie

people about them, manfullie banquished the Irish enemies, and due diuerse of them, and toke two ensignes or standards, bringing with them to Dublin the heads of those whom they had slaine. The same yeare the prior of Conall, in the plaine of Kildare, fought manfullie with the Irish, & banquished two hundred that were well armed, slaying part of them, and chasing the residue out of the field, and the prior had not with him past the number of twentie Englishmen: but God (as saith mine author) assisted those that put their trust in him. The same yeare after Michaelmas, Stephan Scrope deputie iustice to the lord Thomas of Lancaster the kings sonne, and his lieutenant of Ireland, came againe ouer into Ireland. And in the feast of saint Illarie was a parliament holden at Dublin, which in Lent after was ended at Trim. And Heiler de Birmingham due Cathole Deconbur about the end of Februarie. In the yere 1407, a certeine false and heathenish wretch an Irish man, named Mac Adam Mac Gilmore, that had caused fortie churches to be destroyed, as he that was neuer christened, and therefore called Coybi, chanced to take prisoner one Patrike Savage, and receiued for his ransome two thousand markes, though afterwards he due him, together with his brother Richard.

The same yeare in the feast of the exaltation of the crosse, Stephan Scrope deputie to the lord Thomas of Lancaster, with the earles of Dymond and Desmond, and the prior of Kilmainan, and diuerse other capteins and men of warre of Meth, set from Dublin, and invaded the land of Mac Murch, where the Irish came into the field and skirmished with them, so as in the former part of the daie they put the English power to the worle; but at length the Irish were banquished and chased, so that Dnolan with his son and diuerse others were taken prisoners. But the English capteins aduertised here, that the Burkens and Dheroll in the countie of Kilkennie, had for the space of two daies together done much mischief, they rode with all speed vnto the towne of Callan, and there encountering with the aduersaries, manfullie put them to flight, due Dheroll, and eight hundred others. There went a tale, and beleued of manie, that the sunne stood still for a space that daie, till the Englishmen had ridden sir miles: so much was it thought that God fauoured the English part in this enterprise, if we shall beleue it.

The same yeare the lord Stephan Scrope passed once againe ouer into England, and James Butler earle of Dymond was elected by the countrie lord iustice of Ireland. In the daies of this Henrie the fourth, the inhabitants of Corke being fore afflicted with perpetuall oppressions of their Irish neighbors, complained themselves in a generall writing directed to the lord Rutland and Corke, the kings deputie there, and to the counsell of the realme then assembled at Dublin: which letter because it openeth a window to behold the state of those parties, and of the whole realme of Ireland in those daies, we haue thought good to set downe here, as it hath bene entered by Campion, according to the copie deuclured to him by Francis Agard esquire, one of the quenes maiesties priuie counsell in Ireland.

A letter from Corke out of an old record that beareth no date.

In may please your wisdomes to haue pittie on vs the kings poore subiects within the countie of Corke, or else we are cast awaie for euer. For where there are in this countie these lordes by name, beside knights,

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haucens
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his year
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lord Bar
haucens
sterling
pearclie
hundred
castell,
creekes,
maiestie
forfeiture
riuers an
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And
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to Corke
Irishmen
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And a
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continual

The Irish o-
northwone
by the maior
of Dublin.

1403

Stephan
Scrope.
The earle of
Dymond lord
iustice.

1404
The archbis-
hop of Ar-
magh de-
ceased.

1405

The citizens
of Dublin in-
vade Scot-
land.
The priuade
wales.

The earle of
Dymond de-
ceased.

Hen. Mar.

A parliament
at Dublin.

1407

Corbi Sabur
significq.

Dheroll
slaine.

The title of
Corke.

knights, esquires, gentlemen, and yeomen, to a great number that might dispend yearely eight hundred pounds, six hundred pounds, four hundred pounds, two hundred pounds, one hundred pounds, an hundred markes, twenty markes, twenty pounds, ten pounds, some more, some lesse, to a great numbers, besides these lordes. First the lord marques Caro, his yearelye reuenues was beside Doyse hauen and other creekes, two thousand two hundred pounds sterling. The lord Barnevale of Berhauen, his yearelye reuenue was beside Bodre hauen and other creekes, one thousand six hundred pounds sterling. The lord Mogan of the great castell, his yearelye reuenue beside his hauens and creekes, thirteene thousand pounds. The lord Balram of Enfort, his yearelye reuenue beside hauens and creekes, one thousand three hundred pounds sterling. The lord Curcie of Keltzetton, his yearelye reuenue beside hauens and creekes, one thousand two hundred pounds sterling. The lord Hancuile of Barentellie, his yearelye reuenue beside hauens and creekes, one thousand two hundred pounds sterling. The lord Arundell of the Strand, his yearelye reuenue beside hauens and creekes, one thousand five hundred pounds sterling. The lord Barod of the gard, his yearelye reuenues beside hauens & creekes one thousand one hundred pounds sterling. The lord Steineie of Baltmore, his yearelye reuenue beside hauens and creekes, eight hundred pounds sterling. The lord Koch of Pole castell, his yearelye reuenues besides hauens and creekes, ten thousand pounds sterling. The kings maiestie hath the lands of the late yong Barrie by forfeiture, the yearelye reuenue whereof, besides two rivers and creekes, and all other casualties, is one thousand eight hundred pounds sterling.

And that at the end of this parlement, your lordship, with the kings most noble counsell may come to Corke, & call before you all these lordes, and other Irishmen, and bind them in paine of losse of life, lands and goods, that neuer one of them doe make warre vpon an other, without licence or commandement of you my lord deputie, and the kings counsell; for the better destruction of these parts is that onelie cause. And once all the Irishmen, and the kings enemies were diuised into a great ballie called Clane onight, betwixt two great mounteines called Maccozt, or the leprous Iland: and there they liued long and manie yeares with their white meat, till at the last these English lordes fell at variance among themselves, and then the weakest part toke certene Irishmen to take their part, and so banquished their enemies. And thus fell the English lordes at warre among themselves, till the Irishmen were stronger than they, and drave them awaie, and now haue the countrie whole vnder them; but that the lord Koch, the lord Barrie, and the lord Curcie onelie remaine with the least part of their ancestors possessions: and yong Barrie is there vpon the kings portion, paieng his grace neuer a penne rent. Therefore we the kings poze subiects of the citie of Corke, Kinsale, and Boghall, desire your lordship to send hither two good iustices to see this matter ordered, and some English captains with twentie Englishmen that may be captains ouer vs all: and we will rise with them to redresse these enormities all at our owne costs. And if you will not come nor send, we will send ouer to our liege lord the king, and complaine on you all. Thus far that letter.

And as saith Campion, at this date the citie of Corke is so incombred with vniquiet neighbors of great power, that they are forced to gard their gates continuallie, & to keepe them shut at seruice times,

at meales, and from sun setting to sun rising, not suffering anie stranger to enter the towne with his weapon, but to leaue the same at a lodge appointed. They dare vnneth at anie time walke abroad far from the towne for their recreation, except at seasons; and then with strength of men furnished with armoz and weapon for their safegard. They march in wedlocke among themselves, so that welnere the whole citie is alied and ioined together in consanguinitie. But now to returne vnto the doings of the earle of Desmond that was placed lord iustice in Scropps rowne. We doe find that in the yeare 1408 he called a parlement at Dublin, in which the statutes of Kilkennie and Dublin were effynes reuindod, and certene ordinances established vnder the great seale of England against puruocors. The same yeare, the morrow after Lammass date, the lord Thomas of Lancaster sonne to king Henrie the fourth, lord lieutenant of Ireland, landed at Carlinsford, and in the weeke following he came vnto Dublin, and put the earle of Kildare vnder arrest, comming to him with thre of his familie. He lost all his goods, being spoiled & rifled by the lord lieutenant his seruants, & himselfe kept still in prison in the castell of Dublin, till he had paid 300 marks fine.

On the daie of saint Marcell the martyr deceased the lord Stephan Scrope at Trilfeldermot. The same yeare also was the lord Thomas of Lancaster at Bilmannan wounded (I know not how) and vnneth escaped with life, and after caused summons to be giuen by proclamation, that all such as ought by their tenures to serue the king, should assemble at Kosse. And after the feast of saint Iulie, he held a parlement at Kilkennie for a tallage to be granted. And after the thirtieth of March, he returned into England, leaving the prioz of Bilmannan for his deputie in Ireland. This yeare also Hugh Macgillmore was slaine in Cragfergus within the church of the friers mmozs, which church he had before destroyed, and broken downe the glasse windowes to haue the iron bars, thorough which his enemies the Savages entred vpon him. This yeare being in the tenth of Henrie the fourth, in June, Janico de Artois with the Englishmen slue foure scoze of the Irish in Ulster. This yeare king Henrie gaue the sword to the citie of Dublin, which citie was first gouerned (as appeareth by their ancient seale called *signum praposture*) by a priozost; and in the thirtieth of Henrie the third by a maioz and two bailifes, which were changed into thiriffes, by charter granted by Edward the first, 1547.

This maioralitie, both for state and charge of office, and for bountifull hospitalitie, excaseth ante citie in England, London excepted. In the yeare following, the one and twentieth daie of Maie, a parlement began at Dublin, which lasted thre weekes, the prioz of Bilmannan sitting as lord iustice. The same yeare, the two and twentieth of June, the same iustice toke the castels of Mibyclide, Mferoll, and de la Pare. Ireland this yeare was foze afflicted for want of cozne. The lord iustice entred into the land of Dizen with 1500ernes, of which number eight hundred resoluted to the Irish, so that if the potwer of Dublin had not bene there, it had gon euill with the lord iustice: and yet he escaped not without losse, for John Werpatrike was slaine there. In the yeare 1411, marriages were celebrated among the nobilitie in Ireland. William Wesson married the daughter of Edward Paris, and John Mogan married with the eldest daughter of Christopher Wesson; and Walter de la Hyde with the second daughter of the same Christopher. In the yeare 1412, about the feast of Iulietus and Valerianus, which falleth on the tenth of Aprill, Mconthir did much mischief.

1408
A parlement
at Dublin.

The lord
Thomas of
Lancaster
cometh ouer
into Ireland.

The lord
Scrope de-
ceased.

The lord
Thomas re-
turneth into
England.

1409
James de
Artois.
The sword
giuen to the
citie of Dub-
lin.
Bailiffes
changed into
thiriffes.

1410

A tournte
made by the
lord iustice.

1411
Marriages.

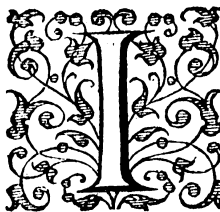
1412
Mconthir.

The bishop of
Meth deceased.
The death of
king Henrie
the fourth.

chiese in Meth, and took 160 Englishmen. The same yeare Moles a knight, and Thomas Fitzmorice fought together, and either slue other. The foure & twentieth of Maie, Robert Mounteine bishop of Meth departed this life, to whome succeeded Edward de Audisclie sometime archdecon of Conwall. This yeare on saint Cuthberts daie king Henrie the fourth departed this life.

Henrie the fift.

1413
John Stan-
leie the kings
lieutenant in
Ireland.



In the first yeare of this king, the five and twentieth of September, landed in Ireland at Clawcarke, John Stanleie the kings lieutenant of that land. He departed this life the 18 of Januarie next ensuing at Athird, in a

Thomas
Crauleie
archbishop of
Dublin.

time called *Atrium Dei*. After his decease, Thomas Crauleie archbishop of Dublin was chosen lord iustice of Ireland. Janico de Artols led forth a power against Maginoys, a great lord of Ireland, but nere to a place called Inoz manie Englishmen were slaine. The morrow after saint Matthias daie, a parlement began againe at Dublin, which continued for the space of sixtene daies, in which meane time the Irish did much hurt by inuasions made into the English pale, and burning vp all the houses afore them that stood in their waie, as their vsual custom was in times of other parlements: whereupon a tallage was demanded, but not granted.

A parlement.

1414

In the yeare 1414, the Englishmen fought with the Irish nere to Kilka, and slue an hundred of the enimies, whilst the archbishop being lord iustice in Crisseldermot, went in procession with his cleargie; praieing for the good speed of his men and other of the countrie that were gone forth to fight with the aduersaries. In the feast of saint Gordian and Epimachus, to wit the tenth of Maie, were the English of Meth discomfited by Deonhir and his Irish, where they slue Thomas Maureuar baron of Serin; and there were taken prisoners Christopher Fleming, John Dardis, and diuerse others, beside manie that were slaine.

Englishmen
slaine.

John lord
Talbot of
Sherfield.
1415
Robert Tal-
bot deceased.

On saint Martins euen sir John Talbot of Holumshire, lord Furnivale landed at Dalkeie, the kings lieutenant in Ireland, a man of great honoz. In the peere one thousand foure hundred and sixtene in Nouember, Robert Talbot, a right noble man that walled the suburbs of Kilkennie, departed this life. Also Patrike Baret bishop of Fernis deceased, and was buried among the canons at Benlis. This yeare on the feast daie of Geruasius and Prothasius which falleth on the nineteenth of June, the lord lieutenants wiue the ladie Furnivall was brought to bed at Finglasse of a sonne named Thomas. About the same time also Stephan Fleming archbishop of Armagh departed this life, after whome succeeded John Suanig. On the daie of saint Laurence the lord Furnivalls sonne Thomas Talbot that was borne at Finglasse in Nouember last past, departed this life, and was buried in the quere of the friers preachers church in Dublin. About the same time the Irish fell upon the Englishmen, and slue manie of them, among other Thomas Balimore of Baliquelan was one. The parlement which the last yeare had bene called and holden at Dublin, was this yeare removed to Trim, & there began the eleuenth of Maie, where it continued for the space of eleuen daies, in the which was granted to the lord lieutenant a subsidie in monie.

The parle-
ment remo-
ued to Trim.

A subsidie.
1417

10 blin passed ouer into England, and deceased at Farlington, but his bodie was buried in the new college at Oxford. This man is greaillie praised for his liberalitie, he was a good almesman, a great clerke, a doctor of diuinitie, an excellent preacher, a great builder, beautifull, tall of stature, and sanguine of complexion. He was foure score and ten yeares of age when he died, and had gouerned the church of Dublin in god quiet by the space of twentie yerres. This yeare shortly after Easter, the lord deputie spoiled the tenants of Henrie Crus, and Henrie Wechat. Also at Plane on the feast daie of saint John and saint Paule, the erle of Kildare, sir Christopher Preston, and sir John Bedlow were arrested and committed to ward within the castell of Trim, because they sought to commune with the pzior of Kilmalman.

The nine and twentieth of June Matthew Husseie baron of Caltrim deceased, & was buried at the friers preachers of Trim. In the yeare one thousand foure hundred & nineteen a rotall counsell was holden at Maas, where was granted to the lord lieutenant a subsidie in monie. The same yeare upon Cenehurst daie Dhyrell took foure hundred kine that belonged vnto Balimore, so breaking the peace contrarie to his oth. The fourth ides of Maie, Mac Murch chiefe capteine of his nation, and of all the Irish in Leinster was taken prisoner, and the same daie was sir Hugh Cokesie made knight. The last of Maie the lord lieutenant, and the archbishop of Dublin with the maior rased the castell of Beninie. The morrow after the feast daie of Processus and Martinianus, that is the twentieth of June, the lord William de Burgh and other Englishmen slue five hundred Irishmen, & took Dkellie. On the feast daie of Marie Magdalen the lord lieutenant Talbot returned into England, leaving his deputie there the archbishop of Dublin. This yeare about saint Laurence daie, diuerse went forth of Ireland to serue the king in his warres of Normandie, as Thomas Butler that was pzior of Kilmalman, and manie others. John Fitzhenrie succeeded the said Butler in gouernment of the pziorie of Kilmalman. The archbishop of Dublin that remained as lord deputie slue thirte Irishmen nere vnto Rodislon. Also the thirteenth of Februarie John Fitzhenrie pzior of Kilmalman departed this life, and William Fitzthomas was chosen to succeed in his place, and was confirmed the morrow after saint Valentines daie.

30 40 50 James Butler earle of Ormond appointed the kings lieutenant in Ireland, in place of John lord Talbot and Furnivall, landed at Waterford about the fourth ides of Aprill: and shortly after his comming ouer, he caused a combat to be fought betwixt two of his cousins, of whom the one was slaine in that place, and the other carried awaie soze wounded. On saint Georges daie, he held a counsell in Dublin, & summoned a parlement to begin there the seuenth of June. In the meane while he fetcht great booties out of the countries of the Irish lords, Dacie, Mac Mahon, and Maginois. But first yer we go further to shew what Marlburrow hath noted of the doings, whilst this earle of Ormond gouerned as the kings lieutenant in Ireland, we haue thought good to set downe what Campion also writeth thereof, as thus.

60 In the red moze of Athie (the sunne almost lodged in the west, and miraculoullie standing still in his epicle by the space of thre houres, till the feat was accomplished, and no hole nor quakenire in all that bog annoteng either horse or man of his part) he banquished Ormore and his terrible armie with a few of his owne meinie, and with the like number he

The arch-
bishop of
Dublin deceased.
This parle-
ment.

1411

1412
A counsell
parlement
holden.

Mac Murch
taken pris-
oner.

Dkellie:
ken.

The pzior of
Kilmalman
went to King
the king in
France.

1420
James But-
ler earle of
Ormond lord
lieutenant.

A parlement
summoned.

James York
an author
teaged by
Campion.
The sunne
staies his
course.

he ouerca-
paissance
this man
cepts tou-
his lord
incident
rich are
a worke
malicious
sharplie,
abused th-
the earle
castell of
lie expell
of, that
are yet
weaker.
Mac Mah-
all the ca-
months
procession
disorder
land dog
old trad
English

Din-
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uer noz.
June in
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was pay-
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Colmoli-
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Andreus
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John e-
Paris
ceded
three se-
waster-
land, ar-

The castell of
Colmoliu.
The earle of
Ormond son
and heire
borne.

1422
A parlement.

The bishop of
Cathall ac-
cused.

In
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daie in
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a refoz-
state of
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pher
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of Liff-
vnto
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and co-
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bles then toward in Ireland : which letter exemplified by sir Henrie Sidneie lord deputie, a great searcher and preseruer of antiquities, as it came to Campions hands, and by him set downe we haue thought good likewise to present it here to your view.

To the right worshipfull, and with all
mine heart entierlie beloued brother,
the earle of Salisburie.

The copie of
a letter.

Right worshipfull, & with all my hart, entierlie beloued brother, I recommend me vnto you as heartlie as I can. And like it you to wit, sith I wrote last vnto the king our soueraigne lord his highnesse, the Irish enimie, that is to saie Magoghigam, and with him thre or foure Irish capteins, associat with a great fellowship of English rebels, notwithstanding that they were within the king our soueraigne lord his peace, of great malice, and against all truth haue maligned against their legiance, and vengeable haue bent a great towne of mine inheritance in Metch, called Kamoze, and other villages thereabouts, and murdered and bent both men, women, and children, withouten mercie : the which enimies be yet assembled in woods and forts, alwaighing to do the hurt and gréuance to the kings subiects, that they can thinke or imagine. For which cause I write at this time vnto the kings highnesse, and beseech his good grace for to hasten my payment for this land, according vnto his letters of warrant now late directed vnto the tresuroz of England, to the intent I may wage men in sufficient number for to resist the malice of the same enimies, & punish them in such wise, that other which would do the same for lacke of resistance, in time maie take example. For doubtlesse, but if my payment be had in all hast, for to haue men of warre in defense and safegard of this land; my power can not stretch to keepe it in the kings obedi-
fance; and verie necessitie will compell me to come into England to liue there vpon my poze liuelihod. For I had leauer be dead than anie inconuenience should fall ther vnto by my default: for it shall neuer be chronicled nor remaine in scripture (by the grace of God) that Ireland was lost by my negligence. And therefore I beseech you right worshipfull brother, that you will hold to your hands instantlie, that my payment maie be had at this time in escheuing all inconueniences. For I haue example in other places (more pittie it is) for to dread shame, and for to acquit my troth vnto the kings highnesse, as my dutie is. And this I praye and exhort you good brother, to shew vnto his good grace, and that you will be so good, that this language maie be inacted at this present parliament for mine excuse in time to come, and that you will be good to my seruant Roger Ro the bearer of these, and to my other seruants, in such things as they shall pursue vnto the kings highnesse, and to giue full faith and credence vnto the report of the said Roger, touching the said matters. Right worshipfull, and with all my heart entierlie beloued brother, our blessed Lord God preserue and keepe you in all honour, prosperous estate, and felicitie, & grant you right good life and long. Written at Dublin the fiftenth daie of June.

Your faithfull true brother
Richard Yorke.

Magoghigam his
power.

Of such power was Magoghigam in those daies, who as he was and kept it by the sword, so now his successors in that state liue but as meane capteins, yelding their winnings to the stronger. This is the miserie of lawlesse people, resembling the rudenesse of the rude world, wherein euerie man was richer

and pozer than other, as he was in might and blou-
lence more or lesse inabled. Here began factions of
the nobilitie in Ireland, fauouring diuerse sides that
strone for the crowne of England. For the duke of
Forke, in those ten yeares of his gouernement, ex-
ceedinglie wan the hearts of the noblemen and gen-
tlemen of that land, of the which diuerse were claime
with him at Wakefield; as the contrarie part was
the next yeare by his sonne Edward earle of March
at Mortimers crosse in Wales. In which meane time
the Irish grew hardie, & vsurped the English coun-
tries in sufficientlie defended, as they had done by
like oportunitie in the latter end of Richard the se-
cond. These two seasons set them so adrift, that
henceforward they could neuer be cast out from their
forcible possessions, holding by plaine wrong all Ul-
ster, and by certeine Irish tenures no small portions
of Mounster and Connagh, least in Metch and Lein-
ster, where the cruell sabieats of the English blood
did euer most pzenaile.

Edward the fourth and Edward the fifth.

Thomas Fitzmorice earle
of Kildare, lord iustice till the
third yeare of Edward the
fourth, after which time the
duke of Clarence, brother to
the king, had the office of
lieutenant while he liued, &
made his deputies by sundry
turnes, Thomas earle of Desmond, John Tiptot
earle of Worcester the kings cousin, Thomas earle
of Kildare, and Henrie lord Grete of Ruthin. Great
was the credit of the Geraldins euer when the house
of Forke prospered, and likewise the Butlers shi-
ued vnder the bloud of the Lancasters: for which
cause the earle of Desmond remained manie yerres
deputie to George duke of Clarence his godbro-
ther: but when he had spoken certeine disdainfull
wordes against the late marriage of king Edward
with the ladie Elizabeth Grete, the said ladie bring
now queene, caused his trade of life after the Irish
maner, contrarie to sundrie old statutes inacted in
that behalfe, to be sifted and examined by John erle
of Worcester his successor; so that he was atteinted
of treason, condemned, and for the same beheaded at
Droghedagh.

James the father of this Thomas earle of Des-
mond, being suffered and not controlled, during the
gouernment of Richard duke of Forke his godceper,
and of Thomas earle of Kildare his kinsman, put
vpon the kings subiects within the countreies of
Waterford, Corke, Kerrie, and Limerike, the Irish
impositions of quins and liuerie, cartings, carriages,
lodgings, cocherings, bonnaght, and such
like, which customes are the verie breeders, mainte-
ners, and vpholders of all Irish enmities, living
from the poze tenants euerlasting lesse, allow-
ance of meat and monie, whereby their bodie and
goods were brought in seruice and thraldome, so that
the men of warre, horsles, and their Galloglasses lie
still vpon the farmers, eat them out, begger the coun-
trie, foster a sort of idle vagabonds, ready to rebell
if their lord command them, euer nuzled in stealth
and robberies.

These enill presidents giuen by the father, the son
did exercise, being lord deputie, to whome the reso-
mation of that disorder speciallie belonged. Not
withstanding the same fault being winked at in o-
ther, and with such rigor auenged in him, was ma-
nifestlie taken for a quarrell sought and procured.
Two yeares after, the said earle of Worcester
lost

Restitution to
bloud.
1 + 7 0
Flasburie.

Richard the
third.

Lieutenant
and deputie
in king Es-
ward the
fourth his
daies.

The War-
lers.

The earle of
Worcester.
1467

Campion of
Shenley
in his calli-
cations.
Irish im-
positions.

The lord
Howell.
Sir Thomas
Broughton.

lost his
tower
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restored
Custac
was last
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Edward
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licuten
natura
Edward

nant of
Kildare
Richard

Henrie the se-
venth
Sir Richard
Simon
quell.
Lambert
counterfeit to
be the earle of
warwicke.

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lost his head, whilſt Henrie the ſixt taken out of the tower was ſet vp againe, and king Edward proclaimed uſurper, and then was Kildare enlarged, whom likewiſe atteinted, they thought alſo to haue rid, and ſhortlie both the earles of Kildare & Deſmond were reſtoꝛed to their bloud by parlement. Sir Rowland Cufface, ſometime treaſuroꝛ and lord chancelloꝛ, was laſtlie alſo lord deputie of Ireland. He founded ſaint Francis abbey beſide Kilcolnen bydye. King Edward a yeaꝛe befoꝛe his death honozed his yonger ſonne (Richard duke of Yorke) with the title of lieutenant ouer this land, which he enioied till his vnaturall vnkle bereft both him and his brother king Edward the ſixt of their naturall liues.

Richard the third.

When this monſter of nature & cruell tyrant Richard the third had killed his two yonger nephewes, and taken vpon him the crowne & gouernement of England, he preferred his owne ſonne Edward to the dignitie of lord lieutenant of Ireland, whoſe deputie was Gerald earle of Kildare that bare that office all the reigne of king Richard, and a while in Henrie the ſeuenth his daies.

Henrie the ſeuenth.

In which earle came the wiſe prieſt ſir Richard Simon, bringing with him a lad that was his ſcholer, named Lambert, whome he ſeined to be the ſonne of George earle of Clarence, latelie eſcaped forth of the tower of London. And the boie could reckon by his pedegree ſo readilie, & had learned of the prieſt ſuch princelie behauiour, that he lightlie moued the ſaid earle, and manie others the nobles of Ireland (tendering as well the linage roſe all of Richard Plantagenet duke of Yorke, and his ſonne George their countreiman boꝛne, as alſo maligning the advancement of the houſe of Lancaſter in Henrie the ſeuenth) either to thinke or to ſaie, that the world might beleeue they thought verelie this child to be Edward earle of Marwiſke, the duke of Clarence his lawfull ſonne.

And although king Henrie moꝛe than halfe mared their ſpoꝛt, in ſhewing the right earle through all the ſtreets of London, yet the ladie Margaret duches of Burgongne, ſiſter to Edward the fourth, his nephew John de la Poole, the lord Louell, ſir Thomas Broughton knight, and diuers other captains of this conſpiracie, deuised to abuſe the colour of this yonger earles name, ſoꝛ preferring their purpoſe: which if it came to god, they agreed to depole Lambert, and to crea the verie earle indeed, now priſoner in the tower, ſoꝛ whoſe quarrell had they pretended to fight, they deemed it likelie he ſhould haue bene made a waie. Wherefoꝛe it was blazed in Ireland, that the king to mocke his ſubiects, had ſchooled a boie to take vpon him the earle of Marwiſkes name, and had thewed him about London, to blind the eyes of the ſimple folke, and to defeat the lawfull inheritour of

the good duke of Clarence their countreiman and protectoꝛ during his life, vnto whoſe linage they alſo deriued title in right to the crowne.

In all haſt they aſſembled at Dublin, and there in Chriſts church they crowned this idoll, honozing him with titles imperfall, ſeaſting and triumphing, raiſing mightie ſhoutſ and cries, carrieng him from thence to the caſtell vpon tall mens ſhoulders, that he might be ſene and noted, as he was ſure an honorable child to loke vpon. Herewith aſſembliſſing their forces together, they prouided themſelues of ſhips, and imbarcking therein, they toke the ſea, and landing in Lancashire, paſſed forwards, till they came to ſelwarke vpon Trent. Therevpon inſued the battell of Stoke, commonlie called Martins Swarts field, wherein Lambert and his maſter were taken, but yet pardoned of life, and were not executed. The erle of Lincolne, the lord Louell, Martin Swart, the Almaine captaine, and Maurice Fitzthomas, captaine of the Iriſh, were ſlaine, and all their power diſcomfited, as in the Engliſh hiftorie it may further appeare. Jaſper duke of Bedford, and earle of Denbroke lieutenant, and Walter archbiſhop of Dublin his deputie.

In this time befell another like Iriſh illuſion, procured by the duchesse aforeſaid, and certeine nobles in England, whereby was exalted as rightfull king of England, and vndoubted earle of Ulſter, the counterſeit Richard duke of Yorke, preferred from king Richards crueltie (as the adherents faced the matter downe) and with this maigame lord, named indeed Peter (in ſcoꝛne Perkin) Warbecke, they flattered themſelues manie yeaꝛes after. Then was ſir Edward Poynings knight ſent ouer lord deputie, with commiſſion to apprehend Warbeckes principall parteners in Ireland: amongſt whom was named Gerald Fitzgerald, whoſe purgation the king (notwithſtanding diuerſe ſurmiſing and aſſouing the contrarie) did accept. After much ado, Perkin being taken, confeſſed by his owne writing the courſe of his whole life, and all his proceedings in this enterpriſe, whereof in the Engliſh hiftorie, as we haue boꝛrowed the ſame ſoꝛth of Halles chronicles, we may read moꝛe, and therefore here we haue omitted to ſpeake further of that matter.

In the yeaꝛe 1501, king Henrie made lieutenant of Ireland his ſecond ſonne Henrie, as then duke of Yorke, who after reigned by the name of Henrie the eighth. To him was appointed deputie the aforeſaid Gerald erle of Kildare, who accompanied with John Blake maſter of Dublin, waꝛred vpon William le Burgh, O'Brien, and Mac Pemarre, Deatroull, and fought with the greateſt potuer of Iriſhmen that had bene together ſince the conqueſt, vnder the hill of Anocktoꝛ, in Engliſh the hill of the Arres, ſix miles from Galowate, and two miles from Belliclare Burghes manour towne. Mac William and his complices were there taken, his ſouldiers that eſcaped the ſwoꝛd were purſued ſlaing, ſoꝛ the ſpace of ſixe miles: great ſlaughter was made of them, and manie captains caught, without the loſſe of one Engliſhman. The earle of Kildare at his retourne was made knight of the noble order of the garter, and liued in woꝛthie eſtimacion all his life long, as well foꝛ this ſeruiſe, as diuerſe other his famous exploits.

Thus farre the Iriſh Chronicles continued and ended at Henrie the ſeauenth.

Lambert crowned.

1460
Jaſper duke of Bedford lieutenant.

Perkin Warbecke.

1494
Sir Edward Poynings lord deputie.

Perkin Warbecke taken.

1501
Henrie duke of Yorke, after king Henrie the eighth, lord lieutenant.

The field of Anocktoꝛ.

The earle of Kildare, knight of the garter.

Richard the third.

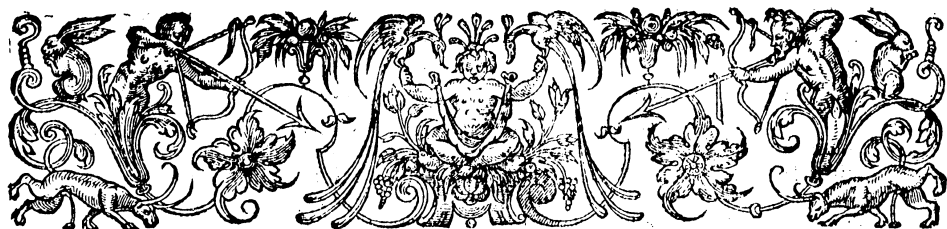
Richard the third.

Henrie the ſeuenth.

The lord Louell, Sir Thomas Broughton.

The earle of Kildare.

1467



TO THE RIGHT HO- norable sir Henrie Sidneie

knight, lord deputie of Ireland, lord president
of Wales, knight of the most noble order of the
garter, and one of hir maiesties priuie
councill within hir realme of
England.



Ow cumbersome (right honorable)
and dangerous a taske it is, to ingrosse & divulge
the dooings of others, especially when the parties
registred or their issue are liuing: both common
reason sufficientlie acknowledgeth, and dailie ex-
perience infallible proueth. For man by course
of nature is so parcialle affected to himselfe and
his blood, as he will be more agreeued with the
chronicler for recording a peeuissh trespassse, than
he will be offended with his friend for committing
an heinous treason. Ouer this, if the historian be

long, he is accompted a trifier: if he be short, he is taken for a summister: if he com-
mend, he is twighted for a flatterer: if he reprocue, he is holden for a carper: if he
be pleasant, he is noted for a iester: if he be graue, he is reckoned for a drooper:
if he misdate, he is named a falsifier: if he once but trip, he is tearmed a stumbler: so
that let him beare himselfe in his chronicle as vprightlie and as conscionable as he
may possible, yet he shall be sure to find them that will be more prest to blab forth
his pelfish faults, than they will be readie to blaze out his good deserts. Others
there be, that although they are nor able to reprocue what is written, yet they will
be sure to cast in his dish what is forgotten. Heere, saie they, this exploit is omit-
ted: there that policie is not detected: heere this saieng would haue beene inter-
laced: there that trecherie should haue beene displaid. These & the like discom-
modities, with which historiographers are vsuallie cloid, haue borne backe diuers
and fundrie willing minds, who taking the waie to be thornie, the credit slipperie,
the carpers to be manie, would in no case be medlers, choosung rather to sit by
their owne fire obscurelie at home, than to be baited with enuious toongs openlie
abroad.

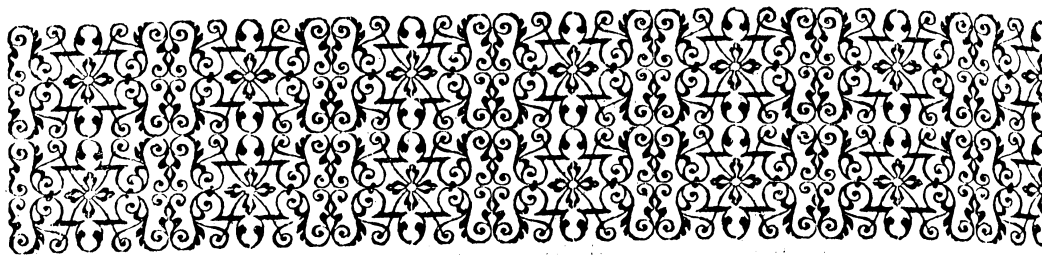
Others on the contrarie side, being resolute fellows, and trampling vnder
foot these curious faultfinders, would not sticke to put themselues forth in presse,
and maugre all their hearts, to buskle forward, and rush through the pikes of their
quipping nips, and biting frumps. But I taking the meane betweene both these ex-
tremities, held it for better, not to be so faint and peeuissh a meacocke, as to shrinke
and couch mine head for euerie mizeling shoure, nor yet to beare my selfe so high

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in heart, as to prance and iet like a proud gennet through the street, not weighing the barking of currish bandogs. And therefore, if I shall be found in mine historie sometime too tedious, sometime too spare, sometime too fawning in commending the liuing, sometime too flat in reproouing the dead : I take God to witnesse, that mine offense therein proceedeth of ignorance, and not of set wilfulnesse. But as for the passing ouer in silence of diuerse euent(s) (albeit the law or rather the liber-tie of an historie requireth that all should be related, and nothing whusted) yet I must confesse, that as I was not able, vpon so little leasure, to know all that was said or doone; so I was not willing for sundrie respects, to write euerie trim tram that I knew to be said or doone. And if anie be ouerthwartlie waiwarded, as he will sooner long for that I haue omitted, than he will be contented with that I haue chroni-cled; I cannot deuise in my iudgement a better waie to satisfie his appetite, than with one Dolie, a peintor of Oxford, his answer: who being appointed to tricke out the ten commandements, omitted one, and pourtraied but nine. Which fault espied by his maister that hired him, Dolie answered, that in verie deed he peinted but nine: howbeit, when he vnderstood that his master had well obserued and kept the nine commandements that alreadie were drawne, he gaue his word at better leisure throughlie to finish the tenth. And truelie so must I saie: I haue laid downe heere to the reader his view, a breefe discourse, wherof I trust he shall take no great surfet. And when I am aduertised, that he will digest the thin fare that heere is disht before him: it may be (God willing) heereafter, that he shall find my booke, with store of more licorous deinties farfed and furnished; leauing to his choise, either nicelie to pickle, or greedilie to swallow, as much as to his contentation shall best beseeme him. Wherefore my good lord, sith I may not denie, but that the worke is painfull, and I doo forecast that the misconstruction may be perilous: the toile-somnesse of the paine I refer to my priuat knowledge, the abandoning of the pe-rill, I commit to your honorable patronage, not doubting thereby to be sheel-ded against the sinister glosing of malicious interpretors. Thus betaking your lordship to God, I craue your attentiuenes, in perusing a cantell or parcell of the Irish historie that heere insueth.

RICHARD STANIHVRS.





A continuation of the Chronicles of Ireland, comprising the reigne of *king Henrie the eight.*



CITIZEN Fitzgiralde earle of Kildare, son to Thomas Fitzgiralde, of whom mention hath bene made in the latter end of the former storie, a mighty man of stature, full of honor & courage, who had bene

Y S I 4

repute & lord justice of Ireland first & last 33 yeeres, deceased at Kildare the third of September, & lieth intombed in the quere of Christes church at Dublin, in a chappell by him founded. Betwene him & James Butler earle of Ormond (their owne gelousies fed with enuie & ambition, kindled with certeine lewd factious abettors of either side) as generally to all noblemen, so especiallie to both these houses verie incident, ever since the ninth yeare of Henrie the seventh, bred some trouble in Ireland. The plot of which mutuall grudge was grounded vpon the factious dissention, that was raised in England betwene the houses of Yorke & Lancaster, Kildare cleaving to Yorke, and Ormond relenging to Lancaster. To the upholding of which discord, both these noble men laboured with tooth and nail to ouercrow, and consequentlie to ouerthrow one the other. And for so much as they were in honour peeres, they wrought by hoke and by crooke to be in authoritie superiours. The gouernement therefore in the reigne of Henrie the seventh, being cast on the house of Kildare; James earle of Ormond a deepe and a farre reaching man, giuing backe like a butting ram to strike the harder push, deuised to inueigle his aduersarie by submission & courtesie, being not then able to ouermatch him with stoutnesse or preheminnence. Wherevpon Ormond addressed his letters to the deputie, specifying a slander raised on him and his, that he purposed to deface his gouernement, and to withstand his authoritie. And for the clearing of himselfe and of his adherents, so it stood with the deputie his pleasure, he would make his spædie repaire to Dublin, & there in an open audience would purge himselfe of all such odious crimes, of which he was longfullie suspected.

The occasion of the dissention betwene Kildare and Ormond.

Ormond marcheth to Dublin.

To this reasonable request had the lord deputie no sooner condescended, than Ormond with a puissant armie marched towards Dublin, incamping in an abbeye in the suburbs of the citie, named saint Thomas court. The approaching of so great an armie of the citizens suspected, and also of Kildares coun-

cellors greatlie disliked, lastlie the extortion that the lawlesse souldiers used in the pale by seuerall complaints detected: these three points, with diuerse other suspicious circumstances laid and put together, did minister occasion rather of further discord, than of anie present agreement. Ormond persisting still in his humble sute, sent his messenger to the lord deputie, declaring that he was prest and readie to accomplish the tenour of his letters, and there did attend (as became him) his lordship his pleasure. And as for the companie, he brought with him from Ormonster, albeit suspicious bzaines did rather of a malicious craftinesse surmise the worst, than of charitable wisdomedid iudge the best; yet notwithstanding, vpon conference had with his lordship, he would not doubt to satisfie him at full in all points, wherewith he could be with anie colour charged, and so to stop by the spring, from whence all the enuious suspicions gushed. Kildare with this mild message intreated, appointed the meeting to be at saint Patrickes church: where they were ripping by one to another their mutuall quarrels, rather recounting the damages they susteined, than acknowledging the iniuries they offered: the citizens and Ormond his armie fell at some iar, for the oppression and exaction with which the souldiers surcharged them. With whom as part of the citizens bickered, so a round knot of archers rushed into the church, meaning to haue murdered Ormond, as the capteine and bellwedder of all the lawlesse rabble. The earle of Ormond suspecting that he had bene betrayed, fled to the chapter house, put to the doze, sparring it with might and maine. The citizens in their rage, imagining that euerie post in the church had bene one of the souldiers, shot hab o' nab at randon vpon the roodloft and to the chancel, leauing some of their arrowes sticking in the images.

The citie in an vpprope.

Kildare pursuing Ormond to the chapter house doze, undertooke on his honor that he should recelue no villanie. Where vpon the recluse crauing his lordships hand to assure him his life, there was a clift in the chapter house doze, pearled at a trife, to the end both the earles should haue shaken hands and be reconciled. But Ormond surmising that this vylt was intended for some further treacherie, that if he would stretch out his hand, it had bene percase chopt off, refused that proffer; untill Kildare stretcht in his hand to him, and so the doze was opened, they both embraced the storme appeased, and all their quarrels for that present rather discontinued than ended. In this garboile, one of the citizens, surnamed Blanche field was slaine. This latter quarrell being like a greene wound, rather bungerlie botcht than soundlie cured, in that Kildare suspected that so great an armie (which the other alledged to be brought for the

The earles reconciled.

Blanchefield slaine.

The description of Ormond. The description of Kildare.

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gard of his person) to haue bene of purpose assembled, to outface him & his power in his owne countrie. And Diamond mistrusted, that this treacherous practise of the Dublinians was by Kildare deuised. These and the like surmises lightlie by both the noble men misdemned, and by the continuall twatling of siring clauwbaks in their eares whispered, bred and fostered a malice betwixt them and their posteritie, manie yeeres incurable, which caused much stir and vniquietnesse in the realme, untill the confasion of the one house and the nonage of the other ended and buried their mutuall quarrels.

The descrip-
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The descrip-
tion of Kildare.

Diamond was nothing inferiour to the other in stomach, and in reach of policie far beyond him. Kildare was in gouernement mild, to his enemies sterne, to the Irish such a scourge, that rather for despite of him than for fauor of anie part, they relied for a time to Diamond, came vnder his protection, serued at his call, performed by starts (as their manner is) the dutie of good subiects. Diamond was secret and of great forecast, verie staied in speech, dangerous of euerie trifle that touched his reputation. Kildare was open and plaine, hardlie able to rule himselfe when he were moued to anger, not so sharpe as thort, being easilie displeased and soner appeased. Being in a rage with certeine of his seruants for faults they committed, one of his horsemen offered master Boice (a gentleman that reteined to him) an Irish hobbie, on condition, that he would plucke an haire from the earle his beard. Boice taking the proffer at rebound, stept to the earle (with whose good nature he was throughlie acquainted) parching in the heat of his choler, and said: So it is, and if it like your good lordship, one of your horsemen promised me a chosse hoise, if I snip one haire from your beard. Well quoth the earle, I agree thereto, but if thou plucke anie more than one, I promise thee to bring my fist from thine eare.

Engl.

The branch of this good nature hath bene deriued from him to an earle of his posteritie, who being in a chafe for the wrong satwcing of a partridge, arose suddenlie from the table, meaning to haue reasoned the matter with his coke. Having entred the kitchen, drowning in oblivion his chalenge, he began to commend the building of the roome, wherein he was at no time before, & so leaning the coke vncontroll, he returned to his ghests merilie. This old earle being (as is aforesaid) some hot and some cold, was of the English well beloued, a good iusticer, a suppressor of the rebels, a warrior incomparable, towards the nobles that he fassled not somewhat headlong and vnrulic. Being charged before Henrie the seventh, for burning the church of Cashell, and manie wickednesses prepared to aduouch against him the truth of that article, he suddenlie confessed the fact, to the great wondrous and detestation of the councill. When it was looked how he wold iustifie the matter; By Iesus (quoth he) I would neuer haue done it, had it not bene told me that the archbishop was within. And because the same archbishop was one of his busiest accusers there present, the king merilie laughed at the plainnesse of the noble man, to see him alledge that thing for excuse, which most of all did aggrauate his offense.

The last article against him they conceived in these termes; If in alie all Ireland can not rule this earle. No: quoth the king: then in god faith shall this earle rule all Ireland. Thus was that accusation turned to a least. The earle returned to his countrie lord deputie, who (notwithstanding his simplicitie in peace) was of that valour and policie in war, as his name bred a greater terror to the Irish, than other mens armes. In his warres he used for policie a retchlesse kind of diligence, or a headie carelesnesse,

Where returne
to his
deputie.

Where returne
to his
deputie.

to the end his souldiours should not faint in their attempts, were th' enimie of neuer so great power. Seeing generall in the field of Knocknow, where in effect all the Irish rebels of Ireland were gathered against the English pale, one of the earle his capteins presented him a band of kerns, euen as they were ready to ioine battell, and withall demanded of the earle in what seruice he would haue them imployed: Marie (quoth he) let them stand by and giue vs the gaze. Such was his courage, that notwithstanding his enemies were two to one: yet would he set so good a face on the matter, as his souldiours should not once suspect, that he either needed, or longed for anie further helpe.

Having triumphantlie banquished the Irish in that conflict, he was shortly after, as well for that, as other his valiant exploits, made knight of the garter: and in the fift yeare of Henrie the eight in that renowne & honour he died, wherein for the space of manie yeares he liued. No maruell if this success were a cosse to the aduerser part, which the longer it held aloofe, and bit the byble, the more egerlie it followed the course, having once got scope and roome at will, as shall be hereafter at full declared. Diamond bearing in mind the treacherie of the Dublinians, procured such as were the graneest prelates of his clergy, to intimate to the court of Rome the heathenish riot of the citizens of Dublin, in rushing into the church armed, polluting with slaughter the consecrated place, defacing the images, profanating the reliques, raising downe altars, with barbarous outeries, more like miscreant Saracens, than christian catholikes. Whereupon a legat was possted to Ireland, bending his course to Dublin, where some after hee was solemnlie receiued by Walter Fitzsimons, archbishop of Dublin, a grane prelat, for his learning and wisdom chosen to be one of king Henrie the seventh his chapleins, in which vocation he continued twelue yeares, and after was aduanced to be archbishop of Dublin.

1514

The Dublinians accused.

A legat sent from Rome.

Walter Fitzsimons.

The legat vpon his arriuall indicted the citie for his execrable offense: but at length, by the procurement as well of the archbishop as of all the cleargie, he was weighed to giue the citizens absolution with this caveat, that in detestation of so horrible a fact, and *Ad perpetuam rei memoriam*, the mayor of Dublin should go barefooted throughout the citie in open procession before the sacrament, on Corpus Christi date: which penitent satisfaction was after in euerie such procession duly accomplished. Gerald Fitzgerrald, sonne and heire to the aforesaid erle of Kildare, was shortly after his fathers decease constituted lord deputie of Ireland, before whom in the seventh yeare of Henrie the eight, there was a parliament holden at Dublin, wherein it was established, that all such as bying out of England the kings letters of priuat seale, for particular causes against anie of the king his subiects in Ireland, should find sufficient suerties in the king his chancerie in Ireland; to bee bound by recognisance, that the plaintife shall satisfie the defendant, that purgeth or acquitteth himselfe of the matter to him alledged, for his costs and damages sustained by such wrongfull veration. This noble man being valiant and well spoken, was nothing inferior to his father in martiall prowesse, chafing in the time of his gouernment the familie of the Welles, battering Ocarrell his castels, and byinging in awe alie the Irish of the land.

Penance imposed on the citizens of Dublin.

The earle of Kildare lord deputie.

A parliament holden at Dublin.

This earle of good meaning, to unite the houses in friendship, matched his sister Margaret Fitzgerrald with Piers Butler earle of Ossorie, whom he also helped to recouer the earldome of Desmond, into the which, after the decease of the earle James, a bastard Butler had by abatement intruded. Great and manifold

Piers Butler and Margaret Fitzgerrald espoused.

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manifold were the miseries the ladie Margaret suffered, hir husband Piers Butler being so eagerlie pursued by the usurper, as he durst not beare up hed, but was forced to houer and lurke in woods and forests. The noble woman being great with child, and vpon necessitie constrained to vse a spare diet (for hir onelie sustenance was milke) she longed soze for wine, and calling hir lord, and a trustie seruant of his, James White vnto hir, she requested them both to helpe hir to some wine, for she was not able anie longer to indure so strict a life. Tralie Margaret, quoth the earle of Ossorie, thou shalt haue soze of wine withyn this foure and twentie houres, or else thou shalt feed alone on milke for me.

James white

The bastard Butler slaine.

Kildare sent for into England.

Maurence Fitzthomas lord iustice. Surreie lord lieutenant of Ireland. 1521 A parliament holden at Dublin.

The Mozes in rebellion.

John Fitzsimons.

Patrike Fitzsimons.

The next daie following, Piers hauing intelligence that his enemy the base Butler would haue trauelled from Donmore to Kilkennie, notwithstanding he were accompanied with six horsemen: yet Piers hauing none but his lackie, did follow him in the waie, and with a couragious charge gozed the bastard through with his speare. This prosperous calme succeeding the former boisterous storme, the ladie Margaret began to take heart, hir naturall stoutnesse floted, as well by the remembrance of hir noble birth, as by the intelligence of hir honorable match. Kildare all this while kept in authoritie, notwithstanding the pulshes giuen against him by secret heauers that enuied his fortune, and sought to nourish the old grudge, was at length by their priuite packing fetched vp to the court of England by commission, and caused him to be examined vpon diuerse interrogatozies touching the affaires of Ireland.

He left in his roome Maurence Fitzthomas of Lachragh lord iustice: and shortly after came ouer lord lieutenant Thomas Howard earle of Surreie, who was after duke of Norfolk, grandfather to the last duke, accompanied with two hundred peomen of the crowne: before whome, shortly after his repaire thither, there was a parlement holden at Dublin, in which there past an act, that all wilfull burning of coyne, as well in reekes in the fields, as also in villages and townes, should be high treason. Item, an act against loding of wolle & flos, vpon paine of forfeiture of the double value of the same, the one halfe to the king, and the other halfe to him that will sue therefoze. Item, that anie person seized of lands, rents, or tenements in possession or in vse, vnto the pearcelle value of ten markes aboue the charges, in fee simple, fee taile, or for terme of life, copie hold, or ancient demeane, shall passe in euerie attaint. While the lord lieutenant sat at dinner in the castell, of Dublin, he heard newes that the Mozes with a maine armie were euen at the entrie of the borders, ready to inuade the English pale. Immediatlie men were leuied by John Fitzsimons then maior of Dublin, and the next morrow joining them vnto his band, the lieutenant marched towards the frontiers of Leix.

The Mozes vpon the lieutenant his appoach, scattered themselves into sundrie companies, and vnderstanding that the cariage was dragging after the armie, and slenderlie manned, certeine of them charged the lieutenant his seruants, and such of the citizens as were appointed to gard the cariage. Patrike Fitzsimons, a strong sturdie ponker, kept the enemies such tacke, as he chased part of them awaie, rescued the cariage, slue two of the rebels, and brought the heads with him to maister maior his tent. The next morning, two of the lieutenant his men, that slunke awaie from Fitzsimons, thinking that the cariage had bene lost, aduertised their lord that Fitzsimons fled awaie; and the Mozes were so mane in companie, as it had bene but follie for two to bicker

with so great a number. The lieutenant posted in a rage to the maior his paullion, telling him that his man Fitzsimons was a cowardlie traitor: in running awaie, when he should haue defended the cariage.

What am I, my lord (quoth Patrike Fitzsimons) skipping in his shirt out of the tent, with both the heads in his hand? My lord, I am no coward, I stood to my tacklings when your men gaue me the slip, I rescued the cariage, and haue here sufficient tokens of my manhood, tumbling downe both the heads. Saist thou so Fitzsimons, quoth the lieutenant: I crie thee mercie, and by this George, I would to God it had bene my good hap to haue bene in thy companie in that skirmish. So drinkeing to Fitzsimons in a boll of wine, and honourable rewarding him for his good seruice, he returned to his paullion, where hauing knowledge of Mozes his recule, he pursued him with a troope of horsemen. The lieutenant thus passing forwards, was espied a gunner of Mozes, who lodged close in a wood side, and watching his time, he discharged his peece at the verie face of the lieutenant, strake the visor off his helmet, and feared no further, as God would.

This did he (retchlesse in maner that became of himselfe, so he might amaze the armie for a time) and surelie hereby he brake the swiftnesse of their following, & aduantaged the flight of his captaine, which thing he wane with the price of his owne blood. For the souldiours would no further, till they had ransacked all the nookes of this wood, verelie suspecting some ambush thereabout, and in seuerall knots scattered out this gunner, whome Fitzwilliams and Bedolow of the Koch were faine to mangle and to hew in peeces, because the wretch would neuer yield. In the meane while, defiance was proclaimed with France and Scotland both at once, which moued the king to call home Surreie out of Ireland, that he might imploie him in those wars. His prowesse, integritie, good nature, and course of gouernment, the countrie much commended. Piers Butler earle of Ossorie was appointed lord deputie. In the meane time, Kildare attending the king his pleasure for his dispatch, recovered fauour through the instance of the marques Dorset, whose daughter dame Elizabeth Greie he espoused, and so departed home. Now was partaker of all the deputies counsell one Robert Talbot of Belgard, whome the Giraldines deadlie hated: him they procured to keepe a kalendar of all their doings, who incensed brother against brother. In which rage, James FitzGirald meeting the said gentleman beside Wallmoze, slue him euen then vpon his iourneie toward the deputie to keepe his Christmas with him.

With this despitesull murder both sides brake out into open enimitie, and especiallie the countesse of Ossorie, Kildare his sister, a rare woman, and able for wisdom to rule a realme, had not hir stomach ouerruled hir knowledge. Here began informations of new treasons, passing to and fro, with complaints and replies. But the marques Dorset had wrought so for his forme in law, that he was suffered to rest at home, and onelie commissioners directed into Ireland, with authoritie to examine the root of their griefes: wherein if they found Kildare anie thing at all purged, their instructions were to depose the plaintiffe, and to sweare the other lord deputie. Commissioners were these, sir Rafe Egerton, a knight of Cheshire, Anthoine Fitzherbert, second iustice of the common plaes, and James Denton, deane of Litchfield; who hauing examined these accusations, suddentlie toke the sword from the earle of Ossorie, sware Kildare lord deputie, before whome Con O'neale bare the sword that daie.

Cardinal Beaufort sent to the Giraldines.

Kildare granted.

Kildare accepted. The articles.

The earle of Surreie in danger to haue bene slaine.

Fitzgerald lord iustice.

The earle of Ossorie chosen lord deputie.

The Countesse of Ossorie.

1521 Surreie lord for home.

Piers Butler earle of Ossorie lord deputie.

1524 Robert Talbot of Belgard.

Margaret countesse of Ossorie.

Kildare committed before the counsell.

Commissioners sent to Ireland.

Kildare sworn lord deputie.

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He answereth
the cardinals
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verlie

berelie trust, your honors shall see the pzoefe by the thing it selfe, within these few daies. But go to: suppose he neuer be had? What is Kildare to blame for it, more than my good brother of Ossioe, who no withstanding his high promises, hauing also the kings power, is yet content to bring him in at leisure? Can not the erle of Desmond shift but I must be of counsell? Cannot he hide him except I winke? If he be close am I his mate? If he be freended am I a traitor? This is a doubtie kind of accusation, which they vse against me, wherein they are stabled and mited at my first deniall. You would not see him (saie they.) Who made them so familiar with mine eyesight? When was the erle within my view? Who stood by when I let him slip? Where are the tokens of my wilfull hudwinkie? But you sent him word to beware of you. Who was the messenger? Where are the letters? Conuince my negatians, see how lose this idle geare hangeth together. Desmond is not taken. Well, you are in fault. This? Because you are. Who proueth it? No bodie. What conuincens? So it seemeth. To whom? To your enemies. Who told it them? They will sweare it. What other ground? None. Will they sweare it my lord? Why then of like they know it, either they haue mislie hand to shew, or can bring forth the messenger, or were present at a conference, or pziue to Desmond, or some bodie betrayed it to them, or they themselves were my carriers or vicegerents therein: which of these parts will they chose, for I know them too well. To reckon my selfe content by their bare words or headlesse sayings, or frantike othes, were but mere mockerie. My letter were some read, were any such writing extant, my seruants & friends are ready to be sifted: of my coufine of Desmond they may lie lowly, since no man here can well contrarte them. Touching my selfe, I neuer noted in them much wit, or so fast faith, that I would haue gaged on their flence the life of a good hound, much lesse mine owne. I doubt not, may it like your honors to appose them, how they came to the knowledge of those matters, which they are so ready to depose: but you shall find their tongues charmed to another man his trencher, and as it were knights of the post, forbidden to saie, sweare and stave the uttermost they can, as those that passe not what they saie, nor with what face they saie it, so they saie no truth. But of another side it grieueth me that your good grace whom I take to be wise and charpe, and who of your blessed disposition wiseth me well, should be so farre gone in crediting these corrupt informers that abuse the ignorance of your state and countrie to my perill. A little know you (my lord) how necessarie it is, not onelie for the gouernor, but also for euerie noble man in Ireland to hamper his vniuill neighbors at discretion, wherein if they waited for process of law, and had not those lines and lands you speake of within their reach, they might hap to lose their owne liues and lands without law. You heare of a case as it were in a dreame, and fele not the smart that bereth vs. In England there is not a meane subiect that dare extend his hand to fillip a peere of the realme. In Ireland except the lord haue cunning to his strength, and strength to saue his crowne, and sufficient authoritie to take thieues & varlets when they stir, he shall find them swarime so fast, that it will be too late to call for iustice. If you will haue our service take effect, you must not tie vs alwaies to these iudiciall proceedings, where with your realme (thank be God) is injured. Touching my kingdome, I know not what your lordship should meane thereby. If your grace imagine that a kingdome consisteth in seruing God, in obeying the prince, in gouerning with loue the common-wealth, in shouldering sub-

In what case stand the noble men of Ireland with rebels.

jects, in suppressing rebels, in executing iustice, in brideling blind affections, I would be willing to be inuicted with so vertuous and roiall a name. But if therefore you terme me a king, in that you are persuaded that I repine at the gouernment of my soueraigne, or winke at malefactors, or oppresse ciuill liuers, I vtterlie disclaime in that odious terme, marueling greatly that one of your grace his profound wisdom, would seeme to appropiat so sacred a name to so wicked a thing. But howsoever it be (my lord) I would you and I had changed kingdoms but for one moneth, I would trust to gather by more crummes in that space, than twise the reuenues of my poore earldome: but you are well and warme, and so hold you, and obayd not me with such an odious terme. I slumber in an hard cabin, when you sleepe in a soft bed of downe: I serue vnder the king his cope of heaven, when you are serued vnder a canopie: I drinke water out of my skull, when you drinke wine out of golden cups: my courser is trained to the field, when your genet is taught to amble: when you are begraced and belozed, & crouched and kneeled vnto, then find I small grace with our Irish borderers, except I cut them off by the knees.

At these words the counsell would haue smiled, if they durst: but euy man bit his lip, & held his countenance, for howsoever some of them leaned to the erle of Ossioe, they all hated the cardinall, who perceiving that Kildare was no babe, rose in a fume from the counsell table, committed the erle, & deferred the matter till more direct probations came out of Ireland. The duke of Suffolke, who was late lieutenant in Ireland, perceiving the cardinall to be so bent against the nobleman, rather for the deablie hatred he bare his house, than for anie great matter he had wherewith to charge his person, slept to the king, and craued Kildare to be his prisoner, offering to be bound for his forth coming, ouer and aboue all his lands, bodie for bodie. Whereupon, to the cardinall his great griefe, the prisoner was bailed, and honorablie by the duke interteined. During his abode in the duke his house, Dneale and Dconoz, and all their friends and alies, watching their time to annoy the pale, made open insurrection against the earle of Ossioe then lord deputy of Ireland, insomuch that the noble man mistrusting the sicklenesse of Desmond on the one side, & the force of these new start vp rebels on the other side, stood halfe amazed, as it were betwene fire & water. For remedie whereof, letters thicke and threfold were addressed to the counsell of England, purporting that all these late hurlie burlies were of purpose raised by the meanes of Kildare, to the blemishing and staining of his brother Ossioe his gouernment. And to put the matter out of doubt, it was further added, that Kildare commanded his daughter Ellice Fitzgiralde, wife to the baron of Slane, to excite in his name the aforesaid traitors to this open rebellion.

The cardinall hereupon caused Kildare to be examined before the counsell, where he pressed him so deepe with this late dissolaltie, that the presumption being (as the cardinall disforce it) vehement, the treason odious, the king suspicious, the enemie eger, the friends faint (which were sufficient grounds to ouerthrow an innocent person) the earle was reprieved to the tolower. The nobleman betooke himselfe to God & the king, he was hartlie beloued of the lieutenant, pitied in all the court, and standing in so hard a case, altered little of his accustomed hue, comforted other noble men prisoners with him, dissembling his owne sorow. On a night when the lieutenant and he for their disport were playing at Assegrote or Shodebowd, suddenlie commeth from the cardinall a mandatum

The cardinall
his presump-
tuonsnes bla-
med of the
king.

1529
Sir William
Shelington
prince of
Ireland.

Edward
chaplaie bi-
shop of Oshel

Thomas
Fitzsimons.

Shelington
his answer.

The glanctly
of the card-
will wjo was
taken to be a
butcher his
sonne.

1531
The Irish
rebellion.

Kildare
fresh im-
posed.

Kildare in-
uarch the
Tales.

Speth his
question.

John Fitz-
simons an-
swereth
Oshel.

mandatum to create Kildare on the morrow. The
earle marking the lieutenants bespeigh: By saint
Bric lieutenant (quoth he) there is some mad game
in that scroll; but fall how it will, this throw is for
an humble. When the word was told him: Now I
praise the (quoth he) do no more but learne assured
lie from the king his owne mouth, whether his high-
nesse be willing thereto or not? So he doubted the
lieutenant to displease the cardinall byet of verte
pate loue to his frend; he pisseth to the king at nite
night, and deliuered his errand: for at all houres of
the night the lieutenant hath access to the prince
upon occasions. The king controlling the laudnesse
of the priest (for those were his termes) deliuered to
the lieutenant his signet in token of countermand;
which when the cardinall had seene, he began to
breath out vnseasoned language, which the lieutenant
was loth to heare, & so left him patterring & chanting
the diuine his *Pater noster*. Thus brake vp the forme
for that time, & the next yeare Malcolme was cast out
of fauour, and within few yeares sir William Skef-
fington was sent ouer lord deputie, and brought with
him the erle pardoned mid rid from all his troubles.
When it was vntold, that Skeffington, the earle
of Kildare, and Edward Staples bishop of Metch
landed nere Dublin, the maior and citizens met
him with a solemne procession on saint Marie ab-
beys greene, where master Thomas Fitzsimons re-
corder of Dublin made a pithe oration to congratu-
late the gouernor and the earle his prosperous arri-
uall, to whome Skeffington shayed an answer in
this wise: Passer maior and master recorder, you
haue at length this noble man here present for whom
you sore longed, while he was absent. And after
manie floures by him susteined, he hath now to the
comfort of his frends, to the confusion of his foes,
subdued violence with patience, in which with suffer-
ance, and malice with obedience: and such butchers
as of hatred thirsted after his blood, are now taken
out, cast into massies, littered in cuttish blood. How
well my master the king hath bene of his grations
inclination affected to the earle of Kildare (his backe
frend, being by his just desert from his maiestie we-
ded) the credit wherein this noble man at this present
abideth, manifestlie declareth. Wherefore it resteth,
that you thanke God and the king for his safe arri-
uall. As for his welcome, master recorder his cour-
teous discourse, your great assemblies, your chere-
full countenances, your willing meetings, your so-
lemne processions do so far shew it, as you minister
me occasion on his lordship his behalfe, rather to
thanke you for your courtesie, than to exhort you to a
further ceremonie.

Having ended his oration, they rode all into the
cittie, where shortly after the earle of Ossorie surren-
dered the sword to sir William Skeffington. Du-
ring the time that Kildare was in England, the sept
of the Toles making his absence their haruist, cea-
sed not to molest and spoile his tenants, and therefore
the erle meaning not to wrap vp so lightlie their ma-
nifold injuries, was determined presentlie upon his
arriuall to crie them quittance: to the speedinesse of
which seruice he requested the aid of the citizens of
Dublin: & expecting in Christ church their answer
touching this motion, the maior & his brethren promi-
sed to assist him with two hundred archers. The late
come bishop of Metch being then present, moued
question, whether the citizens were pardoned for
crowning Lambert contrarie to their dutie of alle-
giance; and if they were not pardoned, he thought
they might aduantage the king thereby. Whereat
one of their sagest and expertest aldermen, named
John Fitzsimons, slept forth and said: My lord of
Metch, may I be so bold as to craue what countrie

man you see Marie sit (quoth the bishop) I would
you should know it, I am a gentleman and an En-
glishman. My lord (quoth Fitzsimons) my mean-
ing is to learne, in what shire of England you were
borne? In Lincolnshire good sir (quoth Staples.)
Whie then my lord (quoth Fitzsimons) we are no
traitors, because it was the earle of Lincoln and
the lord Louch that crowned him; and therefore if
you be a gentleman of Lincolnshire, see that you be
pardoned, for God and our king be thanked we haue
need of none. At this answer Metch was set, and such
as were present were forced to smile, to see what a
round fall he rought in his owne turne.

In the second yeare of Skeffington his gouerne-
ment, it happened that one Henrie White, seruant
to Benet a merchant of Dublin, was pitching of a
cart of hate in the high street; and hauing offered
boies plate to passengers that walked to and fro, he
let a bottle of his hate fall on a souldiours bonet, as he
passed by his cart. The souldior taking this knaui-
sh knacke in dudgeon, hurled his dagger at him, and
hauing narrowlie mist the prickocks, he stiked it in
a post not farre off. White leapt downe from the
cart, and thrust the souldior through the shoulder with
his pike. Whereupon there was a great broue in the
cittie betwene the souldiours and the apprentices, in-
somuch as Thomas Warbie being the maior, hauing
the king his sword oratone, was hardlie able to ap-
pease the fraie, in which diuerse were wounded, and
none slaine. The lord deputie issued out of the castell,
and came as farre as the pillorie, to whome the maior
possed thorough the preale with the sword naked be-
der his arme, & presented White that was the breuer
of all this garboile to his lordship, whome the gouer-
nour pardoned, as well for his courage in bichouring
as for his retchlesse simplicitie and pleasantnesse in
telling the whole discourse. Whereby a man maie see
how manie bloudie quarrels a brasting swashbuck-
ler maie picke out of a bottle of hate, namelie when
his bzaines are forebitten with a bottle of nappie
ale.

About this time there was a great sturre raised
in England, about the king his diuorse, who think-
ing it expedient in so sickle a world to haue a sure
post in Ireland, made Kildare lord deputie. Cromer
the pimat of Arimagh lord chancellor, and sir James
Butler lord tresuroz. Skeffington, supposing that
he was put beside the cushion by the secret caruall
sing of Kildare his friends, conceived therof a great
gelouise, being therein the deeper drenched, because
that Kildare hauing receiued the sword, would per-
mit Skeffington, who was late gouernour, now
like a meane priuat person, to danle attendance a-
mong other suters in his house at Dublin, named
the Carbie. Skeffington plaieng thus on the bit,
shortlie after sailed into England, upon whose de-
parture the lord deputie summoned a parlement at
Dublin, where there past an act against leasers of
corne: also for the uniting and appropriation of the
parsonage of Galtrim to the priorie of saint Peters
by Trim. In the parlement time, a meale on a sud-
den invaded the countrie of Wicell, rising and spou-
ling the king his subiects, at which time also was the
earle of Ossorie greatlie berey by the Geraldines, by
reason of the old quarrels of either side askech mub-
ued.

The next yeare, the lord deputie going against
Deacroll, was pitifullic hurt in the side with a gun;
at the castell of Wicre; so that he neuer after inioied
his lims, nor deliuered his words in god plight;
otherwise like enough to haue bene longer forborne
in consideration of his manie noble qualities, great
good seruices, and the state of those times. Straight-
waies complaints were addressed to the king of these
A. G. enojuntices,

Henrie white
raised an up-
rore in Du-
blin.

Thomas
Warbie ma-
ior.

white parbo-
ned.

Kildare lord
deputie.
Cromer.
Butler.
Skeffington
offended with
Kildare.

The sailleth in-
to England.

1552
A parliament
summoned at
Dublin.
Deacroll was
killed by an
accident.

Kildare hurt.

The cardinall
was pissett
in the backe
of the
king.

1559
The William
Skeffington
deputie of
Ireland.

Edward
Staples bis-
hop of Metch

Thomas
Fitzsimons.

Skeffington
his answer.

The duke of
Norfolke
bound for
Kildare.

Beginneth
the cardin-
all to be
taken to be
a
butcher his
house.

1558
The Irish in
rebellion.

Kildare
fresh im-
posed.

Kildare
with the
Toles.

The earle of
Kildare com-
mitted.

Henrie
Fitzsimons.

John Fitz-
simons an-
swereth
Metch.

A mandatum
to create
Kildare.

Kildare accus-
ed.

He is sent for
to England.

Thomas
Fitzgerald.

enormities, and that in most heinous manner that could be devised, boulding out his doings as it were to the last brake of sinister surmises, turning curie puiat insurie to be the king his quarrell, & making curie puddings pliche as huge in shew as Sam-
son his pillar. Whereupon Kildare was commanded by sharpe letters to repaire into England, leauing such a person for the furniture of that realme, and the gouernance of the land in his absence, for whose doings he would answer. Being vpon the sight of this letter prepared to fassle into England, he sat in coun-
cell at Dublin, and having sent for his sonne & before the lord Thomas Fitzgerald (a yong stripling of one and twentie yeares of age, borne in England, sonne to the lord Zouch his daughter, the earle of Kildare his first wife) in the hearing of the whole bozd thus he spake.

The earle of Kildare his exhortation to
his sonne the lord Thomas.

Sonne Thomas, I doubt not, but you know that my soueraigne lord the king hath sent for me into England, and what shall betide me God knoweth, for I know not. But howsoeuer it falleth, both you and I know that I am well kept in yeares: and as I maie shortly die, for that I am mortall, so I must in hast de cease, because I am old. Wherefore in so much as my winter is welneere ended, and the spring of your age now buddeth, my will is that you behaue your selfe so wisely in these your græne yeares, as that to the comfort of your friends you maie inioie the pleasure of summer, gleane and reape the fruits of your haruest, that with honour you maie grow to the catching of that hoarie winter, on which you see me your father fast picking. And whereas it please the king his maiestie, that vpon my departure here hence, I should substitute in my roome such one, for whose gouernement I would answer: albeit I know, that your yeares are tender, your wit not fet-
led, your iudgement not fullie rectified, and therefore I might be with god cause reclaimed from putting a naked sword in a yong mans hand: yet notwithstanding, for so much as I am your father, and you my sonne, I am well assured to beare that stroke with you in steering your ship, as that vpon anie in-
formation I maie command you as your father, and correct you as my sonne for the wrong handling of your helme.

Where be here that sit at this bozd, far more sufficient personages for so great charge than you are. But what then? If I should cast this burthen on their shoulders, it might be that hereafter they would be so farre with enuie carried, as they would percase hazard the losse of one of their owne eyes, to be assured that I should be depriued of both mine eyes. But for so much as the case toucheth your skin as nere as mine, and in one respect nigher than mine, because (as I said before) I rest in the winter, and you in the spring of your yeares, and now I am resolved date by date to learne rather how to die in the feare of God, than to liue in the pompe of the world, I thinke you will not be so haineleske, as to stab your selfe thorough the bodie, onelie to scarifie my skin with the point of your blade. Wherefore (my sonne) consider, that it is easie to raze, and hard to build, and in all your affaires be schooled by this bozd, that for wisdom is able, and for the entier affection it beareth your house, will be found willing, to lesson you with sound and sage aduise. For albeit in authoritie you rule them, yet in counsell they must rule you. My sonne, you know that my late maiemes stideth my talke: other wise I would haue grated longer

on this matter. For a good tale maie be twice told, and a sound aduise (eifsones iterated) taketh the deeper impression in the attentive hearer his mind. But although my fatherlie affection requireth my dis-
course to be longer, yet I trust your god inclination asketh it to be shorter; and vpon that assurance, here in the presence of this honourable assemblie, I deliuer you this sword. & thus he spake for his last fare well with trickling teares, and hauing ended, he stood, imbraced the counsell, committed them to God, and immediatlie after he was imbarked.

But although with his graue exhortation the frozen hearts of his aduersaries for a short spirt thawed, yet notwithstanding they turned some after all this gaie *Gloria patri* vnto a further fetch; saying that this was nothing else but to dayell their eyes with some sugling knacke, to the end they should aduertise the king of his loiall speeches: adding further, that he was too too euill that could not speake well. And to force the prepesed treasons they laied to his charge, with further surmises they certified the counsell of England, that the earle before his departure furnished his owne piles and forts with the king his artillerie and munition taken forth of the castell of Dublin. The earle being examined vpon that article before the counsell, although he answered that the few potguns and chambers he tooke from thence, were placed in his castell to strengthen the borders against the incrodes of the Irish enimie; and that if he intended anie treason, he was not so foolish, as to fortifie walles and stones, and to commit his naked bones into their hands: yet notwithstanding he deliuered his speeches by reason of his pastete, in such staggering and making wise, that such of the counsell as were not his friends, persuading the rest that he had sunke in his owne tale, by imputing his li-
sping and bragging answer rather to the gilt of conscience, than to the infirmite of his late maieme, had him committed, vntill the king his pleasure were further knowne.

But before we waide anie further in this matter, for the better opening of the whole ground, it would be noted, that the earle of Kildare, among diuerse hidden aduersaries, had in these his later troubles foure principall enimies that were the chiefe means & causes of his ouerthrow, as in those daies it was commonlie bruted. The first was John Alen arch-
shop of Dublin, a gentleman of a good house, chap-
leine to cardinall Wolseie, & after by the cardinall his means constituted archbishop of Dublin, a learned prelat, a good houtholder, of the people indiffe-
rentlie beloued, and more would haue bene, had he not overbusied himselfe in supplanting the house of Kildare. And although it were knowne, that his first grudge towards the Giraldins proceeded from the great affection he bare his lord and master the cardinall, in so much as he would not sticke, were he able, for the pleasuring of the one to wound the other; yet such occasions of greater hatred after ensued (name-
lie for that he was displaced from being lord chancel-
lor, & Cromer the pimat of Armagh by Kildare his diests settled in the office) as notwithstanding the cardinall his combe was cut in England, yet did he per-
sist in pursuing his wonted malice toward that sex.

The second that was linked to this confederacie, was sir John Alen knight, first secretarie to this archbishop, after became maister of the rolles, lastlie lord chancellor. And although sir John Alen were not of kin to the archbishop, but onelie of the name; yet notwithstanding the archbishop made so great re-
koning of him, as well for his forecast in matters of weight, as for his faithfulness in affaires of trust, as whatsoeuer exploit were executed by the one, was

Thomas
Cannon.

Robert Cow-
ley.

Kildare
let into
England.

His owne
misconduct

He is accus-
ed for taking
the king's
treasure.

Kildare
was
imprisoned.

Kildare
was
imprisoned.

The proper-
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marmoset.

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forthwith deemed to haue bene deuised by the other. The third of this crew was Thomas Canon, secreta-
rie to Skeffington, who thinking to be reuenged on
Kildare for putting his lord and master beside the
cushin, as he surmised, was verie willing to haue an
ore in that vote. The fourth that was suspected to
make the muster, was Robert Cowlie, first bailiffe
in Dublin, after seruant to the ladie Margarete Fitz-
giralde, countesse of Desmond and Ossorie, lastlie ma-
ster of the rolles in Ireland, and finally he deceased
at London.

This gentleman for his wisdom and policie was
well esteemed of the ladie Margarete countesse of
Ossorie, as one by whose aduise she was in all hir af-
faires directed. Whereupon some suspicious persons
were perswaded and brought in mind, that he was
the sower of all the discorde that rested betwene the
two brethren Kildare and Ossorie: as though he
could not be roted in the fauour of the one, but that
he must haue professed open hatred vnto the other.
These foure, as birds of one feather, were suppo-
sed to be open enemies to the house of Kildare, bearing
that swaie in the commonwealth, as they were not
occasioned (as they thought) either to craue friend-
ship of the Geraldines, or greatlie to feare their ha-
tred and enimitie. There were beside them diuerse o-
ther secret underminers, who wrought so cunning-
lie vnder the thimble, by holding with the hare, and
running with the hound, as if Kildare had prosper-
ed, they were assured, their malice would not haue
bene in manner suspected: but if he had bene in his
affaires stabled, then their fine deuises for their fur-
ther credit should haue bene apparented. Wherefore
the hearing of his backe friends not onelie surmi-
sed, but also manifested by Kildare, the lord Tho-
mas being iustice or vice-deputie in his fathers ab-
sence, setcht both the Alens so roundlie ouer the hips,
as well by secret drifts as open taunts, as they were
the more egerlie spured to compass his confusion.
For the lord iustice and the counsell, with diuerse of
the nobilitie, at a solemne banquet discoursing of
the anciencie of houses, and of their armes, sir John A-
len spake to the lord iustice these words.

My lord, your house giueth the marmoset, whose
propertie is to eat his owne taile. Meaneing thereby
(as the lord Thomas supposed) that Kildare did vse to
pill and poll his friends, tenants & retainers. These
words were no sower spoken, than the lord Thomas
striking the ball to Alen againe, answered, as one
that was somewhat slipper tongued, in this wise. You
saie truly sir, indeed I heard some saie, that the mar-
moset eateth his owne taile. But although you haue
bene fed by your taile, yet I would aduise you to be-
ware, that your taile eat not you. Shortly after this
quipping gamegall, the lord iustice and the counsell
rode to Drogheda, where hauing for the space of
three or foure daies sojourned, it happened that the
counsellors awaited in the counsell chamber the go-
uernour his comming, vntill it was hard vpon the
stroke of twelue. The archbishop of Dublin caluie
digesting the vice-deputie his long absence, said: My
lords, is it not a prettie matter, that all we shall staie
thus long for a boie? As he vttered these speeches, the
lord iustice vnluckilie was comming vp the staires,
and at his entrie taking the words hot from the bi-
shop his mouth, and iterating them verie coldlie, he
said: My lords, I am heartilie sozie, that you staied
thus long for a boie. Whereat the prelat was appal-
led, to see how unhappilie he was gald with his owne
caltrop. These & the like cutting speeches inkindled
such coles in both their stomachs, as the flame could
not anie longer be smouldered, but at one clift or o-
ther must haue fumed. The enemies therefore hauing
weligh kneaded the dough that should haue bene

baked for the Geraldines bane, deuised that secret
rumors should sprinkle to and fro, that the earle of
Kildare his execution was intended in England;
and that vpon his death the Lord Thomas and all his
bloud should haue bene apprehended in Ireland. As
this false mattering thus abroad, it was holpen for-
ward by Thomas Canon, and others of Skeffington
his seruants, who sicked not to write to certaine
of their friends, as it were, verie secret letters, how
that the earle of Kildare their master his secret eni-
mie (so they took him, because he got the gouerne-
ment ouer his head) was already cut thorter, as his
issue presentlie should be: and now they trusted to see
their master in his gouernment, after which they
soze longed, as for a preferment that would in short
space aduantage them. Such a letter came vnto the
hands of a simple priest, no perfect Englishman, who
for hast hurled it amongst other papers in the chim-
nies end of his chamber, meaning to peruse it bet-
ter at more leisure. The same verie night, a gentle-
man retreating to the lord Thomas, the lord iustice or
vice-deputie, as is before specified, took vp his lodg-
ing with the priest, and sought in the morning when
he rose for some paper, to diuine on his strait stock-
ings; and as the diuell would, he hit vpon the letter,
bare it awaie in the hole of his stocke, no earthlie
thing misdeeming. At night againe he found the pa-
per vnstretted, and musing thereat he began to poze
on the writing, which notified the earle his death, and
the apprehension of the lord Thomas. To horse go-
eth he in all hast, brought the letter to James de la
Hyde, who was principall counsellor to the lord Tho-
mas in all his doings. De la Hyde hauing scantlie
ouerread the letter, making more hast than good
speed, posted to the lord Thomas, imparted him that
letter, and withall putting fire to star, before he diued
to the bottome of this trecherie, he was contented to
swim on the skum and froth thereof, as well by so-
thing by the tenor of the letter, as by inciting the
lord Thomas to open rebellion, cloking the odious
name of treason with the zealous reuengement of
his fathers wrongfull execution, and with the warie
defence of his owne person.

The lord Thomas being pouthfull, rash, and head-
long, and assuring himselfe that the knot of all the
force of Ireland was twisted vnder his girdle, was
by de la Hyde his counsell so far caried, as he was
resolved to cast all on sir and seauen. Wherefore ha-
uing confedered with O'neale, O'conor, and other
Irish potentats, he rode on saint Barnabies daie,
accompanied with seauen score horsemen in their
shirts of maille, through the citie of Dublin, to the
Dam his gate, cross ouer the water to saint Marie
abbey, where the counsell according to appointment
waited his comming, not being praiue to his in-
tent: onelie Cromer the lord chancellour excepted,
who was secretlie aduertised of his reuolt, and there-
fore was verie well provided for him, as hereafter
shall be declared. This Cromer was a graue
prelat, and a learned, well spoken, mild of nature, no-
thing wedded to factions, yet a wellwiller of the
Geraldines, as those by whose means he was aduan-
ced to dignitie. When the lord Thomas was set in
counsell, his horsemen and seruants rusht into the
counsell chamber armed and weaponed, turning
their secret conference to an open parlie. The coun-
cell hereat amazed, and silence with securitie com-
manded, the lord Thomas in this wise spake.

Thomas Fitzgiralde his rebellious oration.



Whoeuer inturbioussie we be hand-
led, and forced to defend our selues in
armes, when neither our seruice nor our
god meaning towards our prince his
crown

The occasion
of Thomas
Fitzgiralde
his rebellion.

James
de la Hyde

Cromer
lord chan-
cellor.

Thomas
Canon.

Robert Cow-
lie.

Kildare fel-
low into
England.

His oration
misconstituted.

He is accused
for taking the
king his ac-
cuser.

The lord
Thomas in-
herited the
king against
his.

Kildare com-
mitted.

The proper-
ty of the
marmoset.

Kildare his
chief crime.
John Alen
archbishop of
Dublin.

Sir John
Alen knight.

The arch-
bishop
say his name

The oration
conspire the
conspiracy of
the Geraldines

crofune auallcth: yet fate not hereafter, but in this open hoſtilitie which here we profeſſe and proclame, we haue ſhewed our ſelues no villaines nor churles, but warriours and gentlemen. This ſword of eſtate is yours, and not mine; I receiued it with an oſh, and haue bleſt it to your benefit. I ſhould ſtaine mine honour, if I turned the ſame to your annoyance. Now haue I need of mine owne ſword, which I dare truſt. As for the common ſword, it flattereth me with a painted ſcabberd, but hath indeed a peſtilent edge, alreadie bathed in the Giraldines bloud, and now is newlie whetted in hope of a further deſtruction. Therefore ſaue your ſelues from vs, as from open enemies. I am none of Henrie his deputie, I am his ſon, I haue more mind to conquer than to gouerne, to meet him in the field than to ſerue him in office. If all the hearts of England and Ireland, that haue cauſe thereto, would ioine in this quarrell (as I hope they will) then ſhould he ſome able (as I truſt he ſhall) for his crueltie and tyrannie, for which the age to come may lawfullie ſcore him by among the ancient tyrants of moſt abhominable and hatefull memorie.

Having added to this ſhamefull oration manie other ſlanderous and foule tearmes, which for diuerſe reſpects I ſpare to pen, he would haue ſurrendered the ſword to the lord chancellor, who (as I ſaid before) being armed for the lord Thomas his coming, and alſo being loath that his ſlackneſſe ſhould ſeeme diſſolall in reſuſing the ſword, or his ſrowardneſſe ouer cruell in ſnatching it upon the firſt proffer, toke the lord Thomas by the wiſt of the hand, and requeſted him for the loue of God, the teares trilling downe his cheekes, to giue him for two or three words the hearing, which granted, the reuerend father ſpake as ſuſpecth.

The chancellor his oration.

My lord, although hatred be common to the handmaiden of truth, becauſe ſhe ſaith him that plainelie expreſſeth his mind, to be for the more part of moſt men diſliked: yet notwithstanding I am ſo well aſſured of your lordſhip his good inclination towards me, and your lordſhip ſo certaine of mine entire affection towards you, as I am emboldened, notwithstanding this compaſſie of armed men, ſerlie and frankelie to utter that, which by me declared, and by your lordſhip followed, will turne (God willing) to the auail of you, your friends, allies, and this countrie. I doubt not (my lord) but you know, that it is wiſedome for anie man to looke before he leape, and to ſowne the water before his ſhip hull thereon, & namely where the matter is of weight, there it behoueth to ſollow ſound, ſage, and mature aduiſe. Therefore (my lord) ſith it is no malgame for a ſubiet to leaue an armie againſt his prince: it lieth your lordſhip in hand to breack longer on the matter, as well by forecaſting the hurt whereby you may fall, as by reuoluing the hope wherewith you are fed. What ſhould moue your lordſhip to this ſudden attempt, I know not. If it be the death of your father, it is as yet but ſecretlie muttered, not manifeſtly publiſhed. And if I ſhould grant you, that your zeale in reuenging your father his execution were in ſome reſpect to be commended: yet reaſon would you ſhould ſuſpend the reuenge untill the certaintie were knowne. And were it, that the report were true, yet it ſtandeth with the dutie and allegiance of a good ſubiet (from whom I hope in God you mean not to diſſeuer your ſelfe) not to ſpurne and kicke againſt his prince, but contrariwiſe, if his ſoueraigne be mightie, to feare him;

if he be profitable to his ſubiects, to honour him: if he command, to obeye him: if he be kind, to loue him: if he be vicious, to pittie him: if he be a tyrant, to beare with him: conſidering that in ſuch caſe it is better with patience to bow, than with ſubburnneſſe to breake. For ſacred is the name of a king, and odious is the name of a rebellion: the one from heauen deriued, and by God ſhielded; the other in hell forged, and by the diuell executed. And therefore who ſo will obſerue the courſe of hiſtoires, or weigh the iuſtice of God in puniſhing malefactours, ſhall eaſilie ſee, that albeit the ſunne ſhineth for a time on them that are in rebellion: yet ſuch ſweet beginnings are at length claſped by with ſharpe & ſowre ends.

Now that it appeareth, that you ought not to beare armour againſt your king, it reſteth to diſcuſſe whether you be able (though you were willing) to annoie your king. For if among meane and priuat ſoes it be reckoned for ſolie, in a ſecret grudge to profeſſe open hatred, and where he is not able to hinder, there to ſhew a willing mind to hurt: much more ought your lordſhip in ſo generall a quarrell as this, that concerneth the king, that toucheth the nobilitie, that aperteineth to the whole commonwelth, to foreſee the king his power on the one ſide, & your force on the other, and then to iudge if you be able to cocke with him, and to put him beſide the cuſhion; and not whiſtſt you ſtrive to ſit in the ſaddle, to loſe to your owne vndoing both the horſe and the ſaddle.

King Henrie is knowne to be in theſe our daies ſo puſſant a prince, and ſo victorious a warrior, that he is able to conquer foreign dominions: and thinke you that he cannot defend his owne? He ſtaineth kings, and iudge you that he may not rule his owne ſubiects? Suppose you conquer the land, do you imagine that he will not recover it? Therefore (my lord) flatter not your ſelfe ouermuch, reſe not ſo great aſſiſtance either in your troupe of horſemen, or in your band of footmen, or in the multitude of your partakers. What ſace ſoeuer they put noli on the matter, or what ſucceſſe ſoeuer for a ſeaſon they haue, becauſe it is eaſie for an armie to vanquiſh them that do not reſiſt: yet hereafter when the king ſhall ſend his power into this countrie, you ſhall ſee your adherents like ſliper changelings plucke in their hoznes, and ſuch as were content to beate you by the chin as long as you could ſwim, when they eſpie you ſinke, they will by little and little ſpinke from you, and percaſe will ducke you ouer head and eares. As long as the gale puffeth full in your ſalles, doubt not but diuerſe will anerte vnto you and ſied on you as crows on carlon: but if anie ſtorme happen to blaſter, then will they be ſure to leaue you paſt alone ſticking in the mire or ſands, having leaſt helpe when you haue moſt need. And what will then iſſue of this. The branches will be pardoned, the root apprehended, your honour diſtained, your houſe atteinted, your armes reuerſed, your manours razed, your doings examined; at which time God knoweth what an hartburning it will be, when that with no colour may be denied, which without ſhame cannot be confeſſed. My lord, I polowe not out oracles as a ſoothſayer, for I am neither a prophet, nor the ſonne of a prophet. But it may be, that I am ſome ſtrike like Caſſandra being partener of his ſpirit in foretelling the truth, and partaker of his miſfortune in that I cannot (when I tell the truth) beleeued of your lordſhip, whom God defend from being Pyramus.

Weigh therefore (my lord) the nobilitie of your anceſſors, remember your father his late exhortation, forget not your dutie vnto your prince, conſider the eſtate of this poore countrie, with what heaps of curſes you ſhall be laden, when your ſouldiers

The ſubiects
dutie to
wards his
king.

The word
a king ſeemeth
to be
a rebellion
from
the
king's
grace.

And he
ſaith.

ſhould
Thomas.

Henrie lord of
Ireland.

Thomas
reuerſeth by
the ſword.

Caſſandra
prophet.

diuers shall rife the poore subiects, & so far indamage the whole reline, as they are not yet borne that shall hereafter feele the smart of this vproze. You haue not gone so far but you may turne home, the king is mercifull, your offense as yet not ouer heinous, cleaue to his clemencie, abandon this headlong folle. Which I craue in most humble wise of your lordship, for the loue of God, for the dutie you owe your prince, for the affection you beare the countrie, and for the respect you haue to your owne safetie, whom God defend from all traitorous & wicked attempts.

Having ended his oration, which he set forth with such a lamentable action, as his cheekes were all beblubbered with teares, the horsemen, namelye such as vnderstood not English, began to diuine what the lord chancelor ment with all this long circumstance; some of them reporting that he was preaching a sermon, others said that he stood making of some herotical poetrie in the praise of the lord Thomas. And thus as euerie idiot shot his folly bolt at the wise chancelor his discourse, who in effect did nought else but drop pretious stones before hogs, one Ward de Melan, an Irish rithmour, and a rotten sheepe able to infect an whole flocke, was chatting of Irish verses, as though his tongue had run on pattens, in commendation of the lord Thomas, inuesting him with the title of Silken Thomas, because his horsemen iacks were gorgeously imbowered with silke: and in the end he told him that he lingered there ouerlong. Whereat the lord Thomas being quickened, did cast his eye towards the lord chancelor, & said thus.

The replie of Silken Thomas.

M lord chancelor, I come not hither to take aduise what I should do, but to giue you to vnderstand what I mind to do. It is easie for the sound to counsell the sicke: but if the fore had smarted you as much as it festereth me, you would be percase as impatient as I am. As you would wish me to honour my prince, so dutie willet me to reuerence my father. Wherefore he that will with such tyrannie execute mine innocent parent, and withall threaten my destruction, I may not, nor will not hold him for my king. And yet in truth he was neuer our king, but our lord, as his progenitors haue bene before him. But if it be my hap to miscarie, as you seeme to prognosticat, catch that catch may, I will take the market as it riseth, and will chuse rather to die with ballantnesse and libertie, than to liue vnder king Henrie in bondage and villanie. And yet it may be, that as strong as he is, and as weake as I am, I shall be able like a fleshy worme to itch the bodie of his kingdome, and force him to scratch deppelie before he be able to pike me out of my seame. Wherefore my lord, I thanke you for your good counsell, and were it not that I am too crabbed a note in descant to be now tuned, it might be that I would haue warbled sweeter harmonye than at this instant I meane to sing. ¶ With these words he rendered vp the sword, and slung a wale like a bedlem, being garded with his bzutish droun of bzaineficlie rebels.

The counsell sent secretlie vpon his departure to master mator and his brethren, to apprehend (if they convenientlie might) Thomas Fitzgiralde and his confederats. But the warning was so sharrow, that the enimie so strong, the citie (by reason of the plague that ranged in towne and in countrie) so dispeopled, as their attempt therein would seeme but vaine and fruitolous. Durc this, the weaker part of the rebels

would not pen vp themselves within the citie wals, but stood howering aloofe off toward Dismantolone greene, on the top of the hill where the gallies stood (a fit centre for such a circle) till time they were aduertised of their capteine Thomas his returne. This open rebellion in this wise denounced, part of the counsell, namelye Alen archbishop of Dublin & Finglasse chiefe baron hied with bag and baggage to the castell of Dublin, whereof John White was constable, who after was dubbed knight by the king in England, for his worthie seruice done in that vproze.

Thomas & his crew, supposing that in ouerrunning the whole land, they should find no blocke to stumble at sauing the earle of Mallowe, agreed to trie if by any allurements he could be trained to their confederacie. And forsomuch as the lord James Butler was linked with Thomas Fitzgiralde in great amitie and friendship, it was thought best to giue him the onset, who if he were won to swaie with them, they would not weigh two chips the force of his father the earle of Mallowe. Thomas forthwith sent his messengers and letters to his cousine the lord Butler, conuening to diuide with him halfe the kingdome, would he associat him in this enterprise. Wherevpon the lord Butler returned Thomas his brokers with this letter.

The lord Butler his letter to Thomas Fitzgiralde.

Taking pen in hand to write you my resolute answer, I muse in the verie first line by what name to call you, my lord, or my cousine: seeing your notorious treason hath distained your honour, and your desperate lewdnesse shamed your kindred. You are so liberrall in parting stakes with me, that a man would wene you had no right vnto the game: so importunat in crauing my companie, as if you would perswade me to hang with you for good fellowship. Do you thinke that James was so mad, as to gape for gogions; or so vngregarious, as to sell his truth for a peece of Ireland? Were it so (as it cannot be) that the chickens you reckon, were both hatched and feathered: yet be thou sure, I had rather in this quarell die thine enimie, than liue thy partencer. For the kindnesse you proffer me, and good loue in the end of your letter, the best waie I can I purpose to requite, that is, in aduising you, though you haue fetcht your feaze, yet to loke well yet ye leape. Ignorance and errour, with a certeine opinion of dutie, haue caried you vnto this follie, not yet so ranke but it maie be cured. The king is a vessell of bountie & mercie, your words against his maiestie shall not be accounted malicious, but rather belched out for heat and impotencie, except your selfe by heaping offenses disconcer a mischeefous and wilfull meaning. Farewell.

Thomas Fitzgiralde nettled with this round answer, was determined to inuade the countrie of Wikkennie, first forcing an oth vpon the gentlemen of the pale: and such as would not agree thereto he toke prisoners. Fingall, which was not before acquainted with the recourse of the Irish enimie, was left open to be preided and spoiled by the Moles, who were therein assisted by John Burnell of Balgriffin, a gentleman of a faire liuing, settled in a good battle soile of Fingall, taken for one not deuoid of wit, were it not that he was overtaken with this treason. The Dublinians hauing notice that the enimie made hauocke of their neighbors of Fingall, issued out of the citie, meaning to haue intercepted them at the bzidge of Bilmaman. And hauing incountre

Alen.
Finglasse.
John wale
etc.

Fingall
spoiled.

John Burnell
of Balgriffin.

The name of
a king faced.

Rebellion
from wherof
it springeth.

Ward de
Melan.

Silken
Thomas.

Henrie lord of
Ireland.

Thomas
rendereth vp
the sword.

Cassandras
prophecie.

The Chronicles of Ireland.

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The Dublinians discomfited.

Patrike Fitzsimons slain.

Messengers sent from Thomas to Dublin.

Francis Herbert sent into England Custace of Balcutlan.

The archbishop of Dublin meaneth to sail into England. Bartholomew Fitzgiralde.

1534 Teling. Walter.

red with the Irish néere the wood Salcocke, what for the number of the rebels, and the lacke of an expert capteine to lead the armie of Dublin in battell raie, there were fourescore of the citizens slaine, and the prieste not rescued. In this conflict, Patrike Fitzsimons, with diuerse other good houlholders, miscaried.

This victorie bred so great an insolencie in Thomas Fitzgiralde, as he sent his messengers to the citie, declaring that albeit they offered him that iniurie, as that he could not haue free passage with his companie to & fro in the pale, & therefore would he vse the benefit of his late skirmish, or be answerable in iust reuenge to their due desert, he might by law of armes put their citie to fire and sword: yet this notwithstanding, if they would but permit his men to laie siege to the castell of Dublin, he would enter in league with them, and would undertake to backe them in such fauourable wise, as the stoutest champion in his armie should not be so hardie, as to offer the basest in their citie so much as a fillip. The citizens considering that the towne by reason of the sicknesse was weakened, and by this late ouerthrow greatlie discouraged, were forced to make a vertue of necessitie, by lighting a candle before the diuell, till time the kings pleasure were knowne; to whom with letters they posted one of their aldermen named Francis Herbert, whom shortly after, the king for his seruice dubbed knight, infeofing him with part of Christopher Custace of Balcutlan his lands, who had vndoubtedly a foot in this rebellion. But before the citizens would returne answer to Thomas as touching this message, they secretly aduertised master John White constable of the castell of this vnlawfull demand.

The constable weighing the securitie of the citie, little regarding the force of the enimie, agreed willingly thereto, so that he might be sufficientlie stored with men and vittells. John Alen archbishop of Dublin, fearing that all would haue gone to wracke in Ireland, being then in the castell, brake his mind touching his sailing into England, to one of his seruants named Bartholomew Fitzgiralde, whom notwithstanding he were a Giraldine, he held for his trustiest and inwardest counsellor. Bartholomew vndertaking to be the archbishop his pilot, vntill he were past the barre, encouraged his master to imbarke himselfe hard by the Dams gate. And as they were hulling in the channell that euening, they were not ware, vntill the barke strake on the sands néere Clontarfe.

The archbishop with his man scale secretly to Tartaine, there meaning to lurke vntill the wind had serued to saile into England, where he scarcelye sir houres sojourned, when Thomas Fitzgiralde knew of his arrivall, and accompanied with James de la Hyde, sir John Fitzgiralde, Oliver Fitzgiralde his vnckles, timelie in the morning, being the eight and twentieth of Iulie, he posted to Tartaine, beset the house, commanded John Teling and Nicholas Waffer to apprehend the archbishop, whome they haled out of his bed, brought him naked in his shirt, barefooted, and bareheaded, to their capteine. Whom when the archbishop espied, incontinently he kneeled and with a pittifull countenance & lamentable voice, he besought him for the loue of God not to remember former iniuries, but to weigh his present calamitie, and what malice soeuer he bare his person, yet to respect his calling and vocation, in that his enimie was a christian, and he amongst christians an archbishop.

As he spake thus, bequeathing his soule to God, his bodie to the enimies mercie, Thomas being stricken with some compassion, & withall inflamed with

desire of reuenge, turned his horse aside, saying in Irish (*Bir wem e boddeagh*) which is as much to saie in English, as Away with the churle: or Take the churle from me: which doubtles he spake, as after he declared, meaning the archbishop should be deteined as prisoner. But the cattifs that were present, rather of malice than of ignorance, misconstruing his words, murdered the archbishop without further delaye, brained and hacked him in gobbets, his blood with Abell crying to God for reuenge, which after befell to all such as were principals in this horrible murder. The place is ever since hedged and imbaied on currie stoe, ouergrowne and vsfrequented for detestation of the fact. This Alen (as before is declared) was in seruice with cardinall Wolscie, of deepe iudgement in the law canon, the onelie match of Stephen Gardiner, an other of Wolscies chapleins, for auoiding of which emulation he was preferred in Ireland, rough and rigorous in iustice, deacliie hated of the Giraldines for his masters sake & his owne, as he that crossed them diuerse times, & much bided both father and son in their gouernements, not vnlike to haue promoted their accusations, and to haue bene a forger of the letter before mentioned, which turned to his finall destruction.

The rebels hauing in this execrable wise imbrued their hands in the archbishop his blood, they rode to Houth, toke sir Christopher lord of Houth prisoner, & vpon their returne from thence, they apprehended master Luttrell chiefe iustice of the common ples, conueting him with them as their prisoner. The Dublinians during this space, hauing respite to passe sent into the castell by night sufficient stoe of vittells, at which time, John Fitzsimons, one of their aldermen, sent to master constable twentie tun of wine, foure & twentie tun of bare, two thousand drie ling, sixtens hogheads of powdered beefe, and twentie chambers, with an iron chaine for the drawe brdge of the castell that was newlie forged in his owne houle for the auoiding of all suspicion. The castell being with men, munition, and vittells abundantly furnished, answer was returned to Thomas Fitzgiralde, purporting a content for the receiuing of his souldiours. Which granted, he sent thither James Field of Luske, Nicholas Waffer, John Teling, Edward Houke (who was likewise a pirat scowring the coast, and greatlie annoying all passengers) Wood and Bursell, with an hundred souldiours attendant on them, as on their capteins. These valiant Rutterkins planted néere Preston his innes, right euer against the castell gate two or thre falcons, hauing with such strong rampiers intrenched their companie, as they little weighed the shot of the castle. And to withdraw the constable from discharging the ordinance, they threatened to take the youth of the citie, and place them on the top of their trenches for master constable to shot at, as at a marke he would be loth to hit.

The English pale in this wise weakened, the citizens appeased, and the castell besieged, Thomas Fitzgiralde and his confederats were resolved to trie if the lord Butler would stand to his doughtie letter; and sith he would not by faire means be allured, he should be (maugre his head) by foule means compelled to assist them in this their generall attempt. Thomas vpon this determination, being accompanied with Dneale, diuerse Scots, James de la Hyde, his principall counsellour, John de la Hyde, Edward Fitzgiralde his vnckle, sir Richard Walsh parson of Loughselodie, John Burrell of Balgriffin, James Gernon, Walter Walsh, Robert Walsh, Maurice Walsh, with a maine armie, inuaded the erle of Desfozie and the lord Butler his lands, burnt and wasted the countrie of Kilkennie to Thomas towne, the

Alen archbishop of Dublin murdered at Tartaine.

The lord of Houth taken prisoner.

John Fitzsimons.

The castell of Dublin besieged.

Field, Waffer, Teling, Houke.

Thomas Fitzgiralde useth the countie of Balcutlan.

The erle of Desfozie fleeth. The lord Butler wounded.

Francis Herbert returneth from England. Shillingworth.

Thomas Fitzsimons.

No league to be kept with traitors. The Dublinians breake with Thomas Fitzgiralde.

Field and his companie taken.

The youth of Dublin taken prisoners.

poore inhabitants being constrained to shunne his force, rather than to withstand his power.

Fitzgiralde his approach towards these confines hinted, the earle of Moxie, and his son the lord Butler, with all the gentlemen of the countrey of Kilkennie, assembled nere Jeripon, to determine what order they might take, in withstanding the invasion of the rebels. And as they were thus in parlee, a gentleman of the Butlers accompanied with sixtene horsemen, departed secretly from the folkemote, & made towards Thomas Fitzgiralde and his armie, who was then ready to incampe himselfe at Thomas towne. When the chalenger was escried, and the certaine number knowne, sixtene of Fitzgiralde his horsemen did charge him, and presentlie followed them seven score horsemen, with two or thre banners displayed, pursuing them untill they came to the hill where all the gentlemen were assembled, who being so suddenlie taken, could not stand to bicker; but some fled this waite, some that waite, the earle was scattered from his companie, and the lord Butler unware was hurt: whom when such of the rebels knew as fauoured him, they pursued him but colde, and let him escape on horsebacke, taking his waite to Downemore (nere Kilkennie) where he late at surgerie.

During the time that Thomas with his armie was ransacking the erle of Moxie his lands, Francis Herebert returned from England to Dublin with the king and counceils letters to maister Shillingforth then maior, and his brethren, with letters likewise to maister White the constable, to withstand (as their dutie of allegiance bound them) the traitorous practises of Thomas and his complices, and that with all speed they should be succored vpon the sight of these letters. Maister Thomas Fitzsimons recorder of the citie, a gentleman that shewed himselfe a politike and a comfortable counsellor in these troubles, paraphrasing the king his gracious letters, with diuerse good and sound constructions, imboldened the citizens to breake their new made league, which with no traitor was to be kept. The aldermen and communaltie, with this pithie persuasion easilie weighed, gaue forthwith order, that the gates should be shut, their percullices dismounted, the traitors that besieged the castell apprehended, flags of defiance vpon their walls placed, and an open breach of truce proclaimed.

Field and his companies (who did not all this while batter aught of the castell, but onelie one hole that was bozed through the gate with a pellet, which lighted in the mouth of a demie canon, planted with in the castell) vnderstanding that they were betrayed, began to shrink their heads, trusting more to their heeles than to their weapons: some ran one way, some another, diuerse thought to haue bene housed and so to lurke in Rozels den, who were thrust out by the head and shoulders: few of them swam ouer the Liffie, the greater number taken and imprisoned. Forthwith post vpon post rode to Thomas Fitzgiralde, who then was rising the countrey of Kilkennie, certifieng him that all was mard, the fat was in the fire, he brought an old house about his owne eares, the Waltocks of Dublin kept not touch with him, the English armie was ready to be shipt, Herebert with the king his letters returned; now it stood him vpon to shew himselfe a man or a mouse. Thomas with these tidings amazed, made speedie repaire to Dublin, sending his pursuants before him, to command the gentlemen of the English pale to meete him with all their power nere Dublin. And in his waite towards the citie, his companie took diuerse children of the Dublinians, that kept in the countrey (by reason of the contagion that

then was in the towne) namelie Michaele Fitzsimons, Patrike Fitzsimons, William Fitzsimons, all sons to Walter Fitzsimons late maior, at which time was also taken James Stanthurst, with diuerse other ponglings of the citie.

Having marched nere Dublin, he sent doctor Trauerse, Peter Lince of the Knoke, and Oliuer Grace, as messengers (for I maie not rightlie tearme them ambassadozs) to the citizens, who crossing the Liffie from the blacke stiers to the kete, explained to the maior and aldermen their errand, the effect whereof was, either to stand to their former promise, or else to restore to their capteine his men, whom they wrongfullie detained in goale. The first and last point of this request flatlie by the citizens denied, the messengers returned, declaring what cold intertainment they had in Dublin. Thomas herewith frieng in his greafe, caused part of his armie to burne the barke wherein Herebert sailed from England: which done without resistance, the vessel road at anchor nere saint Apatie abbeie, they intended to stop all the springs that flowed vnto the towne, and to cut the pipes of the conduits, where by they should be destitute of fresh water. Shorlie after, they laid siege to the castell in the Shipstreet, from whence they were bassilie by the ordinance seized, and all the thatcht houses of the street were burnt with wild fire, which maister White deuised, because the enimie should not be there rescued.

When no butter could sticke on their bread, in that part of the citie, the greater number of the rebels assembled to Thomas his court, and marched to saint Thomas his street, rasing downe the partitions of the row of houses before them on both sides of the street, finding none to withstand them: for the inhabitants fled into the citie, so that they made a long lane on both the sides like a gallerie, covered all ouer head, to shield as well their horsemen as their footmen from gunshot. This done they burnt the new street, planted a falcon right against the new gate, and it discharged, pearced the gate, and kild an apprentice of Thomas Stephens alderman, as he went to bring a bason of water from the high pipe, which by reason the springs were damd vp, was at that time drie. Richard Stanton, commonlie called Dicke Stanton, then gailor of the new gate, a good seruitor, an excellent markeman, as his valiant seruice that time did approue. For besides that he gald diuers of the rebels as they would skip from house to house, by causing some of them with his peece to carrie their errands in their buttocks; so he perceiued one of the enimies, leuelling at the window or spike at which he stood: but whether it were, that the rebell his powder failed him, or some gimball or other was out of frame, Stanton toke him so trulie for his marke, as he strake him with his bullet full in the forehead vnder the brim of his scull, and withall turned vp his heeles.

Stanton not satisfied with his death, issued out at the wicket, stript the varlot mother-naked, and brought in his peece and his attire. The desperation of this fact disliked of the citizens, and greatly stomached by the rebels, before Stanton returned to his standing, the enimies brought faggots & fiers to the new gate, and incontinentlie fired them. The townesmen perceiuing that if the gate were burnt, the enimies would be encouraged vpon hope of the spoile, to venter more fiercelie, than if they were incountred without the walls, thought it expedient presentlie to charge them. To this exploit they were the more egerlie moued, because that notwithstanding Thomas his souldiours were manie in number; yet they knew that the better part of his companie bare but hollow hearts to the quartrell: for

Messengers sent to Dublin Trauerse. Lince. Grace.

Dublin besieged.

The ship street fired.

Richard Stanton.

Faggots laid into the new gate,

the archdeacon of Dublin murdered at Carlingford.

The earle of Moxie fleeth. The lord Butler wounded.

Francis Herebert returned from England. Shillingforth.

Thomas Fitzsimons.

Peague to be kept with traitors. The Dublinians breathe with Thomas Fitzgiralde.

Field and his companies taken.

Thomas Fitzgiralde in death the earle of Kilkennie.

The youth of Dublin taken prisoners.

for the number of the wise gentlemen of the pale did little or nothing incline to his purpose. And therefore when he besieged the citie, the most part of those arrayes, which were shot over the walles, were breasted, and nothing annoied them: some shot in letters, and foretold them of all the treacherous stratagems that were in hammering.

That espied the citizens, and gathering the faintnesse of his souldiours thereby, blazed abroad upon the walles triumphant newes, that the king his armie was arrived: and as it had bene so in deed, suddenly to the number of four hundred rushed out at the new gate, through flame and fire upon the rebels, who at the first sight of armed men, wening no lesse but the truth was so, otherwise assured, that the citie would never dare to encounter them, gave ground, forsooke their capteins, dispersed and scattered into diuerse corners, therein falcon taken, an hundred of their stoutest Calloglasses slain. Thomas Fitzgiralde fled to the graie sisters in S. Francis his street, there coucht that night, unknown to the citie, untill the next morning he sale praisell to his armie not far off, who stood in wonderfull feare that he was apprehended. Thomas his courage by this late overthrow somewhat cooled, and also being assuredly told, that a flete was espied a farre off, bearing full saile towards the coast of Ireland, he was some intreated, having so manie irons in the fire, to take eggs for his monie: & withall, hauing no forren succor, either from Paulus tertius, or Charles the first, which daily he expected, he was sore quashed, being of himselfe, though strong in number of souldiours, yet unfurnished of sufficient munition and artillerie, to stand & withstand the king his armie in a pitcht field, or a maine battell. Upon this & other considerations, to make as faire weather as he could, he sent James de la Hyde, Line of the Knocke, William Bath of Dollardstowne, doctor Trauerse, Thomas Field of Wainstowne, as messengers to the citizens, to treat with them of a truce, who being let in at the new gate, repaired to William Kellie his house, where maister maloz and his brethren were assembled. The articles propounded by them to the citizens, were these.

- 1 That Thomas Fitzgiralde his men, who were detained in prison, should be redelivered.
- 2 Item, that the citizens should incontinentlie deliuer him at one payment, a thousand pounds in monie.
- 3 Item, that they should deliuer him five hundred pounds in wares.
- 4 Item, to furnish him with munition and artillerie.
- 5 Item, to addresse their fauorable letters to the king for their capteine his pardon, and all his confederats.

The maloz and aldermen, hauing ripe debate the tenour of these articles, agreed, that maister Fitzsimons their recorder should answer vnto the first, that they would not sticke to let his seruants at libertie, so he would redeliver them the youth of the citie, which was nothing else in effect, but tiff for tat. As for the second and the third demand, they were so greatlie by his warres impouerished, as they might hardlie spare monie or wares. And as touching implements for warre, they were neuer such fond riddelcocks, as to offer ante man a rod to beat their owne talles, or to betake their massines vnto the custodie of the wolues, maruelling much that their capteine would so farre overshoot himselfe, as to be taken with such apparant repugnanie. For if he intended to submit himselfe to the king his mercie, and to make them humble meanes to his highnesse for the obtaining of his pardon, he ought rather

to make sute for some good bellam paid ment for the ingrossing thereof, than for mutation and artillerie to withstand his prince. Wherefore, that three unlawfull demands reiected, they would willingly condescend to the first and last as well requesting him to deliuer them the youth of the citie, as to submit himselfe and his companie to the king, his mercie promising not onelie with their fauorable letters, but also with their personall presence to further, as far as in them lay, his humble sute to the king and counsell.

As they parted thus to and fro, William Bath of Dollardstowne a student of the common lawes spake: My masters, what needeth all this long circumstance? Let vs all drinke of one cup. Which words were shortly after vpon Sheshington his arriuall so crookedlie glofed, as by drinking of a sodayne cup he lost the best ioint of his boole. For albeit vpon his trespasse he construed his words to import an vniforme consent towards the obtaining of Fitzgiralde his pardon; yet all this could not colour his matter in such wise, but that he and Cusace of Balcanlan were executed at the castell of Dublin. The messengers knowing their capteine to be at a lowch, were agreed to take the offers of the first & last conditions, and that to the accomplishing of these articles hostages should be giuen of either part. The messengers deliuered to the citizens doctor Trauerse & others, the citizens deliuered them Richard Talbot, Alzeman, Rochford, & Kerrie. These were committed to the custodie of David Sutton of Kabyde, who redelivered them to the citizens immediatlie after vpon the certaine rumoz of Sheshington his repaire.

Thomas growne to this point with the Dublinians raised his siege, caused his artillerie to be conueied to Houth, marching after with his armie, to the end he might as well bulch the English ships if they durst anerre the coast, as to bicker with the souldiours vpon their arriuall. But before he toke his forneie vnto Houth, he rode to Wainoth, to see that the castell should be of all sides fortified, where being done to vnderstand, that a companie of white cotes with red crosses landed at Dublin secretlie in the dead of the night, and also that another band arrived at Houth, and were readie to march towards Dublin, he posted incontinentlie with two hundred horsemen towards the water side, incountred nere Clontarfe, the Hamertons, two valiant and courageous gentlemen, hauing in their companie foure score souldiours, where they fought so valliantlie for their lines, as so few footmen could haue done against so great a troope of horsemen: for they did not onlie mangle and hacke diuerse of the rebels, but also one of the Hamertons wounded Thomas Fitzgiralde in the forehead. Some report that one of the Mulgraues, who was of kin to Fitzgiralde, was slain in this conflict, whose death he is said to haue taken greatlie to hart. The rebelles fled with the slaughter of the English, hied with all speed to Houth, shot at the ships that rode at anchor, caused them to flee from thence, & to make towards Skerries, where landed both the Egglebys, and the Dacres, with their horsemen. Kouks, Fitzgiralde his pirat, was sent to scotoze the coast, who toke an English barke laden with verie faire geldings, and sent them to his capteine. After that Thomas had returned with this botie, and the spoile of such as were slain to Wainoth, sir William Bereton knight, with his sonne John Bereton, was inhoied at Houth with two hundred & fiftie souldiours verie well appointed, and maister Salisburie with two hundred archers.

Lastlie landed at the slip, neare the bridge of Dublin, sir William Sheshington knight lord bereton,

The citizens
bicker with
the rebels.

Thomas
Fitzgiralde
fleeth.

De la Hyde.
Line.
Bath.
Trauerse.
Field.

The articles
propounded to
the citizens.

The citizens
answer these
articles.

William
Bath.

Cusace of
Balcanlan.

Hostages
taken.
Doctor Trauerse.
Talbot.
Rochford.
Kerrie.
David Sutton.

The white
cotes landed
at Dublin.

The Hamertons
haue.

Thomas
Fitzgiralde
wounded.
Mulgraue.

Eggleby.
Dacres.

English
geldings taken.

Sir William
Bereton.
John Bereton.
Salisburie.

Sir William
Sheshington.

Lord bereton
innoeth.

Letters of
thanks from
the king to
the Dublinians.
The lord of
Crimle-
bourne sur-
renders the
sword.

Thomas
Fitzgiralde
goeth toward
Connagh.
The castell of
Wainoth be-
sieged.

Sir William
Bereton
summoneth
the castell.

Christopher
Dacres be-
traueth the
castell of
Wainoth.
Dacres ser-
uice kineth.

Lord bereton
pettie
captaine to
Salisburie.
The castell
taken.

putie, whome the Irish call the gunner, because he was preferred from that office of the king his mai-
ster gunner to gouerne them, and that they can euill
broke to be ruled of anie that is but meanlie borne.
The maior and aldermen receiued the gouernor with
shot, and great solemnitie, who yelding them hartie
thanks for their true and loiall seruice, deliuered
them the king and counsell his letters, purporting
the same effect in writing that he before exprest in
wordes. Warrnell lord of Trimleslowne, who had
the custodie of the sword, did surrender it to sir Wil-
liam Skeffington, according to the meaning of the
king his letters patents on that behalfe.

Thomas Fitzgiralde hauing intelligence that the
whole armie was arrived, warded the castell of Dal-
noth so stronglie, as he toke it to be impregnable.
And to the end he might glue the gouernor battell,
he rode towards Connagh, to leaue all such power
of the Irish, as either for wages, or for goodwill he
could win to assist him. The lord deputie forewar-
ned of his drift, marched with the English armie, and
the power of the pale to Dalnoth, and laid siege to
the castell on the north side towards the parke. But
before anie pece was discharged, sir William
Bzereton, by the deputie his appointment, did sum-
mon the castell, offering such as kept it to depart
with bag and baggage, and besides their pardon to
be liberallie rewarded for their good and loiall ser-
uice. But such as warded the castell, scornfullie
scorning the knight his offer, gaue him hartie thanks
for his kindnesse which they said proceeded rather of
his gentlenesse than of their deserting, wishing him
to keepe vp in those such liberall offers for a deere
peere, and to write his commendations home to his
friends, and withall, to keepe his head warme, for at
their hands he was like to haue but a cold sute. Fi-
nallie not to take such keepe of their safetie, in that
they were assured, that he and his fellows should be
somer from the siege raised, than they from the hold
remained.

Upon this round answere the ordinances were
planted on the north side of the castell, which made no
great batterie for the space of a fortnight: yet the cas-
tell so warlike on each side intrenched, as the rebelles
were imbarred from all egress and regress. Christo-
pher Daresse fosterbrother to Thomas Fitzgiralde, to
whome of speciall trust the charge of the castell was
thistle committed, profering his voluntarie seruice
(which for the more part is so thanklesse and insano-
rie as it sinketh) determined to go an ale beyond
his fellows, in betraying the castell to the gouernor.
In this resolution he shot a letter indosied to the lord
deputie, the effect whereof was, that he would deuise
means the castell should be taken, so that he might
haue a summe of monie for his paines, and a compe-
tent staie during his life. This motion by letters to
and fro agreed upon, Daresse caused such as kept the
ward, to swill and boll so much, as they smoked all the
night like grunting hogs, little misdemeing that whil-
lest they slept, anie Judas had bene waking within
the castell.

The occasion of this extraordinarie exceeding was
colored, for snatching into the castell a field pece the
daie before from the armie, for which they kept such
pot-reuels, and triumphant carousing, as none of
them could discern his beds head from the beds feet:
Daresse, taking his tide and time, made signe to
the armie, betwene the twilight and dawning of the
daie, who hauing scaling ladders in a readinesse,
would not ouerslip the opportunitie offered. Holland,
petit capitaine, to Salisbury, was one of the for-
wardest in this exploit, who leaping downe from the
wall, fell by mishap into a pipe of feathers, where he
was up to the arme pits, so stiffelie sticking therein,

and also intwealdie in his armor, as there could not
helpe himselfe neither in nor out. Sir William Bze-
retton and his band hauing scaled the walls cried on a
sudden, saint George, saint George. Thre drunken
swads that kept the castell thought that this shout
was nought else but a dycaine, till time they espied
the walles full of armed men, and one of them with
all perceiuing Holland thus intangled in the pipe, be-
stowed an arrow vpon him, which by god hap did
misle him. Holland forthwith rescued by his fellows,
shot at the other, and strake him so fall vnder the
skull, as he left him sprawling. The resistance was
faint, when the souldiours entered, some yelding
themselves, others that withstood them staine. Sir
William Bzereton ran vp to the highest turret of
the castell, & aduanced his standard on the top there-
of, notifieng to the deputie, that the fort was wonne.
Great and rich was the spoile, such store of beds, so
manie goodlie hangings, so rich a wardrobe, such
braue furniture, as trulie it was accounted (for house-
hold stuffe and vtensiles) one of the richest earle his
houses vnder the crowne of England. The lord de-
putie entred the castell in the after none, vpon whose
repaire, James de la Hode, and Harward, two sing-
ing men of the earle his chappell, that were taken
prisoners, prostrated themselves on the ground, pi-
tiffullie warbling a song, named *Dulcis amica*.

The gouernour ranshed with the sweet and deli-
cat voices, at the instance of Girald Ailmer chiefe
iustice, and others of the counsell pardoned them.
Christopher Daresse not misdoubting but that he
should haue bene dubbed knight for his seruice done
that daie, presented himselfe before the gouernour,
with a cherefull and familiar countenance: as who
should saie, Here is he that did the deed. The deputie
verie colidie & halfe sternelie casting an eie towards
him said: Daresse, I am to thanke thee on my ma-
iester the king his behalfe, for this thy proffered seruice
which I must acknowledge to haue bene a sparing
of great charges, and a sauing of manie valiant sol-
diers liues to his highnesse: and when his maiestie
shall be thereof aduertised, I dare be bold to saie that
he will not see thee lacke during thy life. And because
I maie be the better instructed how to reward thee
during my gouernement, I would gladly learne,
what thy lord and master bestowed on thee. Daresse
set a gog with these mild speeches, and supposing the
more he recited, the better he should be rewarded,
left not untold the meanest god turne that euer he
receiued at his lordes hands. Why Daresse (quoth the
deputie) couldest thou find in thine heart to betraye
his castell, that hath bene so good lord to thee? Tru-
lie, thou that art so hollow to him, wilt neuer be true
to vs. And therewithall, turning his talke to his of-
ficers, he gaue them commandement to distress
Daresse the summe of monie that was promised him
vpon the surrender of the castell, and after to chop off
his head. Daresse at this cold salutation of farewell
& be hanged, turning his simpering to whimpering
said: My lord, had I wist that you would haue dealt
so streake with me, your lordship should not haue
wonne this fort with so little bloodshed as you did.

Whereat master Wolfe, a gentleman of worthip,
and one that retained to that old earle of Aildare,
standing in the preesse, said in Irish, *Antragh*, which
is as much in English, as *To late*, whereof grew the
Irish prouerbe, to this daie in the language bled,
To late quoth Wolfe, as we saie, *Belwara of had I*
wist, or *After meat mustard*, or *Don come a daie af-*
ter the faire, or *Better done than said*. The deputie
asked them that stood by what was that he spake?
After Wolfe willing to expound his owne words,
stept forth and answered; My lord, I said nothing,
but that Daresse is seized of a towe nere the water
side

Bzereton sca-
led the walls.

Bzereton ad-
uanced his
standard.

The lord de-
putie entred
the castell.
James de la
Hode.
Harward.

Girald Ail-
mer.

Daresse com-
meth before
the gouernor.

A notable
iudgment.

Wolfe.

Antragh.

The prouerbe
To late quoth
Wolfe.

Letters of
marks from
the Dublin
and
the lord of
Trimlestown
surrendered
the sword.

Thomas
Fitzgiralde
went toward
Connagh.
The castell of
Dalnoth be-
sieged.

Thomas
Fitzgiralde
went toward
Connagh.
The castell of
Dalnoth be-
sieged.

Sir William
Bzereton
summoned
the castell.

Hostages
taken.
Doctors Tra-
uerie.
Calbot.
Rochford.
Berrie.
David Bull-
ton.

The white
cotes landed
at Dublin.

The Hamet
sons name.

Thomas
Fitzgiralde
sounded.
Wolfe.

English get-
tings taken.

Sir William
Bzereton.
John Wier-
ton.
Salisbury.

Sir William
Skeffington.

Heard petit
captaine to
Salisbury.
The castell
taken.

13 a tra.

side named Walter, and I would gladly know how he will dispose it before he be executed. The governor not mistrusting that master Wolfe had glofed (so) if he understood the true signification of the terme, it was verie like that too late had not bene so sharpe to Waresse, but too sone had bene as sowe to him) willed the monie to be told to Waresse, and presentlie caused him to be cut shorter by the head: declaring thereby, that although for the time he imbraced the benefit of the treason, yet after he could not digest the treacherie of the traitor.

Waresse beheaded.

The deputie returneth to Dublin.
Thomas Fitzgiralde marcheth towards Wainoth.

Wiereton left to defend Dublin.
Calloglass taken and slaine.

Edmund Wiereton escapeth.

Thomas and his companie sleeth.

Fitzgiralde his stratagem.

The deputie having left a garrison in the castell, returned with the armie triumphantlie to Dublin. Thomas Fitzgiralde not misdoubting but such as he left in the castell were able to stand to their tackle, lent a huge armie in Drombur his countie, and in Connagh, to the number of seven thousand, marching with them towards Wainoth, minding to have remoued the king his armie from the siege: but being certified, that Waresse his fosterbrother yielded by the castell to the deputie, the better part of his companie gaue him the slip. All this notwithstanding he made with such as would sticke to him to Clane. The lord deputie hauing intelligence of his approach, left sir William Wiereton at Dublin to defend the citie, & marched with the armie to the ppaas, where he took the seven score of Thomas his Calloglasses, and lead them all vnarmed toward Johnstowne. The scoutwatch espiong Thomas to march nere, imparted it to the gouernour, who presentlie commanded each man to kill his prisoner before the charge, which was dispatcht; only Edmund Wiereton escaping mother naked by sight to Thomas his companie, leaning his shirt in his keepers hands. Both the armies aduanced themselves one against the other, but the horsemen of either side could not charge, by reason of a marish or quakenire that parted them. Wherefore the deputie caused two or three field peeces to be discharged, which scattered Thomas and his rabblement, insomuch as he neuer in such open wise durst after beare vp head in the English pale, but rather by starts and sudden stratagems would noli and then gall the English. As when the castell of Rathangan was wane, which was sone after the surrender of Wainoth, he caused a droue of cattell to appeare timelie in the morning hard by the towne. Such as kept the fort, suspecting it to be a bottie, were trained for the more part out of the castell, who were surprisid by Thomas, that late hard by in ambush, and the greater number of them slaine.

Another time he fired a village hard by Trim, and deuiled such of his horsemen that could speake English, being clad and horrid like notherne men, to ride to Trim, where a garrison late with hue and crye, saing that they were capteine Salisburie his souldiours, and that the traitor Thomas Fitzgiralde was burning a village hard by. The souldiours suspecting no couinage issued out of the towne, who were by his men charged, & a great number of them slaine, some chased to the towne, and forced to take sanctuarie in the churchyard, which in those daies was highlie reuerenced. These and the like knacks, used Thomas, being for his owne person so well guarded, and for defect of a maine armie so naked, as neither he was occasioned to feare the English, nor the English forced to weigh him. During this time, there arrived with a fresh supplie of horsemen & archers, sir William Wentworth knight & his son, sir Alice Wentworth knight, sir Edward Griffith knight, who were dispersed to sundrie parts of the pale to defend the countie from the enemies inuasion. When the heat of this rebellion was in this wise allwaged, the lord deputie finding out no deuise to apprehend the capteine, imployed his industrie to intrap his confederats.

William Wentworth.
Rice Wentworth.
Edward Griffith.

Burnell of Palgriffin perceiving all go to wracke fled to Wounster, where he was taken by the lord Butler vicount Hurles, and being conuied to England was executed at Tyburne. Doctor Trauers, who was left as hostage with the citizens, was by them deliuered to the lord deputie, and after with Hooks the pirat executed at the gallows on W. mantowine grane.

Burnell of Palgriffin taken and executed.
Trauers executed.

Hooks executed.

Walter de la Hyde and his ladie Gennet captured.

Sir Walter de la Hyde knight and his wife the ladie Gennet Cufface were apprehended, & brought as prisoners by master Wablon bicetreasure from their towne of Poiclar to the castell of Dublin, because their sonne and heire James de la Hyde was the onelie bruer of all this rebellion: who as the gouernour suspected, was set on by his parents, & named after his mother. The knight & his wife, lieng in duress for the space of twelue moneths, were at several times examined, & notwithstanding all presumptions and surmises that could be gathered, they were in the end found guiltlesse of their sonnes follie. But the ladie was had in examination apart, and insisted by meanes to charge hir husband with his sonnes rebellion, who being not wone thereto with all the meanes that could be brought, was menaced to be put to death, or to be rackt; and so with extremite to be compelled, whereas with gentleness he could not be allured to acknowledge these apparent treasons, that neither hir husband nor she could without great shew of impudencie denie.

The gentlewoman with these continuall storms heartbroken, deceased in the castell: from thence hir bodie was remoued vnto the greie friers with the deputie his commandement, that it should not be interred, vntill his pleasure were further knowne; adding withall, that the carcase of one who was the mother of so arrant an archtraitor, ought rather to be cast out on a dunghill to be carion for rauen and dogs to gnaw vpon, than to be laid in anie christian graue. The corps lieng foure or five daies in this plight, at the request of the ladie Gennet Colving, wife to sir John White knight, the gouernour, licensed that it should be buried. Sir William Sherington a seuer and vpright gouernour died shortly after at Wilminton: to whome succeeded lord deputie the lord Leonard Greie, who immediatlie vpon the taking of his oath marched with his power towards the confines of Wounster, where Thomas Fitzgiralde at that time remained. With Fitzgiralde sir William Wiereton skirmished so fiercelie, as both the sides were rather for the great slaughter disadvantaged, than either part by anie great victorie furthered. Master Wiereton therefore perceiving that rough nets were not the fittest to take such peart birds, gaue his aduise to the lord deputie to grow with Fitzgiralde by faire means to some reasonable composition. The deputie liking of the motion, craved a parole, sending certaine of the English as hostages to Thomas his campe with a protection directed vnto him, to come and go at will and pleasure. Being vpon this securitie in conference with the lord Greie, he was persuaded to submit himselfe to the king his mercie, with the gouernours faithfull and vndoubted promise that he should be pardoned vpon his repaire into England. And to the end that no treacherie might haue bene misdeemed of either side, they both receiued the sacrament openlie in the campe, as an infallible seale of the covenants and conditions of either part agreed.

Gennet Cufface buried.

Sherington deceased.

A comort Greie lord deputie.

Wiereton skirmished with Fitzgiralde.

Thomas Fitzgiralde submitted himselfe to the deputie.

The last went record.

Thomas sent into England.

is committed to the tower.

Thomas his wife taken.

Innocence a strong foist.

The Com.

How goeth the returne of these, the Colwes returne.

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the court laie, he was intercepted contrarie to his expectation in London waie, and conueied with hast to the tower. And before his imprisonment was byted, letters were possed into Ireland, streialie commending the deputie vpon sight of them, to apprehend Thomas Fitzgiralde his vnckles, and to see them with all speed conuenient thipt into England. Which the lord deputie did not slacke. For hauing feasted three of the gentlemen at Kilmannan, immediatlie after their banquet (as it is now and then seen, that sweet meat will haue sowze sauce) he caused them to be manacled, and led as prisoners to the castell of Dublin: and the other two were so roundlie snatched up in villages hard by, as they sooner felt their owne captiuitie, than they had notice of their brethrens calamitie. The next wind that serued into England, these five brethren were imbarked, to wit James Fitzgiralde, Walter Fitzgiralde, Oliver Fitzgiralde, John Fitzgiralde, and Richard Fitzgiralde. These of these gentlemen, James, Walter, and Richard, were knowne to haue crossed their nephew Thomas to their power in his rebellion, and therefore were not occasioned to misdoubt anie danger. But such as in those daies were enemies to the house, incensed the king so sore against it, perswading him, that he should neuer conquer Ireland, as long as anie Giralde breathed in the countrie: as for making the pathwaie smooth, he was resolved to lop off as well the good and sound grapes, as the wild and fruitlesse berries. Whereby appeareth how dangerous it is to be a rub, when a king is disposed to swæpe an alleie.

Thus were the five brethren sailing into England, among whom Richard Fitzgiralde being more bookish than the rest of his brethren, & one that was much giuen to the studies of antiquitie, wailling his inward grieffe, with outward mirth comforted them with cheerefullnesse of countenance, as well perswading them that offended to repose affiance in God, and the king his mercie, and such as were not of that conspiracie, to relie to their innocencie, which they should hold for a more safe and strong barbicane, than anie rampire or castell of brasse. Thus solacing the sille mourners sometime with smiling, sometime with singing, sometime with graine and pithie apophthegmes, he craued of the owtier the name of the barke; who hauing answered, that it was called the Coto, the gentleman soze appalled thereat, said: How good brethren I am in vtter despair of our returne to Ireland, for I beare in mind an old prophesie, that five earles brethren should be caried in a Cotes bellie to England, and from thence neuer to returne.

Whereat the rest began afresh to howle and lament, which doubtlesse was pitifull, to behold five valiant gentlemen, that durst meet in the field five as sturdie champions as could be picked out in a realme, to be so suddenlie terrified with the bare name of a wooden cote, or to feare like lions a sille cocke his combe, being moued (as commonlie the whole countrie is) with a vaine and fabulous old wines dreame. But what blind prophesie soener he read, or heard of anie superstitious beladme touching a cote his bellie, that which he soztold them was found true. For Thomas Fitzgiralde the third of Febyuarie, and these five brethren his vnckles, were drawne, hanged, and quartered at Tiburne, which was incontinentlie byted as well in England and Ireland, as in foren soiles. For Dominicke Powrie, that was sent from Thomas to Charles the fifth, to craue his aid towards the conquest of Ireland (like as Chale in Grauill, otherwise called Charles Relnold, was directed to Paulus certius) presenting the emperor with twelue great hankes and fourtene

faire hobbies, was aduertised by his maiestie that he came too late, for his lord and master and sue of his vnckles were executed at London the third of Febyuarie: howbeit the emperor procured king Henrie to pardon them, who trained with faire words into a soles paradise, were not onelie dispossessed of their lands, but also depriued of their liues, or else forced to forsake their countreies. As for Thomas Fitzgiralde, who (as I wrote before) was executed at Tiburne, I would wish the carefull reader to vnderstand that he was neuer earle of Kildare, although some writers, rather of error than of malice, terme him by that name. For it is knowne that his father liued in the tower, when he was in open rebellion, where for thought of the yong man his follie he died; and therefore Thomas was attainted in a parliament holden at Dublin, as one that was deemed, reputed, and taken for a traitour before his fathers decease, by the bare name of Thomas Fitzgiralde. For this hath bene obserued by the Irish historiographers euer since the conquest, that notwithstanding all the presumptions of treason, wherewith anie earle of Kildare could either faintlie be suspected or vehementlie charged; yet there was neuer anie earle of that house read or heard of, that bare armour in the field against his prince. Which I write not as a barrister hired to plead their cause, but as a chonicle moued to declare the truth.

This Thomas Fitzgiralde (as before is specified) was borne in England, vpon whom nature potoyed beautie, and fortune by birth bestowed nobilitie: which had it bene well employed, & were it not that his rare gifts had bene blemished by his later euill qualities, he would haue proued an impetuous to be ingrafted in so honozable a stocke. He was of stature tall and personable, in countenance amiable, a white face, and withall somewhat ruddie, delicatlie in each lim featured, a rolling tong & a rich viterance, of nature flexible and kind, verie some caried where he fasted, easilie with submission appeased, hardlie with stubbornnesse weied, in matters of importance an headlong hotspur: yet neuertheless taken for a yong man not deuoid of wit, were it not (as it fell out in the end) that a foole had the keeping thereof.

But to returne to the course of the historie. When Thomas and his vnckles were taken, his second brother on the father his side, named Giralde Fitzgiralde (who was after in the reigne of queene Marie restored to the earldome of Kildare, in which honour as yet he liueth) being at that time somewhat past twelue, and not full thirtene yeares of age, laie sick of the small pocks in the countie of Kildare, at a towne named Donoare, then in the occupation of Giralde Fitzgiralde. Thomas Leuouse, who was the child his scholemaster, and after became bishop of Kildare, mistrusting vpon the apprehension of Thomas & his vnckles, that all went not currant, wapt the yong patient as tenderlie as he could, and had him conueied in a clæse with all speed to Dublin, where sojourning for a short space with his sister the ladie Marie Fitzgiralde, until he had recovered his perfect health, his scholemaster caried him to Donon his countrie, where making his aboad for a quarter of a yeare, he trauelled to Dberu his countrie in Downshire, and hauing there remained for halfe a

A. J.

James de la Hyde

Thomas Fitzgiralde was not catie of Kildare.

L. St. pag. 434.

No earle of Kildare bare armour at anie time against his prince.

The description of Thomas Fitzgiralde.

The adventures of the yong Fitzgiralde son to the ladie Greg countesse of Kildare.

Donoare. Thomas Leuouse.

Elenor Fitz-
giralde.

yeare, he repaired to his aunt the ladie Elenor Fitz-
giralde, who then kept in Mac Cartie Keagh his late
husband his territories.

This noble woman was at that time a widow,
alwaies knowne and accounted of each man, that
was acquainted with hir conuersation of life, for a
paragon of liberalitie and kindnesse, in all hir acti-
ons vertuous and godlie, and also in a good quarell
rather stout than stiffe. To hir was Odoneil an im-
portunate suiter. And although at sundrie times be-
fore she seemed to shake him off, yet considering the
distresse of hir yong innocent nephue, how he was
forced to wander in pilgrimwise from house to
house, eschuing the punishment that others deserued,
smarted in his tender yeares with aduersitie, before
he was of discretion to intoie anie prosperitie, she
began to incline to hir lower his request, to the end
hir nephue should haue bene the better by his coun-
tenance shouldered, and in fine indentured to espouse
him; with this caueat or prouiso, that he should safe-
lie shield and protect the said yong gentleman in
this calamitie. This condition agreed vpon, she rode
with hir nephue to Odoneil his countrie, and there
had him safelie kept for the space of a yeare.

But shortly after the gentlewoman either by
some secret friend informed, or of wisedome gathe-
ring that hir late married husband intended some
treacherie, had hir nephue disguised, storing him like
a liberall and bountifull aunt with seuen score por-
tugues, not onelie in valour, but also in the selfe same
courage, incontinentlie shipped him secretlie in a Bri-
tons vessell of saint Malouise, betaking him to God,
and to their charge that accompanied him, to wit,
maister Leuouse, and Robert Wally sometime ser-
uant to his father the earle. The ladie Elenor ha-
ving thus to hir contentation bestowed hir nephue,
she expostulated verie sharpelie with Odoneil as
touching his villanie, protesting that the onlie cause
of hir match with him proceeded of an especiall care
to haue hir nephue countenanced: and now that he
was out of his lath that minded to haue betrayed
him, he should well vnderstand, that as the feare of
his danger moued hir to annere to such a clovish
curmudgen: so the assurance of his safetie should
cause hir to sequester hirselle from so butcherlie a
cutthroate, that would be like a pelting mercenarie
patch hired, to sell or betraie the innocent blood of
his nephue by affinitie, and hirs by consanguinitie.
And in this wise trussing vp bag and baggage, she
forsooke Odoneil and returned to hir countrie.

The passengers with a prosperous gale arriued
at saint Malouise, which notified to the gouernour of
Britaine, named monsieur de Chasteau Brian, he
sent for the yong Fitzgiralde, gaue him verie hartie
intertainment during one moneths space. In the
meane season the gouernour posted a messenger to
the court of France, aduertising the king of the ar-
riual of this gentleman, who presentlie caused him
to be sent for, and had him put to the Dolphin named
Henrie, who after became king of France. Sir
John Wallop (who was then the English ambassa-
dour) vnderstanding the cause of the Irish fugitiue
his repaire to France, demanded him of the French
king, according to the new made league betwene
both the princes: which was, that none should keepe
the other his subiect within his dominion, contrarie
to either of their willes; adding further, that the boie
was brother to one, who of late notorious for his re-
bellion in Ireland was executed at London.

To this answered the king, first that the ambassa-
dour had no commission from his Prince to demand
him, & vpon his maiestie his letter he should know
more of his mind: secondlie that he did not deteine
him, but the Dolphin staied him: lastlie, that how

griuouslie toener his brother offended, he was well
assured, that the little boy neither was nor could be a
traitor, and therefore there rested no cause while the
ambassador should in such wise craue him; not doub-
ting that although he were deliuered to his king, yet
he would not so far swaue from the extreame rigor
of iustice, as to imbue his hands in the innocent
his blood, for the offense that his brother had perpe-
trated. Maister Wallop herevpon addrest his let-
ters to England, specifying vnto the counsell the
French kings answer. And in the meane time the
yong Fitzgiralde hauing an inkling of the ambassa-
dour his motion, fled secretlie to Flanders, scantlie
reaching to Valencie, when James Sherelocke, one
of maister Wallop his men, did not onelie pursue
him, but also did ouertake him as he sojourned in
the said towne.

Wherevpon maister Leuouse, and such as ac-
companied the child, kept to the gouernour of Valen-
cie, complaining that one Sherelocke a sneaking
spie, like a pikethanke promoting varlet, did dog
their master from place to place, and presentlie pur-
sued him to the towne: and therefore they be sought
the gouernour, not to leaue such apparant villanie
unpunished, in that he was willing to betraie not
onelie a guiltlesse child, but also his owne coun-
triman, who rather ought for his innocencie to be pi-
tied, than for the desert of others so egerlie to be pur-
sued. The gouernour vpon this complaint soze incen-
sed, sent in all hast for Sherelocke, had him suddenlie
examined, and finding him unable to color his lewd
practise with anie warrantable defense, he laid him
vp by the heeles, rewarding his hot pursute with col-
intertainment, and so remained in gaole, vntill the
yong Fitzgiralde requiting the prisoner his vnna-
rall crueltie with vnderferued courtesie, humble be-
sought the gouernour to set him at libertie. This brunt
escaped, Fitzgiralde travelled to Brussels, where the
emperour kept his court.

Doctor Bates being ambassador in the low coun-
tries, demanded Fitzgiralde of the emperour on his
maister the king of Englands behalfe. The emperour
hauing answered that he had not to deale with the
boy, and for ought that he knew was not minded to
make anie great abode in that countrie, sent him to
the bishop of Liege; allotting him for his pension an
hundred crownes monethlie. The bishop interteined
him verie honozable, had him placed in an abbey of
monks, & was so carefull of his safetie, that if anie
person suspected had travelled within the circuit of
his glæbe, he should be stretlie examined whether he
would, or from whence he came, or vpon what occa-
sion he travelled that waie. Hauing in this wise re-
mained at Liege for halfe a yere, the cardinall Pole
(Fitzgiralde his kinsman) sent for him to Rome,
wherevpon the gentleman as well with the emperour
his licence, as with surrendring his pension, travelled
to Italie, where the cardinall would not admit him
to his companie, vntill he had attained to some
knowledge in the Italian tong. Wherefore allowing
him an annuitie of three hundred crownes, he placed
him with the bishop of Verona, and the cardinall of
Mantua, and after with the duke of Mantua. A cer-
roule in the meane while was admitted through the
cardinall Pole his procurement, to be one of the
English house in Rome, called saint Thomas his
hospital.

Robert Wally, vpon his maisters repaire to
Italie, returned to Ireland. Fitzgiralde hauing con-
tinued with the cardinall, and the duke of Mantua, a
yeare and an halfe, was sent for by the cardinall
Pole to Rome, at which time the duke of Mantua
gaue him for an annuall pension 300 crownes. The
cardinall greatlie reioiced in his kinsman, had him
care,

The ladie E-
lenors libera-
tie.

Fitzgiralde
saileth to
France.

Chasteau
Brian.

Sir John
Wallop dem-
beth Fitzgi-
ralde.

The king de-
meth him.

Cardinall
Pole his op-
er in treat-
ing yong
Fitzgiralde.

Fitzgiralde
saileth to
Flanders.

James
Sherelocke
pursues
Fitzgiralde.

Fitzgiralde
travellith to
Brussels.

Emperour.

Shannon.

Sherelocke
imprisoned.

Cardinall
Pole
quitted
court.

Fitzgiralde re-
turneth to
Rome.

The cardinall
inbaneth
Fitzgiralde
pension.

The emper-
our
pension
Fitzgiralde.

Cardinall
Pole
sent for
Fitzgiralde.

He saileth in-
to a deape pit.

Remoued
from the
English
hospital.

His great-
house
findeth
him out.

Retrayn.

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carefullie trained by in his house, interlacing with such discretion his learning and studies with exercises of activitie, as he should not be after accounted of the learned for an ignorant idiot, nor taken of active gentlemen for a dead and dumpeish meacocke. If he had committed anie fault, the cardinall would secretly command his tutors to correct him, and all that notwithstanding, he would in presence dandle the boie, as though he were not pünie to his punishment; & upon his complaint made, he used to checke Fitzgiralde his master openlie for chastising so seuerelie his pretie darling.

In this wise he rested three yeares together in the cardinall his house, and by that time hauing slept so far in piers (for he was picking fast upon nintene) as he began to know himselfe, the cardinall put him to his choise, either to continue his learning, or by travelling to seeke his adventures abroad. The yong stripling (as vsuallie kind doth creepe) rather of nature addicted to valiantnes, than wedded to bookishnes, choosed to be a traveller: and presentlie with the cardinall his licence repaired to Naples: where falling in acquaintance with knights of the Rhodes, he accompanied them to Malta, from thence he sailed to Tripolie (a fort appertaining to the aforesaid order, coasting upon Barbarie) and there he abode sir Iuanes with Spounbison, a commander of the Rhodes, who had the charge of that hold.

At that time the knights serued valiantlie against the Turks and miscreants, spoiled and sacked their villages and townes that late were the water side, toke diuerse of them prisoners, and after sold them to the christians for bondslauers. The yong Fitzgiralde returned with a rich bottie to Malta, from thence to Rome, hauing spent in this voyage not fullie one yeare. And was the cardinall to heare of his prosperous exploits: and for his further aduancement he inhailed his pension of three hundred crownes, to three hundred pounds, ouer and aboute three hundred crownes that the duke of Spantua allowed him. Shortly after he preferred him to the seruice of the duke of Florence, named Cosmo, with whom he continued master of his horse three yeares, hauing also of the duke three hundred duckets for a yearelie pension during life, or untill he were restored; in like manner as the cardinall Pole and the duke of Spantua in their annuities had granted him.

During the time that he was in seruice with the duke of Florence, he travelled to Rome a shyning, of set purpose to be merite: and as he rode on hunting with cardinall Fernelle the pope his nephue, it happened that in chasing the bucke he fell into a pit nine and twentie fathoms deepe, and in the fall foraking his horse within two fathoms of the bottom, he toke hold by two or three roots, griping them fast, untill his armes were so wearie, as he could hang no longer in that paine. Wherefore betaking himselfe to God, he let go his gripe by little and little, and fell sootlie on his horse, that in the bottom of the pit late starke dead, and there he stood by the ancles in water for the space of three houres. When the chase was ended, an exceeding good greifhound of his named Grifhound, not finding his master in the company, followed his tract untill he came to the pit, and from thence would not depart, but stood at the baim incessantlie howling. The cardinall Fernelle and his traine missing Fitzgiralde, made towards the dog, and surueieng the place, they were verelie perswaded that the gentleman was squished to death.

Hauing therefore posted his seruants in hast to a village hard by Rome (named Erecappan) for ropes and other necessaries, he caused one of the companie to glide in a basket downe to the bottome

of the hole. Fitzgiralde refused with his presence, and willing to be removed from so darkesome a dongeon to the open aire, besought the other to lend him his rowme, whereupon he was haled by in the basket: as well to the generall admiration of the whole companie, as to the singular gratulation of the cardinall and all his friends, rendering most hartie thanks vnto God his diuine maiestie, for protecting the gentleman with his gracious guerdon. And thus surceasing to treat anie further of his adventures, untill the date of time traine my pen to a longer discourse, I will retorne to the inhabitants of the English pale, who after the death of Thomas Fitzgiralde, through rigor of iustice and the due execution of lawes were greatlie molested. For ouer this, that such as were knowne to be open and apparant traitors in the commotion, were for the more part executed, or with round sums fined, or from the realme exiled: certeine gentlemen of worth were sent from England, with commission to examine each person suspected with Thomas his treason, and so according to their discretion, either with equitie to execute, or with clemencie to pardon all such as they could proue to haue furthered him in his disloyall commotion. Commissioners were these: sir Anthonie Sentleger knight, sir George Panlet knight, master Polle, and master Barnes. And about this time was there a parlement holden at Dublin before the lord Leonard Greie lord deputie, beginning the first of Maie, in the eight and twentieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie the eight.

Commissioners sent to Ireland:

Their names
Parlement
1539

In this parlement there past these acts following.

For the attainder of the earle of Kildare, and Thomas Fitzgiralde, with others.

For the succession of the king & quene Anne.

Of absenties, wherein was granted to the king the inheritance of such lands in Ireland, wherof the duke of Norfolk & George Talbot earle of Waterford & Salop were seized, with the inheritances of diuerse other corporations and couents demurrant in England.

For the repeale of Poinings act. Authorizing the king his heirs and successors to be supreme head of the church of Ireland.

That no subjects or rebellants of Ireland shall pursue or commence, vse or execute anie manner of prouocations, appeales or other processe from the see of Rome, vpon paine of incurring the premunire.

Against such as slander the king, or his heirs apparant.

For the first fruits.

Of sir Walter de la Hyde knight his lands in Carbeire granted to the king.

How persons robbed shall be restored to their goods.

Restreining tributs to be granted to Irishmen.

Against

An act

Against pꛛoctors to be any mem-
ber of the parlement.
Against marieng oꝝ fostering
with oꝝ to Irishmen.
Against the authoritie of the see
of Rome.
For the twentieth part.
For the English order, habit, and
language.
For the suppressing of abbeys.
For the lading of wooll & flockes.
For the pꛛoofe of testaments.
Of faculties.
Declaring the effect of Poinings
act.
Of penall statutes.
For the weres vpon Barou, and
other waters in the countrie
of Kilkennie.
For the personage of Donga-
ran.
For leasers of coꝛne.

An act.

The old earle
of Kildare his
death.

His seruice.

His hospita-
lity and de-
uotion.

As for the old earle of Kildare, who in this par-
lement was atteinted for diuerse pꛛesumptions, in
the pꛛeamble of the said act rehearsed, certefine it is,
that the reuolt of his sonne Thomas Fitzgerald
smot him so deepe to the heart, as vpon the report
thereof he deceased in the towꝛ, wishing in his
death-bed that either he had died before he had heard
of the rebellion, oꝝ that his bꝛainelesse boy had
neuer liued to raise the like commotion. This earle,
of such as did not stomach his pꛛoceedings, was taken
for one that bare himselfe in all his affaires verie
honorable, a wise, deepe, and far reaching man:
in war valiant without rashnesse, and politike with-
out treacherie. Such a suppressor of rebels in his
gouernement, as they durst not beare armes to the
annoyance of anie subiect, whereby he heaped no
small reuenues to the crowne, enriched the king his
treasure, garbed with securitie the pale, continued
the honoz of his house, and purchased enite to his
person. His great hospitalitie is to this date rather
of each man commended, than of anie one follow-
ed. He was so religionlie addicted vnto the ser-
uing of God, as what time soeuer he trauelled to a-
nie part of the countrie, such as were of his chap-
pell should be sure to accompanie him. Among o-
ther rare gifts, he was with one singular qualitie
indued, which were it put in pꛛactise by such as are
of his calling, might minister great occasion as
well to the abandoning of flattering carrie tales, as
to the staied quietnesse of noble potentates.

For if anie whispered, vnder *Benedicite*, a sinister
report oꝝ secret pꛛactise, that tended to the distain-
ing of his honoz, oꝝ to the perill of his person, he would
straitlie examine the informer, whether the matter
he reported were past, oꝝ to come. If it were said oꝝ
done, he was accustomed to laie soze to his charge,
where, and of whome he heard it, oꝝ how he could
iustifie it. If he found him to halt in the pꛛoofe, he
would punish him as a pikethanke makebate, for
being so maliciouslie caried, as for curtieng fauour
to himselfe, he would laboz to purchase hatred to an-
other. But if the pꛛactise were future, and hereaf-
ter to be put in execution, then would he suspend the
credit, vsing withall such warie secrecie, as vntill
the matter came to the pinch, the aduersarie should
thinke that he was most ignorant, when he was best
pꛛouided. As being in Dublin forewarned, that
John Durbhan with certefine desperate barlets con-
spired his destruction, & that they were determined

The old earle
of Kildare his
politic when

to assault him vpon his returne to Spainoth, he had
one of his seruants named James Grant, that was
much of his pitch, and at a blushe did somethat re-
semble him, attired in his riding apparell, and name-
lie in a scarlet cloake, wherewith he vsed to be clad.
Grant in this wise masking in his lordes attire, rode
as he was commanded in the beaten high waie to-
wards Spainoth, with six of the earle his seruants
attending vpon him. The conspirators awaiting
towards Lucan the comming of the earle, incoun-
tered the disguised lord, and not doubting but it had
bene Kildare, they began to charge him: but the o-
ther amazed therewith, cried that they toke their
marke amisse; for the earle rode to Spainoth on the
further side of Liffie. Wherewith the murderers
appalled, fled auaie, but incontinentlie were by the
earle apprehended, sustaining the punishment that
such cattifes deserued.

John Durbhan
James Grant

This noble man was so well affected to his wife
the ladie Greie, as he would not at anie time buy
a sute of apparell for himselfe, but he would sute hir
with the same stufte. Which gentlenesse she recom-
pensed with equall kindnesse. For after that he
deceased in the towꝛ, she did not onelie euer after
liue as a chaste and honorable widow, but also night-
lie before she went to bed, she would resort to his
picture, & there with a solemne conga she would bid
hir lord goodnight. Wherby may be gathered with
how great loue she affected his person, that had in
such pꛛice his bare picture. An other act that did passe
in this parlement touching absenties, pꛛoceeded of
this occasion. Maister Siralo Ailmer, who first
was chiefe baron of the exchequer, after chiefe iustice
of the common ples, was occasioned, for certefine
his affaires, to repaire vnto the court of England.
Where being for his god seruice greatlie counte-
nanced by such as were in those daies taken for the
pillers of the weale publike, namelye of the lord
Cromwell, it happened that through his lordship his
earnest meanes, the king made maister Ailmer
chefe iustice of his bench in Ireland. This aduan-
cement disliked by certefine of Waterford and Welf-
ford, that were not friended to the gentleman, they
debaled him in such despisefull wise, as the earle of
Shrewsburie, who then was likewise earle of Water-
ford, was by their lewd reports caried to chalenge
the king, so far as with his dutie of allegiance he
durst, for bestowing so weightie an office vpon so
light a person, being such a simple John at stile as
he tearmed him, no wiser than Patch the late lord
cardinall his sole.

The ladie
Greie her
nells to his
husband.

Siralo Ailmer

William
Shrewton
sent into
Ireland.

William
Shrewton
sent into Ire-
land.

The lord of
Dallagh.

James Fle-
ming baron of
Dallagh.

Robert Wal-
pole.

The king herebypon expostulated with the lord
Cromwell, who being throughlie acquainted with
the gentleman his rare wisdom, answered: that
if it would stand with his maiesties pleasure to en-
ter into conference with him, he should be sure to
find him no babe, notwithstanding the wrong infor-
mations of such as labored to thwart oꝝ crosse him.
Whereto the king vpon further leasure agreed, and
shortlie after (according to his promise) bestowed two
oꝝ thre houres with maister Ailmer: who vpon the
lord Cromwell his forewarning, was so well armed
for his highnesse, as he shewed himselfe in his dis-
course, by answering *Ad omnia quare*, to be a man
worthy to supplie an office of so great credit. In
this conference the king demanded him, what he
toke to be the chiefe occasion of disorder in Ireland,
and how he thought it might best be reformed: Tru-
lie and it like your maiestie (quoth Ailmer) among
sundry reasons that might be probable alleged for
the decaye of that your kingdome, one chiefe occa-
sion is, that certefine of your nobilitie of this your
realme of England are seized of the better part of
your dominion in Ireland, whereof they haue so lit-
tle

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the képe, as for lacke of their presence, they suffer the said lands to be ouerrun by rebels and traitors. Therefore if your highnesse would prouide by act of parlement, that all such lands, which by reason of their absence may not be defended, should be to your highnesse by the consent of the nobilitie and communalte granted, you might thereby enrich your crowne, repress rebels, and defend your subjects from all traitorous inuasion.

The king tickled with this plausible deuise, pelded maister Ailmer hartie thanks for his good counsell, and in this parlement had the tenure thereof put in effect. Which redounded chæstie to the lord of Shrewsburie his disadvantage, as one that was possessed of diuerse ancient lordships and manors in that countrie. Some after this parlement, O'neale imagining that he was able to make his partie good against the English pale, conspired with O'doneale, O'agadnesh, O'caghan, O'ac Kullen, O'hylan, and other Irish lords, and on a sudden inuaded the pale, came to the Pauan, burnt all the townes of ech side confining, after marched to Taragh, mustering with great pride his armie upon the top of the hill: and hauing gathered together the spoile of the pale without resistance, he began to recule northwards, making his full account to haue gone his waie scotfree.

The lord Leonard Greie being then lord deputie, foreseeing the worst, certified the king & counsell of O'neale his rebellion, and withall humble besought a fresh supplie of souldiours to assist the pale in resisting the enimie, and that sir William Bzereton, (who was discharged & returned to England) should be sent into Ireland, as one that for his late seruice was highly commended of the countrie. The king and counsell condescending to the deputie his request, appointed sir William Bzereton to this thither with speed, hauing the charge of two hundred and fiftie souldiours of Cheshiremen. In which seruice the gentleman was found so prest and readie, that notwithstanding in mustering his band he fell by his mishap off his horse, and therewithall brake his thigh in two places, yet rather than he would retire homewards, he appointed the mariners to hale him up to their barke by pulleys, and in such impotent wise arrived in Ireland, suppressing the feebleness of his bodie with the contagious balor of his mind.

The lord deputie in the meane while marched with the force of the pale, the maior & the citizens of Dublin to Drogheda: from thence likewise accompanied with the maior & townesmen, he marched northward to Bellahoe, where O'neale & his companie on the further side of the water late incamped with the spoile of the pale. The deputie by spies and secret messengers heretof certified, caused the armie to trauell the better part of the night, insomuch as by the dawning of the day they were nere to the riuers side: where hauing eliered the enimies, namlie O'agadnesh, and the Galloglasses that were placed there to keepe the streits (for O'neale with a maine armie lurked not farre off) they began to set themselves in battell arrate, as men that were resolved with all hast and good speed to suppress the enimie with a sudden charge.

At which time James Fleming baron of Slane (commonlie called Blacke James) garded with a round companie, as well of horsemen as of footmen, humble besought the deputie to grant him that daie the honor of the onset. Whereto when the lord Greie had agreed, the baron of Slane with cherefull countenance imparted the obtaining of his sute, as pleasant tidings to Robert Halsepennie, who with his ancestors was standardbearer to the house of Slane. But Halsepennie seeing the fur-

ther side of the water so beset with armed Galloglasses as he took it, as likelie an attempt to rase down the strongest fort in Ireland with a flint, as to rush through such quicke iron walles, flatlie answered the baron, that he would rather disclame in his office, than there to giue the onset where there rested no hope of life, but an assured certaintie of death. And therefore he was not as yet so wearie of the world, as like an headlong hotspur, voluntarilie to run to his utter and undoubted destruction. Wherefore he besought his lordship to set his heart at rest, and not to impute his default to basenesse of courage, but to wartnesse of safetie, although he knew none of staied mind, but would sooner chuse to sleepe in an whole sheepe his pelt, than to walke in a toze lion his skin, namelie when all hope of life was abandoned, and the certaintie of death assuredlie promised.

The baron with this answer at his wits end rode to Robert Betoa of Dolonoze, brake with him as touching Halsepennie his determination, & withall requested him (as he did tender his honor) now at a pinch to supplie the want of that dastardlie coward, as he did terme him. Betoa to this answered, that though it stood with good reason, that such as heretofore tasted the sweet in peace, should now be contented to sip of the solye in war: yet notwithstanding, rather than the matter should to his honor lie in the dust, he promised to breake through them, or else to lie in the water; & withall being surpassinglie mounted (for the baron gaue him a choise horse) he took the standarde, & with a sudden shotot, hauing with him in the forefront the spabe of spabestowne (who at the first brunt was slaine) he flung into the water, and charged the Irish that stood on the further shore. After followed the gentlemen and peomen of the pale, that with as great manhood charged the enimies, as the enimies with courage resisted their assault. To this stoutnesse were the enimies more boldlie picked, in that they had the aduantage of the shore, and the gentlemen of the pale were constrained to bicker in the water.

But the longer the Irish continued, the more they were disadvantaged; by reason that the English were so assisted with fresh supplies, as their enimies could not anie longer withstand them, but were compelled to beare backe, to forsake the banke, and to giue the armie free passage. The English taking hart upon their faintnesse, brake through the Galloglasses, due O'agadnesh their capitaine, pursued O'neale with the remnant of his lords, leaving behind them for lacke of safe carriage the spoile of the pale, scantlie able to escape with his owne life, being egerlie pursued by the armie vntill it was sunne set. In this hote conflict Mattheu King, Patricke Barnewall of Kilmallocke, sir Edward Basnet priest, who after became deane of saint Patriks in Dublin, and was swozne one of the priue counsell, and Thomas Fitzsimons of Curdiffe, were reported to haue serued vertie ballantlie. Moreover, James Fitzsimons maior of Dublin, Michaele Curseie maior of Drogheda, Gerald Ailmer chæstie iustice, and Thomas Talbot of Malahide, were dubbed knights in the field.

But of all others, the lord Greie then lord deputie, as he was in authoritie superior to them all, so in courage and manlinesse he was inferior to none. He was noted by the armie to haue inuolued great toile and paine before the skirmish, by posting bareheaded from one band to an other, debasing the enimies inhaunting the power of the pale, depressing the reuolt of rebellious traitors, extolling the good quarrell of lofall subiects, offering large rewards, which with as great constancie he performed, as with liberalitie he promised.ouer this, he bare himselfe so affable to his souldiours, in using them like

Robert Betoa.

Spabe of spabestowne slaine.

The Irish discomfited. O'neale put to flight.

King. Barnewall Basnet. Fitzsimons.

The maiors of Dublin and Drogheda dubbed knights. Ailmer. Talbot. The ballantie of the lord Greie.

his death was conspired.

John O'urken. James O'ant.

The ladie Greies kindnesse to his husband.

Gerald Ailmer.

O'neale's belittling

the William Bzereton sent into Ireland.

the William Bzereton sent into Ireland.

The lord of Bellahoe.

James Fleming baron of Slane.

Robert Halsepennie.

his friends

friends and fellows, and terming them with courteous names, and mouing laughter with pleasant conceits, as they were incensed as well for the loue of the person, as for the hatred of the enemie, with resolute minds to bicker with the Irish. In which conflict the deputie was as forward as the most, and bequit himselfe as valiant a seruitor as the best.

The gouernor, turning the oportunitie of this skirmish to his aduantage, shortly after rode to the north, preiding & spoiling Dneale with his confederats, who by reason of the late ouerthrow were able to make but little resistance. In this sortie he raised saint Patrick his church in Downe, an old ancient citie of Ulster, and burnt the monuments of Patrick, Brigide, and Colme, who are said to haue bene there intomed, as before is expressed in the description of Ireland. This fact, lost him sundrie hartes in that countrie, alwaies after detesting and abhorring his prophane tyrannie, as they did name it. Whereupon conspiring with such of Mounster as were enemies to his gouernment, they baked by diuerse complaints against him, which they did exhibit to the king and counsell. The articles of greatest importance laid to his charge were these.

The lord Greie accused.

The articles that were laid to his charge.

1. Inprimis, that notwithstanding he were strictly commanded by the king his maiestie, to apprehend his kinsman the pong Fitzgiralde, yet did he not onlie disobey the kings letters as touching that point by plateng bopape, but also had priate conference with the said Fitzgiralde, and late with him two or thre seuerall nights before he departed into France.

2. Item, that the chiefe cause that moued him to inuegle Thomas Fitzgiralde with such faile promises, proceeded of set purpose to haue him cut off, to the end there should be a gap set open for the pong Fitzgiralde to aspire to the earldome of Kildare.

3. Item, that he was so greedilie addicted to the pilling and polling of the king his subjects, namely of such as were resiant in Mounster, as the beds he laie in, the cups he dranke in, the plate with which he was serued in anie gentlemen house, were by his seruants against right and reason packt up, and carried with great extortion awaie.

4. Item, that without anie warrant from the king or counsell, he prophaned the church of saint Patrickes in Downe, turning it to a stable, after plucked it downe, and thipt the notable ring of bells that did hang in the steeple, meaning to haue sent them to England: had not God of his iustice prevented his iniquitie, by sinking the vessel and passengers wherein the said belles should haue bene conueied.

These and the like articles, were with such odious presumptions coloured by his accusers, as the king and counsell remembryng his late faults, and forgetting his former seruices (for commonlie all men are of so hard hap, that they shall be sower for one trespass condemned, than for a thousand good deserts commended) gaue commandement that the lord Greie should not onelie be removed from the gouernment of the countrie, but also had him beheaded on the tower hill the eight and twentieth of June. But as touching the first article, that brought him most of all out of conceipt with the king, I moued question to the erle of Kildare, whether the tenor thereof were true or false? His lordship thereto answered *Bona fide*, that he neuer spake with the lord Greie, neuer sent messenger to him, nor receiued message or letter from him. Whereby maie be gathered, with how manie dangers they are intwapped that gouerne prouinces, wherein diligence is trespacht with hatred, negligence is laden with taints, seueritie with perils menaced, liberalitie with thanklesse un-

The lord Greie beheaded.

1541

The lord Greie guilty of the first article.

The dangers that happen to gouernors of prouinces.

kindnesse contemned, conference to undermin ing framed, flatterie to destruction forged, each in countenance smiling, diuerse in heart pouting, open saluering, secret grudging, gaping for such as shall succeed in gouernment, honouring magistrates with cap and knee as long as they are present, and carping them with tongue and pen as soone as they are absent.

The lord Leonard Greie (as is aforesaid) discharged, sir William Bzereton was constituted lord iustice, whose short gouernement was intangled with no little trouble. For albeit he and Dneale fell to a reasonable composition, yet other of the Irish lordings, namely Dconbur and his adherents, that are content to liue as subjects, as long as they are not able to hold out as rebels, conspired together, and determined to assemble their power at the hill of Ffoloye in west Metch, and so on a sudden to ransacke the pale. The lord iustice shortly with accompanied with the armie, and with two thousand of the pale, of which no small number were ecclesiasticall persons, made towards the rebels, who vpon the approach of so great an armie gaue ground, and dispersed themselves in woods and marishes. The lord iustice this notwithstanding inuaded Dconbur his countrie, burnt his tenements, & made all his trenches with the multitude of pioners so passable, as foure hundred carts, beside light carriage, were led without let thorough the countrie. Dconbur some after submitted himselfe, & sent his sonne Cormack to the lord iustice as hostage for his future obedience and loialtie to the king his highnesse. After this tourne was ended, sir Anthonie Sentleger knight of the order was constituted lord deputie, and sir William Bzereton lord high marshall, who within one halfe yeare after he was preferred to be marshall, traouelling by the lord deputie his appointment to Limerike to bring in James earle of Desmond, who stood vpon certeine tickle points with the gouernor, ended his life in that tournie, and lieth intomed at Kilkennie in the quier of saint Kennie his church. In the thre and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of Henrie the eight, there was a parlement holden at Dublin before sir Anthonie Sentleger, in which there passed these statutes following; namely.

An act

That the king and his successors to be kings of Ireland.

For graie merchants.

That the plantife maie abridge his plaint in assise.

That consanguinity or affinitie, being not within the fifth degree, shall be no principall challenge.

That maketh it felonie to anie man to run awaie with his master his casket.

For the aduicilating of precontract in marriage.

For all lordes to distreine vpon the lands of their holden, & to make their auowrie, not naming the tenant, but their land.

For capacities.

For seruants wages.

For ioint-tenants.

For recouerie in auoiding leases.

For tithes.

For attournements.

This parlement was propoged untill the fifteenth of Februarie, and after was continued at Limerike before

Sir William Bzereton lord iustice.

Dconbur his mittred him selfe to the lord iustice. Sir Anthonie Sentleger lord deputie. Sir William Bzereton lord high marshall.

Henrie the eighth.

1541

Obey created earle of Glenclare. 1544 The Irish sent for to the siege of Bulloigne.

Their pollicie in pursuing for the armie.

before

An act

ter was pour a soure a the eig

An act

seuent gouerned an garuanteuer. rish lord his me But 3 land, selfe o laud to ble sub Shortl great bafe so For in Shanne die beg honou other 3 their l Obzen in which lie after king 1 longme leger d with al these w after in diuerse parke they do not on ges the twenti uring te scozhin roze, so toward awaie. If should them bi no mo

James earle of Desmond.

Dneale earle of Eiron.

before the said deputie, at which time there passed
 For the adiournment of the par-
 lement, and the place to hold
 the same, and what persons
 shall be chosen knights and
 burgeises.

An act For the election of the lord iu-
 stice.

Touching mispleading and iey-
 failes.

For lands giuen by the king.

For the suppression of Kilmai-
 nan and other religious hou-
 ses.

1543

This parlement was likewise proroged, and af-
 ter was continued and holden before the said gover-
 nour at Dublin, the first daie of Nouember, in the
 foure and thirtieth yeare of the reigne of king Henrie
 the eight, wherein there passed these acts; namelie:

An act For the diuision of Meth into
 two shires.

For persons standing bound in a-
 ny court for their apperance,
 and being in seruice, to be dis-
 charged by writ.

This parlement was further proroged untill the
 seuenteenth of Aprill, and at that time before the said
 gouernour it was holden and ended, in which there pas-
 sed an act touching the manour and castell of Don-
 garuan to be united and annexed to the crowne for-
 ever. To this parlement resorted diuerse of the Ir-
 ish lords, who submitting themselves to the deputie
 his mercie, returned peaceable to their countries.
 But James earle of Desmond sailed into Eng-
 land, and before the king and counsell purged him-
 selfe of all such articles of treason as were falselie
 laid to his charge: whose cleare purgation and hum-
 ble submission the king accepted verie gratefullie.
 Shortly after Desmond his returne homeward, the
 great O'neale was created earle of Tiron, and his
 base sonne Matthew O'neale baron of Dongaruan.
 For in those daies John O'neale, commonlie called
 Shane O'neale, the onelie sonne lawfullie of his bo-
 die begotten, was little or nothing esteemed.

O'neale hauing returned to Ireland with this
 honour, and the king his fauour, when with certeine
 other Irish lords sailed into England, submitting
 their liues and lands to the king his mercie. This
 when was at that time created earle of Glencare,
 in which honour his posteritie hitherto resteth. Short-
 ly after the returne of these lords to their countrie,
 king Henrie being fullie resolved to besiege Bul-
 longne, gaue commandement to sir Anthonie Sent-
 leger deputie, to leade an armie of Irishmen, and
 with all expedition to send them to England. To
 these were appointed capitaine the lord Potowe, who
 after was dubb knight, Surlocke & Finglasse, with
 diuerse others. They mustered in saint James his
 parke seven hundred. In the siege of Bullongne
 they stood the armie in verie good sted, for they were
 not onelie contented to burne and spoile all the villa-
 ges thereto adioining, but also they would range
 twentie or thirtie miles into the maine land, and ha-
 uing taken a bull, they used to tie him to a stake, and
 scorching him with faggots, they would force him to
 roze, so as all the cattell in the countrie would make
 towards the bull, all which they would lightlie lead
 awaie, and furnish the campe with store of beefe.

If they toke anie Frenchman prisoner, lest they
 should be accounted couetous, in snatching with
 them his entier bodie, his onelie rancome should bee
 no more but his head. The French with this strange

kind of warfaring astonishd, sent an ambassadoz to
 king Henrie, to learne whether he brought men
 with him or diuels, that could neither be wone with
 rewards, nor pacified by pittie: which when the king
 had turned to a least, the Frenchmen euer after, if
 they could take anie of the Irish scattering from the
 companie, used first to cut off their genitals, and
 after to torment them with as great and as linge-
 ring paine as they could deuise.

After that Bullongne was surrendred to the king,
 there incamped on the west side of the towne be-
 yond the hauen an armie of Frenchmen, amongst
 whom there was a Thracian call Coltas that depar-
 ted from the armie, and came to the bynke of the
 hauen, and there in setting and daring wise chal-
 enged anie one of the English armie that durst be so
 hardie, as to bicker with him hand to hand. And al-
 best the distance of the place, the depth of the hauen,
 the narnesse of his companie imboldened him to
 this challenge, more than anie great valour or pith
 that rested in him to indure a combat; yet all this
 notwithstanding, an Irishman named Nicholl
 Welch, who after reteined to the earle of Wiltbare,
 loathing and disdainning his proud brags, lung into
 the water, and swam ouer the riuer, fought with the
 challenger, strake him for dead, and returned backe
 to Bullongne with the Frenchman his head in his
 mouth, before the armie could overtake him. For
 which exploit, as he was of all his companie highlie
 commended, so by the lieutenant he was bountifullie
 rewarded.

Such about this time the earle of Lennor, verie
 wrongfullie inquieted in Scotland, and forced to for-
 sake his countrie, became humble petitioner to
 king Henrie, as well to releue him in his distressed
 calamitie, as to compasse the means how he might
 be restored to his lands & liuing. The king his high-
 nesse moued with compassion, posted the earle ouer
 to Ireland, with letters of especiall trust, command-
 ing sir Anthonie Sentleger then deputie, to assist
 and further the Scottish outcast, with as puissant an
 armie as to his contentation should seme good. The
 deputie, vpon the receipt of these letters, sent for
 James Butler earle of Ormond and Osserie, a no-
 ble man, no lesse politike in peace, than ballant in
 warres, made him priuate to the king his pleasure;
 and withall in his maiesties name did cast the charge
 hereof vpon the said earle, as one that for his tried
 loialtie was willing, and for his honour and valour
 able to attempt and atchieue so rare and famous an
 exploit. The lord of Ormond as willing to obeye, as
 the gouernour was to command, leuied of his te-
 nants and reteiners six hundred Gallowglasse,
 foure hundred hearnes, three score horsemen, and
 foure hundred and fortie shot: so in the whole he mu-
 stered on Ormantowne greene nere Dublin, six-
 tene hundred souldiours.

The lord deputie yelding his honour such thanks
 in words, as he deserued indeed, leuied in the pale
 sixteen hundred souldiours more, to be annexed to
 the earle his companie. When them he constituted
 sir John Trauers capteine, but the erle of Ormond
 was made generall of the whole armie. When the
 souldiours were with munition and victuals about-
 dantlie furnished, the earle of Ormond and the earle
 of Lennor toke shipping at Sherisse, hauing in their
 companie twentie and eight ships well rigged, suffi-
 cientlie manned, and stronglie appointed. From
 thence they sailed northwards, and rode at anchoz
 without the hauen of Widdet beyond Katterger-
 gus. Where hauing remained hulling without the
 mouth of the hauen, contrarie to the aduise of the ma-
 sters of their ships (who prognosticated the speedie ap-
 proch of a storme, and therefore did wish them to
 take

A French
 challenge
 banquished.

Nicholl
 Welch.

1545
 The earle of
 Lennor as-
 sisted by king
 Henrie.

James But-
 ler earle of
 Ormond.

Sir John
 Trauers
 knight.

The earle of
 Ormond and
 the earle of
 Lennor in
 danger to be
 drowned.

Sir William
 Bzereton
 lord iustice.

Deonhar sub-
 mitted him-
 selfe to the
 lord iustice.
 Sir Antho-
 nis Sentleger
 lord deputie.
 Sir William
 Bzereton lord
 high marshall.

James earle
 of Desmond.

O'neale earle
 of Tiron.

When crea-
 ted earle of
 Glencare.
 1544
 The Irish
 sent for to the
 siege of Bul-
 longne.

Their policie
 in paraucing
 by the armie.

take a good harbrough) it hapned that the said night there arose so boisterous a tempest, that the whole fleet was like to haue bene ouerwhelmed. The mariners betaking their passengers and themselves to the mercie of God, did cut their maine masts, let slip their anchors, and were weather driuen to the hauens of Dunbrytaine in Scotland, whereas they were like to run theiſe ſhips on ground, and conſequentlie they all ſhould either haue bene plunged in the water, or elſe haue bene ſlaine on the land by a great number of Scots that awaited their approach. God with his gracious clemencie preventing their imminent calamitie, ſent them not onlie a wiſhed calme, but alſo a proſperous gale of wind, that blew them backe in ſafetie to the Iriſh coaſt, from whence they were ſcattered.

The earle of
Dymond his
propertie.

The earle of Lennor aduertised by certeine of his friends that met with him on the ſea, that the Scots (contrarie to their promiſe) dealt verie double with him (for although they gaue their word to ſurrender vp to him the caſtell of Dunbrytaine, yet they did not onlie forſiſe that hold, but alſo were readie to encounter with his ſouldiours vpon their arrivalls) he concluded to returne to Ireland. The earle of Dymond verie loath that ſo great an attempt ſhould take ſo little effect, dealt with him verie earneſtly, notwithstanding his counſell were betwaied to inuade his enemies, and his lordſhip ſhould be ſure to find the armie ſo forward in aſſiſting him in ſo famous an enterpriſe, as they would ſhew themſelves moze willing to bicker with his foes in Scotland, than without ſkirmiſhing to returne to Ireland. For the earle of Dymond was of this nature, that as he would not begin ante martiall boile raſhly or vnauſedlie, ſo he would not ſeeme to put it vp lightlie or eaſilie.

The lord of
the out Iles
ſaileth to the
earle of Lennor.

Further, whereas the earle of Lennor ſtood in hope, that the lord of the out Iles would aid him, it was thought by Dymond not to be amiſſe, to expect his comming; and ſo joining his companie to the armie, there reſted no doubt, but that the Scottiſh enemies would be forced to plucke in their hoznes, although at the firſt bluſh they ſeeme to ſet a good face on the matter. Lennor ſomewhat with this perſuaſion carried, gaue his conſent to expect the lord of the out Iles determination, who notwithstanding all the ſetth of his enterpriſe were deſcried, would not ſlip from his word, but perſonallie failed to the Iriſh fleet, with three gallies well appointed. The noble man with ſuch martiall triumphs was receiued, as warlike ſouldiours could on the ſea aſſord him. But of all others, both the earls gaue him heartie intertainment for his true & honorable dealing, that to be as good as his word, would not ſeeme to ſhrinke from his friend in this his aduerſitie. And ſhortlie after as they craued his aduiſe what were beſt to be done, either to land in Scotland, or elſe to returne homeward, his flat reſolution was at that time to retire, becauſe their diſt was detected, their ſeined friends fainted, the caſtells were fortified, and the ſhoares on all parts with ſwarms of Scots peopled. Wherefore he thought it better policie to giue out in open rumors, that they meant not at anie hand to inuade Scotland, but to retire to their countrie.

Dymond and
Lennor land.

And after that the Scottiſh ſouldiours ſhould be diſmiſſed, which would be incontinent vpon their returne, by reaſon of the exceſſiue charges: then might the earle of Lennor with leſſe preparation, and moze ſecrecie giue a freſh onſet, that the enemies ſhould ſoner ſeele his force, than heare of his arrivall. Dymond and Lennor vpon this determination landed with the greater part of the armie, and appointed the ſhips to bend their courſe to Dublin. The lord of the out Iles and his three gallies failed with the fleet,

for he was not able by reaſon of the ſebleneſſe of his bodie to trauell by land, or ſcantlie further to prolong his life, which he ended at Houth preſentlie vpon his arrivall, and was with great ſolemnitie buried in ſaint Patrike his church at Dublin, vpon whoſe death this epitaph following was framed:

*Pique manique mea patria dum reddidit exil,
Exil in externa cogor & ipſe mori.*

Both the earles marched with the armie on ſot to Carragfergus, where they brake companie. For Lennor and ſir John Trauers taking as he thought the ſhorter but not the ſafer waie, trauelled through the Ardes with the number of five hundred ſouldiours, where the Iriſh inhabitants ſkirmiſhed with them, and put them to ſuch ſtreit plunges (for they would glablie haue ſene what a clocke it was in their budgets) as they wiſhed they had not parted from the reſt of the armie. The earle of Dymond with his ſouldiours (which were a thouſand five hundred, as befoze is expreſſed) marched on ſot to Belef, which is an arme of the ſea, a quarter of a mile broad or little leſſe. And albeit their wetter were bitter and ouernipping, and no ſmall parcell of the water were congeled with froſt, yet the earle and his armie waded ouer on ſot, to the great danger as well of his perſon, as of the whole companie, which doubtleſſe was a valiant enterpriſe of ſo honorable a perſonage. From thence he paſſed to Strangford, and through Lecale to Dondalke, where he diſcharged his ſouldiours, and hauing preſented himſelfe to the gouernour at Dublin, he rode homewards to the countie of Kilkennie.

Shortlie after ſir Anthonie Scntleger lord deputie and the earle of Dymond fell at debate, inſomuch as either of them laid articles of treaſon one to the others charge. The chiefe occaſion of their mutuall grudge proceeded of certeine new and erronarie impositions, wherewith the deputie would haue charged the ſubiects. Whereat the earle of Dymond as a zelous defendor of his countrie began to kicke, & in no ſort could be wone to agree to anie ſuch vireasonable demand. Herevpon Dymond, perceiving that the gouernour perſiſted in his purpoſe, adreſſed letters of complaint to ſuch as were of the priuie counsell in England: which letters were by one of ſir Anthonie his friends intercepted at ſea, and preſented to him to be perused. Sir Anthonie hauing ouer read the writings, ſent Maſter Baſnet in poſt haſt with the packet to Kilkennie, where the earle of Dymond kept his Chriſtmaffe, requeſting his lordſhip to take in good part the opening of his letters. Which was done rather to learne the effect of his complaint, than in anie ſort to imbar his writings from comming to the counells hands.

The earle answered that his quarrell was ſo good, his dealing ſo open, as he little weighed who toke a view of his letters. And for his part what he wrote he meant not to vniwrite; but in ſuch ſort as they came from the gouernour, they ſhould be ſent to the counsell: and if their honours would allow anie ſubiect to be ſo hardie, as to intercept and open letters that were to them indorſed, he could not but digeſt anie ſuch iniurie that they would ſeeme to beare. With this answer Baſnet returned, and the earle performed his promiſe. Wherevpon the gouernour and he were commanded to appeare befoze the priuie counsell in England, where they were ſundrie times examined, and their accuſations ripele debated. In fine, the counsell equallie to both parts in their complaints affected, and weighing withall rather the due deſert of both their loſall ſeruiſes, than the vaine preſumption of their mutuall accuſations, wrapped vp their quarrels & made them both friends, with ſuch indifferencie, as neither part ſhould be made either

The lord of
the out Iles
dieth.

His epitaph.

The earle of
Dymond his
tollome tra-
uell.

The deputie
and Dymond
at debate.

Dymond his
letters inter-
cepted.

The lord tre-
pate and Dymond ſent to
England.

Sir John Trauers
ſhould cha-
rged to the
ſeat.

Sir William
wiſe knight.

The earle of
Dymond de-
ſcalleth.

His deſcrip-
tion.

either with anle conquest exalted; or with anle soile debased.

And for so much as Sir John Allen knight their lord chancelor of Ireland, was found to lunge in this controuersie; by plateng (as it was supposed) more craftlie than wiselie, with both the hands, in that he seemed to be rather a fosterer of their malice, than an appeaser of their quarels; he was likewise sent for into England; and being tript by the countcell in his tale, was committed to the Fleet, wherein he remained a long time. In this trouble the earle of Desmond was greatlie aided by Sir William Wolfe knight a worshipfull gentleman, borne in the citie of Waterford, who deseruing in deed the praise of that vertue, whereof he bare the name, grew to be of great credit in the court, and was highlie in King Henrie his grace, which he wholie bled to the furtherance of his friends, and neuer abused to the annoyance of his foes. This gentleman was vertie well spoken, mild of nature, with discretion stout, as one that in an vpright quarell would beare no coles, selborne in an intricate matter grauelled, being found at all assaies to be of a pleasant and present wit. Having lent the king his signet to seale a letter, who hauing powdred ermites ingrailed in the seale; Why how now Wolfe (quoth the king) what, hast thou lice here? And if it like your maiestie, quoth Sir William, a louse is a rich cote, for by giuing the louse, I part armes with the French king, in that he giueth the flour de lice. Whereat the king hartlie laughed, to heare hold prettie so, bising a taunt (namelie proceeding from a prince) was suddenlie turned to so pleasant a conceipt.

Anon after the agreement made betwene Desmond and Senileger, the earle his seruants (which he kept at that time in his linerie to the number of fiftie) besought his lordship to take at the Limehouse his part of a supper, which they prouided for him. The noble man with honour accepting their dutifull offer, supped at their request, but not to their contentation at the place appointed. For whether it were that one caltise or other did poison the meat, or that some other false measures were used (the certieintie with the reuenge thereof to God is to be referred) the noble man with thisie and hue of his seruants presentlie that night, sickened: one James White the earle his steward, with fiftene of his fellows died, the remnant of the seruants recovered. But their lord, whose health was thisie to be wished, in the flour of his age, deceased of that sickenesse at the house in Holborne, much about the eight and twentieth of October, and was buried in saint Thomas of Acres his church, whose death bred sorow to his friends, little comfort to his aduersaries, great losse to his countrie, and no small grieue to all good men.

This earle was a goodlie and personable noble man, full of honour, which was not onelie lodged inwardlie in his mind, but also he bare it outwardlie in countenance: as franke & as liberall as his calling required, a deepe and a farre reaching head. In a good quarell rather stout than stubborne, bearing himselfe with no lesse courage when he resisted, than with honorable discretion where he yielded. A fauourer of peace, no furtherer of warre, as one that procured vnlawfull quietnesse before vpright troubles, being notwithstanding of as great wisdom in the one, as of valour in the other. An earnest and a zealous vpholder of his countrie, in all attempts rather respecting the publike weale than his priuat gaine. Whereby he bound his countrie so greatlie vnto him, that Ireland might with good cause wish, that either he had neuer bene borne, or else that he had neuer deceased; so it were lawfull to craue him to be

immortal; that by course of nature was framed mortal. And to giue sufficient proofe of the entire affection he bare his countrie, and of the zealous care he did cast thereon, he betooke in his death-bed his soule to God, his carcase to christian buriall; and his hart to his countrie; declaring thereby, that where his mind was settled in his life, his hart should be there intoned after his death. Which was according to his will accomplished. For his hart was conueied to Ireland, and lieth ingraued in the quere of the cathedrall church in Kilkennie, where his ancestors for the more part are buried. Upon which kind & louing legacie this epitaph following was deuised:

*Cor patria fixum viuens iam reddidit illi
Post mortem patria que perierat venit.
Non sine corde valet mortalis viuere quisquam,
Fix tua gens vita permancet absque tui.
Qualicet infelix extincto corde fructur,
At tamen optato viuere corde nequit.
Ergo quid hac faciat? Quem re non possit amorem
Cordi ut tam charo reddere corde velit?*

The effect of which said epitaph is thus Englished:

The liuing hart where laie ingrauen
the care of countrie deere,
To countrie liuelesse is restord
and lies ingrauen here.
None hartlesse liues, his countrie then
alas what ioie is left,
Whose hope, whose hap, whose hart he was
till death his life bereft.
And though the soile here shrowds the hart,
which most it wisheth enioie,
Yet of the change from nobler seat,
the cause dooth it annoie.
What honour then is due to him,
for him what worthie rite?
But that ech hart with hartiest loue,
his worthiest hart may quite?

This earle was of so noble a disposition, as he would sooner countenance and support his poore well willer in his aduersitie, than he would make of satire vpon his wealthie friend in prosperitie. Having bid at London (not long before his death) the ladie Grete countesse of Killbare to dinner, it happened that a souldier, surnamed Polowe, who latelie returned fresh from the emperour his warres, came to take his repast with the earle before the messenger. When the earle and the countesse were set, this colting Kutterkin wholie then standing on the soldado high, placed himselfe right ouer against the countesse of Killbare, hard at the earle of Desmond his elbow, as though he were halle fellow well met. The noble man appalled at the impudent saucinesse of the malapert souldier (who notwithstanding might be borne withall, bicause an vnbidden guest knoweth not where to sit) besought him courteouslie to giue place. The earle, when the other arose, taking vpon him the office of a gentleman vther, placed in Polowe his seat, his coufine Edward Fitzgiralde, now lieutenant of hir maiesties pensioners, who at that time being a yong stripling, attended vpon his mother the countesse, and so in order he set euerie gentleman in his degre, to the number of fiftene or sixtene: and last of all the companie, he licenced Polowe if he would, to sit at the lower end of the table, where he had scantlie elbowe room.

The countesse of Killbare, perceiuing the noble man greatlie to stomach the souldier his presumptuous boldnesse, nippt him at the elbow, and whispering soflie, besought his lordship not to take the matter so hot, bicause the gentleman (the ment Polowe) knew that the house of Killbare was of late attained, and that hir children were not in this their calamitie in such wise to be regarded. So ladie (quoth the earle

This epitaph.

The kindness of James earle of Desmond to his friends.

Edward Fitzgiralde.

Sir John Allen knight their lord chancelor of Ireland, was found to lunge in this controuersie; by plateng (as it was supposed) more craftlie than wiselie, with both the hands, in that he seemed to be rather a fosterer of their malice, than an appeaser of their quarels; he was likewise sent for into England; and being tript by the countcell in his tale, was committed to the Fleet, wherein he remained a long time.

Sir William Wolfe knight a worshipfull gentleman, borne in the citie of Waterford, who deseruing in deed the praise of that vertue, whereof he bare the name, grew to be of great credit in the court, and was highlie in King Henrie his grace, which he wholie bled to the furtherance of his friends, and neuer abused to the annoyance of his foes.

The earle of Desmond deceased.

1546

This description.

The lord deceased and Desmond sent for to England.

They are made friends, either

earle with a loud voice, and the tears trilling downe his teares, saie not so, I trust to see the daie, when my yong cousin Edward, and the remnant of your children (as little reckoning as he maketh of them) shall disdaine the companie of anie such skipiacke. Which prophesie fell out as true as he foretold it, onelie saving that it stood with God his pleasure to call him to his mercie before he could see that daie after which doubtlesse he longed and looked, I meane the restitution of the house of Kilbare.

Sir Anthome
Senteleger re-
turneth lord
deputie.

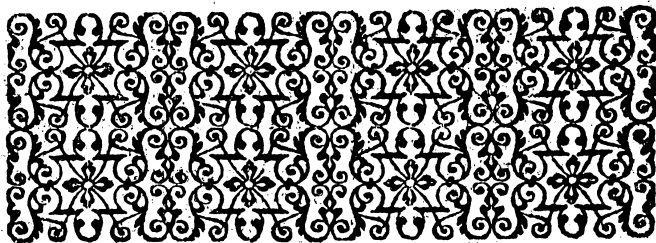
After this noble earle his untimelie decease, Sir Anthome Senteleger was returned to Ireland lord deputie, who was a wise and a warie gentleman, a ballant ferutor in war, and a good iusticer in peace, properlie learned, a good maker in the English, having grauntie so interlaced with pleasantnesse, as with an exceeding good grace he would attaine the one without pointing dumpishnesse, and exercise the other without loathsome lightnesse. Where fell in his time a fat benefice, of which he as lord deputie had the presentation. When diuerse made suit to him for the benefice, and offered with dishonestie to buy that which with safetie of conscience he could not sell,

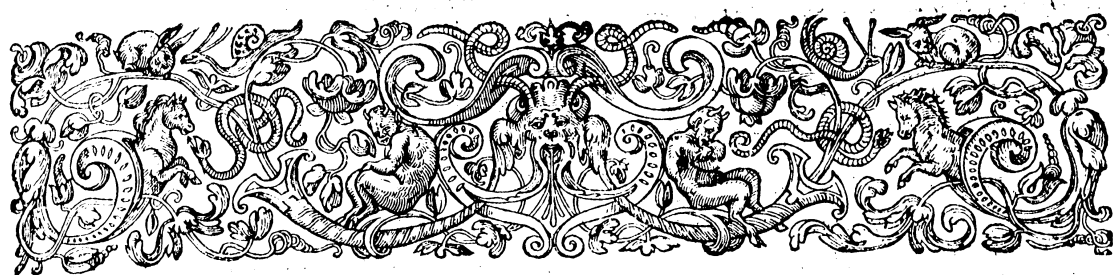
he answered merlie, that he was resolved not to commit simonie: yet notwithstanding he had a nag in his stable that was worth fortye shillings, and he that would give him fortye pounds for the nag, should be preferred to the benefice. Which he rather of pleasure uttered, than of anie unconscionable meaning purposed to have done.

His gouernement had bene of the countrie berie well liked, were it not that in his time he began to adesse the pale with certeine new impositions, not so profitable (as it was thought) to the gouernors, as it was noisome to the subjects. The debating of which I purpose to referre to them, who are discourfers of publike estates, and the reformers of the common-wealth, praye to God, that he with his grace direct them so faithfullie to accomplish the duties of god magistrates, that they gouerne that poore battered Island to his diuine honour, to his maiesties contentation, to the suppressing of rebels, to the upholding of subjects, and rather to the publike weale of the whole countrie, than to the priuat gaine of a few persons, which oftentimes falleth out in proue to the ruine and bndwing of the seker.

Thus farre (gentle reader) as mine instructions directed me, and my leasure serued me, haue I continued a parcell of the Irish historie, and haue stretched it to the reigne of Edward the sixt. Wherevpon I am forced to craue at thine hands pardon and tolerance: pardon for anie error I shall be found to haue committed, which vpon friendlie admonition I am readie to reforme: tolerance, for that part of the historie which is not continued, till time I be so furnished and fraughe with matter, as that I maie emploie my trauell to serue thy contentation.

FINIS.





THE SUPPLIE OF THIS Irish Chronicle, continued from the death of king Henrie the eight, 1546, vntill this present yeare 1586, in the 28 yeare of hir maiesties reigne, sir Iohn Perot residing deputie in Ireland.

By Iohn Vowell aliàs Hooker of the citie
of Excester, gentleman.



S from the time of Giraldus Cambrensis (the best deserved and exact writer of the conquest and state of Ireland in his time, few or none haue followed and continued any perfect course of that historie vntill the death of king Henrie the eight, and the beginning of king Edward the sixt 1546; and therefore no certeine knowledge nor assurance can be yelded, nor set downe either of the quiet gouernement in time of peace, or of the troublesome state in times of warres and rebellions; but that which is collected either out of the records, which were verie slenderlie & disorderlie kept, or out of some priuat mens collections and pamphlets, remaining in some od and obscure places: euen so the like from that time vnto these presents hath happened and is fallen out, euerie gouernour neglecting, and verie few others for want of due observations willing, to commit vnto writing what was doone, and woorthie the memoriall; sauing the things so latelie doone are not altogether out of remembrance, and some yet liuing that can remember some things doone in their times. And yet that is so vncerteine, and euerie man so varieth one from the others reports, that no man can well therevpon set downe a perfect and so exact a course as the nature of an historie requireth, and as it ought to be doone. He therefore that vpon such vncerteinties shall intermedle
and

The Preface.

and undertake the penning, much more the printing of such an uncerteine, confused, and intricate discourse, must looke and be assured to be subiect to manie cauels and reproches: which thing discouraged me the writer hereof to intermeddle at all in this historie. Neuerthelesse, this worke requiring a supplie, and my selfe being earnestlie required to doo something herein, haue aduentured the matter, and by all the meanes I could, haue searched and collected to set downe in this short discourse and rhapsodie, what by writings or reports I could learne and find to be true, and worthie the memoriall: which albeit, it be not so full as the worke requireth, nor so sufficient as to the satisfaction of the reader, nor yet so answerable to the nature of an historie as is necessarie and requisit: yet let the good will of the writer be his discharge from reproch, and be an occasion to the learned to amend the thing thus in a good affection begun, and to reduce it to a more full measure in matter and truth: that this historie may haue his perfection, the reader satisfied, and this writer acquitted.

John Hooker, aliàs Vowell.



T

Mr Anthos
Mr Bentleger
muicd.



1547
Mr Edward
Bellingham
made lord de-
putie.

I mint in
Dublin.

Mr Edward
Bellinghams
carefullnesse in
gouernement.

Handste An-
dies of hoxles
Sept.

His secretie
in his seruice.

Reighlin ab-
bate inclosed
with a wall
and made a
loft.

time a
be dep
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well le
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THE SUPPLIE OF THE

Irish Chronicles extended to

this present yeare of our Lord
1586, and the 28 of the reigne of
queene Elisabeth.



After the death
of king Henrie
the eight, sir An-
thonie Sentleger
knight, was re-
uoked; who deliue-
red vp the sword
at his departure
vnto sir William
Babstson knight;
and he was lord
in iustice, vntill such

time as sir Edward Bellingham was sent ouer to
be deputie. This man was seruant to king Ed-
ward the first, and of his priue chamber: a man verie
well learned, graue and wise, and therewith stout
& valiant, and did verie worthilie direct his gouern-
ment. In his time there was a mint kept in the cas-
tell of Dublin, which being at his commandement,
he was the better able to do good seruice to the king
his maiestie, and to the benefit of that realme. In
the ciuill gouernment he was carefull to place lear-
ned and wise magistrats, vnto whome he had a spe-
ciall eie for the doing of their offices; as he had the
like care for god and expert captains, to serue in the
martiall affaires. And for the more speedie seruice
to be done therein at all times needfull, he kept sun-
drie stables of horses: one at Leighlin, one at Ler,
and some in one place and some in another, as he
thought most meet for seruice. And whatsoever he
had to do, or that seruice soeuer he meant to take
in hand, he was so secret, and kept the same so priue,
as none should haue anie vnderstanding thereof,
before the verie instant of the seruice to be done; and
for the most part, whensoever he took anie iourne
in hand, his owne men knew not whither, or to what
place he would ride, or what he would do. At happ-
ened that vpon some occasion he sent for the earle of
Desmond, who refused to come vnto him. Where-
vpon calling vnto him his companie as he thought
good, and without making them acquainted what he
minded to do, took horse & rode to Leighlin bridge.
The abbey there (being suppressed) he caused to be in-
closed with a wall, and made there a fort. In that
house he had a stable of twentie or thirtie horses, and
there he furnished himselfe and all his men with
horses and other furniture, and forthwith rode in-
to Spounker, vnto the house of the earle, being then

Christmas; and being vnlodged and vnthought of,
he went in to the earle, whome he found sitting by
the fire, and there took him, and caried him with
him to Dublin.

This earle was verie rude both in gesture and
in apparell, hauing for want of good nurture as much
good maners as his henns and his followers could
teach him. The deputie hauing him at Dublin, did
so instruct, schoole, and informe him, that he made a
new man of him, and reduced him to a conformitie
in maners, apparell, and behauiours appertaining to
his estate and degree; as also to the knowledge of
his dutie and obedience to his soueraigne & prince;
and made him to kneele vpon his knees sometimes
an houre together, before he knew his dutie. This
though it were verie strange to the earle, who ha-
uing not bene trained vp in anie ciuilitie, knew
not what appertained to his dutie and calling: nei-
ther yet of what authoritie and maiestie the king
his soueraigne was; yet when he had well digested
and considered of the matter, he thought himselfe
most haplie that euer he was acquainted with the
said deputie, and did for euer after so much honor
him, as that continuallie all his life time at euerie
dinner and supper, he would praye for the good sir
Edward Bellingham: and at all callings he was
so obedient and dutifull, as none more in that land.

This sir Edward lord deputie, when and where
soeuer he trauelled, he would be chargeable to no
man; but would be at his owne charge. It happ-
ned that traueilling the countrie, he was lodged on
a night in vicount Baltinglasses house, where all
things were verie plentifullie provided for him:
which the vicount thought to haue giuen and bestow-
ed vpon his lordship: but at his departure, he com-
manded his steward to paie & discharge all things,
thanking the vicount for his courtesie, but refused
his intertainment; saying: The king my maister
hath placed me here to serue him, and alloweth me
therein for my charges and expenses: wherefore,
I neither maie nor will be burdenous nor chargeable
to anie other man. He was verie equisite & carefull
in the gouernment, as few before him the like; as
well in matters martiall, as politike, magnani-
mous and courageous: in the one, to the appallling
of the enimie; and as seuer & vpright in the other, to
the benefit of the commonwelth. For neither by flat-
terie could he be gained, nor by brierie be corrup-
ted;

The earle of
Desmond tak-
en in his
house.

The earle is
rude without
nurture.

The earle in-
structed in ci-
uilitie.

The earle
prayeth for
sir
Edward Bel-
lingham.

The lord de-
putie would
be chargeable
to none.

The good go-
uernment of
this deputie.

Dr. Anthos
in Sentleger
mused.

1547
Dr. Edward
Bellingham
was lord de-
putie.

Dr. Martin
Dublin.

Dr. Edward
Bellingham
was in
gouernment.

Dr. Martin
Dublin.

Dr. Martin
Dublin.

Dr. Martin
Dublin.

Sir Edward
Bingham
well beloved.

1548
Sir Francis
Bian lord
iustice.

Sir Francis
Bian married
the countess
of Desmond, died
and was bur-
ied at Water-
ford.

1549
Sir William
Babston
lord iustice.

1550
Sir Anthonie
Senteleger
lord deputie
the second
time.

1551
Sir James
Cross lord
deputie.

1552
Sir Antho-
nie Sentele-
ger lord depu-
tie the third
time.

A fatall desti-
nie to euerie
good gouernor
to be flander-
ed.

1555
The lord
Fitzwaters
made lord de-
putie.

1555
Sir Henrie
Sidneie and
Corwen lords
iustices.

ted; he was feared for his seueritie, and beloued for his integritie; and no gouernor for the most vnuer-
sallie better reported of than was he. But as ver-
tue hath the contrarie to enemie, so he found it true:
for he was so enuied at, and that rebellious nation
not brooking so wozthie a man, who travelled all the
wates he could to reduce them to the knowledge of
themselves, and of their duties; and also to reforme
that corrupt state of gouernement, that great prac-
tises and deuises were made for his reuocation; and
matters of great importance informed and enforced
against him. Wherebyon, before two yeares en-
ded of his gouernement, he was reuoked, and sir
Francis Bian made lord iustice. At his comming
into England, great matters were laid vnto his
charge: but he so effectualle did answer the same,
that his maiesties doubtfulnesse was resolved; & he
not onelie cleared, but also better liked than euer he
was before, & should haue bene sent backe againe,
had he not alleged his infirmittie; the which was a
fistula, and other good reasons, which were accepted
for his excuse. Sir Francis Bian had married the
countesse of Desmond, and by that meanes he was
a dweller in that land: where he died & was buried in
the citie of Waterford. His time of iusticeship was
but short, & no great matters could in so short a time
be done by him. After his death, sir William Bab-
ston had the sword deliuered vnto him, and he conti-
nued lord iustice, vntill that sir Anthonie Senteleger
came ouer, who was now lord deputie the second
time: who notwithstanding by his knowledge & ex-
perience he had good skill and did well gouerne: yet
there remained some coles of the fire in his first go-
uernement unquenched; and within a shorter time
than thought of, he was reuoked: and sir James
Cross was sent ouer to supplie the place; his euill
successes in good attempts did not answer his va-
lour and good desires.

And albeit the time of his gouernement were
not long, yet it continued vntill the death of king
Edward the first, and then he was called home, and
sir Thomas Cusacke and sir Gerard Elmer were
appointed lords iustices, who iointlie gouerned the
estate, vntill queene Marie sent ouer sir Anthonie
Senteleger; who now the third time was lord depu-
tie. This man ruled and gouerned verie iustlie and
vprightlie in a good conscience, and being well ac-
quainted in the courses of that land, knew how to
meete with the enemies, and how to staie all magi-
strates and others in their duties and offices: for
which though he deserved well, and ought to be belo-
ued and commended: yet the old practises were re-
newed, and manie slanderous informations were
made and inueighed against him: which is a fatall
destinie, and inueitable to euerie good gouernor in
that land. For the more paines they take in tillage,
the worse is their haruest; and the better be their ser-
uices, the greater is the malice and enuie against
them; being not vnlike to a fruitfull apple tree, which
the more apples he beareth, the more cudgels he hur-
led at him. Well, this man is called home, and the
lord Thomas Fitzwaters was made lord deputie.
At sir Anthonies comming ouer, great matters
were laid to his charge, and manie heauie aduersa-
ries he had, which verie eagerlie pursued the same a-
gainst him: wherein he so answered, that he was
not onelie acquitted; but also gained his discharge
for euer to passe ouer and more into so vnthankfull
a land.

The lord Fitzwaters being lord deputie, after a
short time of his being there, was sent for into Eng-
land. And in his absence, sir Henrie Sidneie
then treasurer at warres, and doctor Corwen, were
for a time ioint lords iustices: but verie shortly af-
ter,

a commission was sent to sir Henrie Sidneie to
be sole lord iustice, and so continued alone vntill the
lord Fitzwaters, now earle of Suffre, came againe
and resumed his former office of deputie. After
that he was come ouer, he had somewhat to do with
the Dnele. For the whole north part of Ireland be-
gan to be brigueted, and for preventing of sundrie
inconueniences, which might grow by the Scottish
Ilanders in aiding the said Dnele, the lord depu-
tie made a iourneie and boiage into the said Iles,
to ioine them into his friendship. In his absence,
he constituted sir Henrie Sidneie lord iustice; but
after that he had done his businesse, he returned a-
gaine to Dublin, where he remained and continued
in his office vntill the death of queene Marie, and
then he passed ouer into England, and left sir Hen-
rie Sidneie to be lord iustice now the fourth time.
And after some time spent there, and queene Eliza-
beth now settled in the imperiall crowne of Eng-
land, she sent ouer the said earle as lieutenant of
Ireland to performe those seruices, which before he
had taken in hand: who did verie great good ser-
uice against the Irishie, and by meanes he took
the Dnele, and kept him prisoner in the castell of
Dublin: but yet before he could do this bying the
same to perfection, he was reuoked into England,
and left the land in a verie broken state; which was
committed to sir Nicholas Arnold, & he was made
lord iustice. But his gouernement being not well
liked, choise was made by hir maiestie and the
councill of sir Henrie Sidneie, now knight of the
honorable order of the garter, to supplie that place,
who then was lord president of Wales.

This man had bene before a long seruitor in
that realme, hauing for sundrie yeares bene trea-
surer at warres, which is the second office vnder the
lord deputie in that land; as also had bene lord ius-
tice solie and iointlie foure times. Great was his
knowledge, wisdom, and experience both of that
land, and of the nature, manners, and disposition of
the people: wherein the more he excelled anie others
in those daies, the more apt and fit was he to haue
the gouernement of them. He was therefore called
from out of Wales, where he then resided in his go-
uernement vnto the court: and there after conse-
rence had with hir highnesse, and with the councill;
he was appointed to be lord deputie of Ireland, be-
ing the seventh yeare of hir maiesties reigne, in the
yeare of our Lord 1565. And then he received of
hir maiestie a booke of instructions signed with hir
owne hand, dated the first of October 1565, the
seuenth yeare of hir reigne aforesaid, concerning
the principall articles for his gouernement & direc-
tion, which chieslie consisted in these points.

First, that there should be a bodie of a councill
established, to assist him being lord deputie, in the
gouernement of the same realme in times of peace
and of warre; and whose names were then particu-
larlie set downe: and order giuen, that euerie of
them should before their admission be sworn by the
said lord deputie, according to the accustomed man-
ner: with an exhortation, that for so much as hir
maiestie had reposed a speciall trust and confidence
in their wisdomes, aduises, good counsels, and ser-
uices: he the lord deputie should vse their aduises,
assistance, and counsels in all matters of treatie and
consultation, concerning the state of that realme.

And they likewise, considering the place and au-
thoritie wherevnto hir maiestie had called the said
sir Henrie Sidneie, to hold his place in that realme:
they should yeld that obedience and reuerence vnto
him, as to such a principall officer doth appertene.
And then they both together, to haue a speciall care
and regard to the gouernement, which was com-
piled

The same
and altho
north be
quiet.

1555
Sir Henrie
Sidneie lord
iustice the
fourth time.

1557
The earle
of Suffre
lieutenant.

1557
The earle
of Suffre
taken and
kept in pris-
on.

1564
Sir Nich-
olas Arnold
lord iustice.

1566
Sir Henrie
Sidneie lord
deputie.

Sir Henrie
Sidneie lord
president of
Wales.

A booke of
instructions
red to sir
Henrie Sidneie
for his go-
uernment.

A councill
to be establi-
shed.

Euerie of
them should
be sworn by
the lord de-
putie.

1555
Sir Henrie
Sidneie lord
deputie.

1555
Sir Henrie
Sidneie lord
deputie.

1555
Sir Henrie
Sidneie lord
deputie.

1555
Sir Henrie
Sidneie lord
deputie.

1555
Sir Henrie
Sidneie lord
deputie.

1555
Sir Henrie
Sidneie lord
deputie.

Gods lawes
to be kept, and
christian reli-
gion to be
bred.

Learning of
the scriptures
to be mainte-
ned.

The church
lands not to
be alienated.

The lawes to
be duly admi-
nistered.

Shiriffes to
be appointed in
euerie shire.

The garisons
to be looked
vnto.

A muster to be
kept euerie
moneth.

A due regard
to be had of
hir maiesties
reuerences.

That euerie
officer of res-
ceits doe
yearlie mak
his account.

Sir Henrie
Sidneie was
sent his lea-
ue of the queene
and councill.

Sir Henrie
Sidneie lord
deputie.

sed in foure articles that do orderlie hereafter fol-
low.

The said foure articles were these.

First, that they should faithfullie and
earnestlie regard the due and reue-
rend obseruation of all Gods lawes
and ordinances, made and established
for the maintenance of the true christian faith and
religion among his people; and that all meanes
should be vsed, as well by doctrine and by teaching,
as by good examples, that deuotion and godlinesse
might increase, and contempt of religion might be
restrained, punished, and suppressed. That learning
in the scriptures might be maintained and increased
among the cleargie, and that for the reliefe of the ec-
clesiasticall state, no alienations nor waiks of the
lands pertaining to anie church or college, should be
alienated: neither anie impropriations of benefi-
ces be put in vze: besides sundrie other articles in-
cident to this effect.

The second was, that the administration of law
and iustice should duly and vprightlie be executed,
without respect of persons: that inqurie be made
what notable faults are in anie of the iudges, or o-
ther ministers of the law: that vnfit persons maie
be remoued from their places, and some sufficient
persons of English birth be chosen to supplie the
same. That shiriffes be appointed and renewed in
euerie countie, and to execute their offices vpright-
lie, according to the lawes of England.

The third, that the garrisons and men of warre
be well ordered to the benefit of the realme, and re-
pressing of disordered subiects and rebels: that they
do line according to the orders appointed, without
oppression of the good and true subiects. That there
shall be once within a moneth at the least a muster
made either by the lord deputie, or by such commis-
sioners as he shall appoint mete and indifferent for
that purpose; who shall make inqurie of the num-
ber of the soldiers vnder euerie capteine; for the
sufficiencie of their persons, their harness, armors,
and weapons, and other their necessities: and how
they were paid of their wages, and whether they
were Englishmen or not.

The fourth article was, whether there had bene
had a due care & regard to the preservation of the
reuenues of the crowne, & for the recouerie of that
which is withdrawne. And whether euerie of the offi-
cers appointed for the recieving of anie part of the
said reuenues, as namelie the receiueurs of rente,
shiriffes, excheatours, collectors of the subsidies, cu-
stomers, clerks of the crowne, of the hamper, and
of the first fruits, and the farmers of customes and
such others, did yearelie make and answer their ac-
counts; and besides sundrie other articles incident
to euerie of these principals.

After that he had receiued this booke, and his com-
mission, he prepared himselfe with all the expedition
he could, to follow the great charge committed vnto
him: which being done, he repaired to his maie-
stie and toke his leaue: and to his farewell, he gaue
him most comfortable speeches and good counsels,
promising his fauor and countenance to all his well
doings, and a consideration for the same when time
should serue. The like leaue he toke also of the
lords of the counsell, who in like order gaue him the
like farewell: and these things done, he departed
towards the sea side, where after he had taried a long
time for a good wind and passage, he toke ship, and
arrived in Ireland the thirteenth of Januarie, about
fue miles from Dublin, and from thence he traueled
to Dublin; where he was most honorablie recei-

ued by sir Nicholas Arnold then lord iustice, and the
whole counsell; together with the maior and his bre-
thren of that citie. And the people in great troops
came and saluted him, clapping and shooting with all
the ioy that they could deuise.

The next sundaie then next following, being the
seuenth daie of his arrivall, and the twentieth of the
moneth, he accompanied with the lord iustice and
counsell, repaired to the high church in the citie na-
med Chisties church; where after that the diuine ser-
uice was done, he toke his oth, receiued the sword,
and assumed vpon him the gouernement: and wher-
with he made a most pittie, wise, and eloquent ora-
tion, which consisted vpon these speciall points. The
first, what a precious thing is god gouernement,
and how all realmes, commonwealths, cities, and
countries do flourish and prosper, where the same is
orderlie, in equitie, iustice, and wisdom directed
& gouerned. Secondlie, what a continuall care the

queenes highnesse hath had, and yet hath, not onelie
for the god guiding & ruling of the realme of Eng-
land, but also of Ireland; which she so earnestlie de-
sireth, and wisheth to be preserved, as well in peace
as in warre: that she hath made great choise from
time to time of the most grane, wise, and expert
counsellors for the one; and the most valiant, skil-
full, and expert men of armes for the other: that
both in peace and warres, the publicke state of the
commonwealth, and euerie particular member
therein might be conserued, defended, and kept in
safetie vnder his gouernement. And for the per-
formance thereof, his maiestie ouer and besides the
reuenues of the crowne of Ireland, did yearelie
far aboue anie of his progenitors, expend of his
owne cofers out of England, great masses of mo-
nye, amounting to manie thousand pounds. All
which his excellent expenses and continuall cares
she made the lesse account of; so that his realme and
subiects of Ireland might be preserved, defended,
and gouerned.

Lastlie, notwithstanding his maiestie might haue
made better choise of manie others, who were bet-
ter able to hold his place in this realme, both for ho-
nor, wisdom, and experience: yet his pleasure
was now to cast this heauie charge and burden vpon
him. Which he was the more vnwilling to take
vpon him, because the greater the charge was, the
more vnable & weake he was to susteine the same.
Nevertheless, being in god hope, and well promised
of his highnesse fauor and countenance in his well
doings, and hauing his confidence in them his high-
nesse counsellors associated vnto him, to ioyne aid,
and assist him in this gouernement: he was and is
the more readie to take the sword in hand; in hope
that this his gouernement shall be to the glorie of
God, the honor of his maiestie, the benefit of the com-
monwealth, and the preservation of the whole realme
and people of the same. And so making his earnest
request to the said lords present, for their continuing
with him, and the aiding and assisting of him in
this his maiesties seruice, he made an end of his
speeches.

The said counsellors, hauing well considered the
great value and weight of this his graue and wise o-
ration, did most humbly thanke his lordship for the
same, and promised in all dutifullnesse, faith, and o-
bedience to performe and attend whatsoever to them
in anie wise should apperteyne. These things done,
they all conducted the said lord deputie in all honora-
ble manner vnto the castell of Dublin: the common
people in euerie street and corner meeting him, and
with great acclamations and ioy did congratulat
vnto his lordship his comming among them in that
office. Immediatlie after the performance of all
the

The benefit of
god gouernement.

The queenes
maiesties con-
tinuall care for
Ireland.

The queenes
maiesties ex-
pendeth
yearelie out of
his owne co-
fers for Ire-
land sundrie
thousand of
pounds.

The congra-
tulation of the
people.

L. y. the

The broken
state of Ire-
land.

The English
pale wasted
and spoiled.

The soldiers
beggerlie and
out of order.

The miser-
able state of
Leinster.

The fertile
soile of the
countie of
Kilkennie
wasted.

Downfall by
civil war de-
stroyed.

Thomond all
wasted by ci-
vil warres.

Connagh de-
voured by ci-
vil warres.

The gentle-
men all impo-
werished.

Ulster weal-
thy and rich.

the solemnities, verteing to these actions, he called and assembled all those persons which his highnesse had appointed, admitted, and allowed to be of his maiesties priuie counsell for that realme, and did sweare them according to the accustomed manner. Then from time to time they assembled and met, consulting and deliberating what waie and order were best to be taken for repairing of that broken common-wealth and ruinous state, being as it were a man altogether infected with sores and bites, and in whose bodie from the crowne of the head to the sole of the foot there is no health. And surely if the state of that land was euer miserable and in perill to be overthrowne: it was neuer moze like than at these present; for as for the English pale, it was overwhelmed with infinite numbers of caterpillers, who daily by spoiles and robberies haue deuoured and wasted the same: whereby the people vniuersallie were so poor, and the commons in such extreme penurie, that they had not horses, armor, nor weapons to defend them, nor apparell, bittels, nor any other necessities to relieve them; the soldiers so beggerlie that they were most intolerable to the people, and so rooted in insolencie, loosenesse and idlenesse, that vniuersallie the remedie were the moze speedie, they would be past correction: and so much the worse, because manie of them were alied in marriage, and companies of the Irish: who the moze they were affected to them, their trust and seruice moze doubtful to his maiestie. The prouince of Leinster and they altogether most miserable, the Wols, Obzines, Kinshelaghies, Dooles, Dimoughs, Carenaughs, the Moyes, and the residue in their accustomed manners wholly bent to spoiles and all mischiefs, no place of any safetie remaining for the good subiect; especiallie in the countie of Kilkennie, which being sometimes a fertile rich soile, and well manured and inhabited, became of all others most desart and beggerlie, verie few being left to inhabit the same.

Downfall, the inhabitants there likewise for the most part being followers to the earle of Desmond, and following his wars against the erle of Desmond, made that prouince, and especiallie the countie of Tipperarie and Kilkennie, being wealthy and rich, to become bare and beggerlie; and verie few of whom his maiestie was or could be assured. Notwithstanding experience had taught them, and they assured, that no waie was for their recouerie and safetie so good and assured, as to humble themselves, and to become his highnesse loiall and obedient subiects: yet as swine delighting in their dirt and puddles, contented themselves rather with a beggerlie life to be miserable, than in dutifull obedience to be at peace and assured. The prouinces also of Thomond altogether almost wasted by the warres betwene the earle there and sir Donnell Obzine. Desmond likewise by reason of dissention betwene the earles of Desmond and Desmond, and by the daily inuasions and prizes of Piers Grace was almost wasted and inhabited.

Connagh, one of the goodliest, pleasantest, and most fertile soiles of that land, & in times past verie rich and wealthy, and well inhabited, is wasted with the wars betwene the earle of Clanrichard and Mac William Enter: the Irish countiees all wasted and impouerished, partly by reason of their dissimulations, sorieties, and conferences with the rebelles, and partly by the particular discords among themselves. Finally, all the gentlemen throughout, wont in times past to be keepers of hospitalitie, were by the daily prizes made vpon them and their tenants so impouerished & distressed, that they were not able to mainteine and relieve themselves nor their families. The prouince of Ulster for wealth

and plentie was well stored, not onlie of themselves, but by reason that it was the receptacle and place of receipt of all the prizes and spoiles from out of the other prouinces: but as for loialtie, dutifulnesse, and obedience to his maiestie, they were most disloiall, rebellious, and disordered. For after that Shane O'Neill by blood and murder had gotten the maiestie, he alone then ruled the rest, who in pride exceeded all the men vpon the earth, abiding no superior, nor allowing any equall. And here it were not amisse, but verie expedient to set downe the first origin and cause why the said Shane did first breake out from his due obedience, and did shake off the gouernement of his maiestie, which (as farre as the writer hereof hath gathered and collected) is as here followeth.

Con O'Neill, the first earle of Tiron, had two sonnes, Matthew and this Shane or John. And king Henrie the eight hauing good liking of this Con O'Neill, and to reueine and keepe him a good subiect, he being a mightie man, and of great power in his countie, he made and created him earle of Tiron, and his eldest son Matthew he made baron of Dungannon, and the remainder of the said earledome to the said Matthew, and to the heirs male of his bodie. This Shane being the second brother, and of an aspiring mind, envied his elder brother, and in no wise could he brooke him, but from time to time seeketh occasions to quarrell and fall out with him, and in the end most traitorously and vnnaturallie murdered him: their father yet liuing, who did not so much lament and bewaile the same, but began much moze to distrust of his owne safetie. Neuertheless, it is not knownen that the said Shane did offer him any violence, but when he was dead, although he had no right to succeed into the earledome, by reason that Matthew his elder brother had left sons behind him, who by the letters patents and course of the common law were to succeed the grandfather: yet Shane usurped the name of O'Neill, and entred into his fathers inheritance according to the Irish manner, among whom the custome is, that the eldest in years of the name of any house or familie doth succeed his ancestor, vnlesse at the time of his death he had a son of the full age of one and twentie yers. And thus hauing perforce entred into his fathers inheritance, he scorneth at the English gouernement, and after the Irish manner proclaimeth himselfe O'Neill, and the capitaine of his countie, refuseth likewise all obedience to his maiestie, and breaketh out into open rebellion.

Sir Henrie Shoneie then lord iustice, in the absence of the erle of Sussex, being aduertised of these stirs, taketh aduise of the counsell what was best to be done. And then it was agreed, that the said lord iustice should take his iorney towards Dundalke, for the fortifying of the English pale, and should send a messenger to Shane O'Neill, who then late at a lordship of his about six miles from Dundalke, and to will him come to Dundalke to his lordship: which was done. But Shane returned his answer, praieing pardon, and also most humbly requested his lordship that it would please him to chrispen a son of his, & be his gossip, & then he would come to his lordship to do all things in seruice for his maiestie, as his lordship should command and appoint. This answer at the first was not thought good, nor yet honorable to the lord iustice so to do, vntill the said Shane had first come and submitted himselfe. But when it was considered what great inconueniences might ensue, if his request were denied; it was agreed that the said lord iustice should condescend vnto his request. And accordingly vpon the last of Januarie, one thousand five hundred fiftie and eight, he went vnto the said

Shane O'Neill.

The cause of Shane O'Neill's rebellion.

Con O'Neill made earle of Tiron.

Shane O'Neill's birth the first of O'Neill. The first custome in succession.

Shane O'Neill's rebellion into rebellion.

Shane O'Neill's prayer for his gossips.

Shane's house, and there his lordship and Jaques Wingfield were godfathers, and having performed the baptizing of the child, they both had conference of the matter: where the said Shane, to excuse his doing, did allege for his defence sundrie articles as followeth.

First, he said that Matthew baron of Dungan, now was the sonne of one Bellaie of Dundalk, a smith by occupation, begotten and bozne during the sponsals of the said Bellaie, and one Alton his wife, and that the said Matthew was alwaies taken and reputed to be the sonne of the said Bellaie, untill he was of the age of sixteen yeares or thereabouts: at which time Con O'Neill his father, upon the saleng of the said Alton, that he was the father of the said Matthew, did accept and take the said Matthew to be his sonne, & gave him the name of Farbarough. And here understand you the wickednesse of this countrie; which is, that if anie woman do mislike hir husband, and will depart from him, he shall haue all such children as were bozne of hir bodie during their abode together, except such as she shall name to be begotten by anie other man: which man so named shall by their custome haue the said child: and so it should seeme to be meant of this point. Also the said Matthew did upon this the affirmation of his mother sake to surpe the name of a segniorie of the O'Neilles, and the dominions appertaining to that segniorie and surname. Also that there be aboue a hundred of that name, which will not in anie wise peld to this the claime of Matthew, although he for his owne part would be contented therewith. Also he saith that the letters patents (if anie such be) that should intitle the sonne of the said baron to the said lands are vntillie hold, because that Con O'Neill father to the said Shane had no other right nor interest to that countrie, but during his owne life: and therefore without the consent of the lordes and inhabitants of that countrie, could make no surrender nor conuenance, whereby he might be enabled to take and haue the said lands by force of letters patents.

Also he saith, that by the lawes in the English pale of Ireland, no letters patents, made to anie person, be of anie force or value, untill that an inquisition be taken of the lands so giuen before that the letters patents do passe: which in this case neither was, nor could be done, sith the countrie of Tiron is no sithre ground. Also if the said lands should according to the quenes lawes descend to the right heire, then in right it ought to descend to him, as next heire being mulierlie bozne; and the other not so bozne. Also he saith, that upon the death of his father lord of the countrie, the whole countrie according to the custome of the countrie did assemble themselves together, and by a common consent did elect and chose (without anie contradiction) him the said Shane to be O'Neill, as the most worthy and ablest of that countrie. Which election by the custome of the countrie hath bene alwaies vsed without anie confirmation, asked of the kings and quenes of England. Also he saith that as O'Neill he claimeth such authorities, iurisdiction, and duties upon his men & countrie, as are due time out of mind to his predecessors, and which duties for the most part are recozded, and remaine in writing. When the lord iustice had at full heard these articles, and considered well of them together with the counsell, made answer unto Shane that the matter was of great weight and importance, & which neither he nor the counsell cold determine of themselves, before hir maiestie were made priuie and acquainted therewith; and therefore in the meane time willed and required him to be quiet, and to shew himselfe a dutifull subject unto hir maiestie, nothing doubting but that he should haue and re-

ceiue at hir hands, what should be found meet, right, and iust.

And so having vsed manie good and frendlie speeches and exhortations unto him, the said Shane promised to vse and behaue himselfe well and honestly, & as to his dutie should appertaine; they departed in verie frendlie manner. And thus in suth wisdom and politike manner the lord iustice handled the matter, that by temporizing and gaining of time all matters were pacified, and so continued vntill the comming ouer of the earle of Shutter lord deputie: who then of a newe toke the matter in hand, and he did so discretly and seuerely follow the same, that he ouermatched Shane O'Neill. But it so grieved the said Shane, that notwithstanding he dissembled and gaue a good countenance, & promised well, yet in the end being once at libertie, he performed nothing: but as the wolfe which often casteth his haire but neuer changeth his conditions, was one and the same man or rather worse, and therefore tyrannized and vsed most cruelte, and of all others most disolall and disobedient; to the deputie would he not come, nor would he in anie wise confer with him, but at his owne pleasure.

The quenes maiestie in some termes he would honor, but in dedes he denied all obedience, subtil and craftie he was especiallie in the morning: but in the residue of the daie verie vncertaine and vnsustainable, and much giuen to excessive gulping and setting. And albeit he had most commonlie two hundred tunnes of wines in his cellar at Dundun, & had his full fill therof, yet was he neuer satisfied, till he had swallowed by marvellous great quantities of Wiske bagh or Aqua vite of that countrie: whereof so vnmessurable he would drinke and house, that for the quenching of the heat of the bodie, which by that meanes was most extremelie inflamed and disordered, he was effones conueied (as the common report was) into a deepe pit, and stanning by night in the same, the earth was cast round about him vp to the hard chin, and there he did remaine vntill such time as his bodie was recovered to some temperature: by which meanes though he came after in some better plight for the time, yet his manners and conditions daillie worse. And in the end his pride ioined with wealth, drunkennesse, and insolencie, he began to be a tyrant, and to tyrannize ouer the whole countrie, greatlie it was feared that his intent was to haue made a conquest ouer the whole land. He pretended to be king of Ulster, euen as he said his ancestors were, and affecting the manner of the great Turke, was continually garded with six hundred armed men, as it were his familiaries about him, and had in readinesse to bring into the fields a thousand horsemen, and foure thousand footmen. He furnished all the peasants and husbandmen of his countrie with armour and weapons, and trained them vp in the knowledge of the wars: and as a lion hath in awe the beasts of the field, so had he all the people to his becke and commandement, being feared and not beloued.

Wherfore meanes and waies were practised and vsed by the lord deputie and counsell for the pacifying and recouerie of him, and commissioners from time to time sent unto him; for and about the same, who sometimes would be verie flexible, but forthwith as backwards and vntoward. Of all the residue of Ireland there was the lesse doubt to recourt them, by reason that they by their owne ciuill wars had consumed and spoiled the one and the other: but of this man, small or no hope at all, vnlesse he might be chastised, and with force be reduced to conformities. Which in the end it pleased the Lord God to take the matter in hand, and to performe the same by taking

Shane O'Neill promised to be quiet.

Shane O'Neill became a tyrant and a rebel.

Shane O'Neill a drunkard and a surfeiter.

Shane O'Neill buried in the ground after his drunkennesse.

Shane O'Neill's force.

The peasants in Ulster trained by in warre.

The Chronicles of Ireland.

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Postes set be-
tweene Ire-
land & Lon-
don.

The misera-
ble state of
Ireland.

No God nor
religion in
Ireland.

of him alwaie. And because in these troublesome times, it were meet aduertisements should go to and from hir maiestie and counsell to the lord deputie, & so likewise from his lordship to the lord deputie, taken for the more speedie conuenance of letters reciproke, there should be set postes appointed betwene London and Ireland. This was then the present state of all Ireland, altogether denoured with robberies, murders, riots, treasons, euill and intestine warres, and few or none assured and faithfull to hir highnesse out of the English pale, and out of cities and towne: and yet the one being gentlemen and living by their lands, by continuall spoiles and robberies were decayed; the other by the losse of their traffike being merchants impouerished, and brought to such extremities, as not able to relieue and mainteine themselves.

And among all other the most intollerable miseries vniuersallie reigning, this one exceeded all the rest, that there was scarce a God knowne; and if knowne, not all honored in the land, for the churches for the most part were all destroyed & vncouered, the clergie scattered, the people vntaught, and as sheepe without their pastour wandering without knowledge and instruction. When where neither God is knowne, the prince obeyed, no lawes currant, no gouernement accepted, and all things inrolled in most extreme miserie; how lamentable and dolefull is that state and kingdome? Wherefore sir Henrie Sidneie now lord deputie, & the counsell pondering this distressed state, and the great burden which laye them vpon to helpe and redresse the same, daillie assembled themselves; & deuised the best waie what might be to be taken herein. Wherein his lordships cause so much was the weaker, as that such as were chiefest of the counsell, then ioined to assist him in counsell and seruice, were for the most part spent and decayed men; and the lord deputie himselfe dyligent to deuise, to inuent, to dispose, and in the end to execute all himselfe. Well, neuertheless it was concluded and agreed, that the English pale should be fortified and defended from the inuasion of the O'neile and all his complices; and that the deuises set downe for the state and recouerie of the rest of the land should be followed from time to time, as matter, time, and oportunitie would serue thereunto.

At this present time the earles of Desmond and Desmond were in England, and the quarrels and controuersies growen betwene them were daillie examined before the lords of the counsell, and their allegations produced in writing by the one against the other. And because their assertions were so contrarious and vncertaine in denieng and affirming, as no proceeding could be had for a finall end and order, it was thought good and necessarie that their complaints and answers should be examined in the realme of Ireland, where their doings were best knowne, and where their misorders were committed. And then by the aduise of the counsell both the said earles submitted themselves to the queenes maiesties order & determination: and for performance thereof, they both by waie of recognisance in the chancerie were bound ech of them in twentie thousand pounds. And then a commission vnder hir highnesse broad seale of England was sent to the lord deputie for taking of the foresaid examinations. But in the meane time whilst these things were in doing in England, sir John of Desmond, in verie outrageous and disorderd manner, fired & spoiled the tenements of the earle of Desmond, which things were verie hostile after appealed. In these troublesome daies Mac Artimozee an ancient gentleman of the Irish race, and principall man of his sept in Downshire, hauing verie great possessions, and late still in

The earles of
Desmond and
Desmond
submitted them-
selves to the
queens order.

Sir John of
Desmond
spoiled the
earle of Des-
monds lands.

peace and did nothing at all, neither toke he partie with one whom he liked not, neither holpe he the other whom he feared not, but to the outward appareance misliked both their doings.

This man made his humble sute to hir maiestie, that he might surrender all his lands, possessions and territories vnto hir maiesties highnesse, and to recognize his dutie and allegiance to hir, and so to reforme and haue a new estate therof from hir againe, according to the orders and lawes of England. Which hir maiestie did accept, and forthwith made him a new estate of inheritance: and for the better his state in all obedience and dutie to hir crowne, did for the worthinesse of his blood & stocke, & for the greatness of his gouernement make him a baron of the parlement in that reime; & for his further advancement created him an earle vnder hir letters patents by the name of the earle of Clancare. These newes being reported to Shane O'neile, he scoffed at it, nothing liking the choise of hir highnesse in aduancing such a one to that honour, and enuied and maligne him that he was so honored. And therefore not long after, when the commissioners were sent to intreat with him vpon sundrie points, they found him most arrogant & out of all good order, braving out speeches not meet nor seemelie. For (saith he) you haue made a wise earle of Mac Artimozee, I keepe as good a man as is he. And albeit I confesse the queene is my soueraigne ladie, yet I neuer made peace with hir, but at hir seeking. And where he had requited to haue his parlement robes sent vnto him as earle of Aron, which title he claimed and required (which if it were denied him, then he required a triall to be made in parlement) yet now he cared not for so meane an honour as to be an earle, except he might be better and higher than an erle. For I am (saith he) in blood and power better than the best, and I will giue place to none of them; for mine ancestors were kings of Ulster. And as Ulster was theirs, so now Ulster is mine and shall be mine: with the sword I wan it, and with the sword I will keepe it. Which his words fell out true, though long he inioied not the same: and forthwith he fell into most horrible tyrannies and cruelties, whereby he became execrable and hateful vnto all his people and countrie who were wearie of him.

Now hir maiestie, being græued and annoied with his treasons and rebellions of long time, was fullie minded either to haue him clearelie rooted out, or chastised: but therein she was stayed, being bozne in hand that the best waie to bring him to reformation, was to yeld to him in sundrie things of him desired. But now the seeing him to haue manifested himselfe a notorious traitor, and past all grace; she gaue commandement to the lord deputie to imploye his whole care, consideration, and wisdom, how such a cankered and dangerous rebell might be utterlie extirped. And seeing the matter also to haue to manie accidents and circumstances belonging vnto it, as which by letters to and fro could not be well concluded: therefore she sent ouer sir Francis Anolles vicechamberleine, to conferre with the lord deputie, who arrived at Dublin the seventh of Aprill 1566, aswell concerning these matters of warre, as the whole state and gouernment of this realme. When he was arrived, and hauing at large conferred with him about the same, the time betwene them was concluded and appointed, that the seruice should be in the winter; & accordingly things necessarie, as well monie, men, munitions, and vittels were sent ouer, and Edward Randolph coronell of the footmen, and sundrie other capteins arrived with their soldiers from out of England, and all things were disposed both for the garrison and the campe, as it was conuenient

Shane O'neile
more fur-
reth all the
lands to the
queens & the
birth of the

Shane O'neile
more made
earle of Clancare.

Shane O'neile
scolded
at the earle of
Clancare.

The great
taunts of
Shane O'neile.

Shane O'neile
fell out
with the
lord deputie
before the
man.

Sir Francis
Anolles first
into Ireland
1566

Shane O'neile
beliegeth
Dundalk, &
is repelled.

1565

Coronell Randolph
arrived
at the Down
where he
intrencheth
himselfe.

The lord de-
putie cometh
to the Down
and setteth
things in o-
der for the
seruice.

O'neile in-
creaseth
Downe and
offendeth the
multitude.

conuentsent to be.

Likewise the archtraitor knowing that preparation was made against him, he doth the like also on his part against his maiestie; and at a lordship or manour of his, about six miles out of Dundalke, he mustered all his whole armie, which was of foure thousand footmen, and seven hundred horsemen. And gloried much in himselfe of such his great force and puissance, which he thought to suffice to haue conquered all Ireland withall; and that no man durst to adventure vpon him: he marcheth vnto the towne of Dundalke, where he incampeth himselfe, & besiegeth the same. He was no more busie to giue sundrie attempts of inuasion, and to enter the towne, but the souldiers within were as valiant to resist and defend: which in the end turned to his reproch, and hee had the repulse, being with shame driuen to raise his siege, and to depart with the losse.

The like successe he had at Whites castell, and when he made his rode and inuasion into the English pale, when his great multitude stood him not in so much head, as a farre smaller companie of the English souldiers deserved commendation: which perforce and maugre of his teeth compelled him to retire with shame, and to returne with losse. About this time in the moneth of Iulie 1565, and the first yeare of the deputation of sir Henrie Sidneie, Edward Randolph, a verie expert and a valiant souldier, was sent ouer out of England, and arrived at the Dirrie with seven hundred men vnder his regiment, and he himselfe by the counsell in England appointed to be the coronell. This man as soone as he was landed, intrenched himselfe at the Dirrie, where he remained in garrison without doing of anie thing, vntill the coming of the lord deputie from Dublin, with the residue of his maiesties forces, appointed to be ioined with the said coronell, for the better seruice against the arrogant traitour Shane O'Neill.

And after that the said lord deputie was come, and had staid there about six daies, and had set all things in such good order as that seruice required; he returned backe to Dublin through O'Donells countrie, and so thorough Connagh, leaving the coronell accompanied with one band of fiftie horsemen vnder the leading of capteine George Heruie the elder, and with seven companies of hundreds of footmen vnder the charges of capteine Robert Cornewall, and capteine John Ward, and others; all well furnished, both with munitions, vittels, and all other necessaries meet and requisite. Shane O'Neill who knew well of the garrisons, of their forces & numbers, and he not minding that they should there rest in peace, but standing now vpon his honor and reputation, incamped himselfe about two miles from the garrison, hauing then in his armie a thousand five hundred footmen, and three hundred horsemen. And from daie to daie he would continuallie with his horsemen houer and range the fields, and shew himselfe ready to trie the matter if the Englishmen durst to adventure the same.

The coronell not liking these daillie offers, and thinking it to be a verie great dishonour vnto him, and all the English nation, which were come over to serue against him, and now would do nothing, but were daillie bearded by the enimie: notwithstanding that his forces when they were at the best, were but small in respect of the enimie; and by reason of the sickness in the campe, that his small companie was much weakened and vnable to serue: yet he was determined with a full resolution to take the offer of the enimie, and either he would lose his life, or remoue him from his so neere a seat. Wherevpon he drew out of his companie to the number of three

hundred men, whome he thought most meet to serue, and being accompanied with fiftie horsemen vnder capteine George Heruie, marched toward O'Neills campe, who pretending a great toy to see the forwardnesse of the Englishmen, he with all his forces issued out, and with speed prepared to incounter with them; perswading himselfe that he should that daie be master of the field, and haue a conquest to his hearts desire.

The coronell made chosse of the ground to fight in, and prepared himselfe to stand and abide the charge. O'Neill in great furie, and with a great multitude charged the coronells footmen, and his maine battell; but he was so receiued with the English shot and so galled, that he made some staie. Wherevpon capteine Heruie taking his oportunitie, most valiantlie with his small band of horsemen brake in to the battell of O'Neill. Likewise coronell Randolph with his few horsemen gaue the charge vpon the left wing of them. The one of them being well followed and accompanied with his band, did the seruice which he desired: but the coronell verie valiantlie making waie through the enimies, and no man following him, was in fighting wounded to death, and whereof immediatlie he died. The rebels being astonished and amazed at the valour of the Englishmen, fled and turned their backs, whome the souldiers followed, and had the slaughter of them so long as their weapons lasted in this conflict. The rebels were slaine that daie in this chase about foure hundred persons, besides the like number of such as were hurt and wounded. The coronell O'Neill was slaine, but capteine Heruie and diuerse of the horsemen were verie sore hurt and wounded.

After the death of this valiant coronell, whose funeralle the lord deputie did afterwards celebrate with great honour at Dublin, Edward Sentlow was made coronell: vnder whose gouernement the garrison liued verie quietlie. For this last overthrow he quailed the spirits and courages of O'Neill and his companie, that they had no desire of anie further incountering with the Englishmen. And thus all the winter following little was done: and being determined in the spring to adventure some peece of seruice, but the lord otherwise appointed it. For about the foure and twentieth of Aprill, by a misfortune neuer yet knowne by what means, the fort and towne of the Dirrie was all burned, and the storehouses where the munitions and vittels laie were blowne vp with the gunpowder, and twentie men killed with the same: and so manie of the souldiers as laie sicke there were burned in their beds. Wherevpon the coronell calling all his capteins together, and considering the distresse which they now were in, by the losse of their vittels and munitions, and not knowing where to be furnished otherwise, they all concluded and determined to abandon that place, and to imbarke themselves for Dublin, which immediatlie they all did, sauing capteine George Heruie: for he rather did chosse to hazard his life to returne by land, than to impouerish his souldiers by killing their horses (which perforce they must needs haue done) for want of shipping. And therefore euen almost against all hope he returned towards Dublin through the enimies countrie, who followed and chased him foure daies together without intermission, both with horsemen and footmen: but at length he recovered Dublin, not without great wonder and admiration. The lord deputie he wanted not his espials, both about O'Neill, and in all places thorough out Ulster: and thereby knew the forces, bent, and determinations of euerie of them, whereby he knew how to meet with them euerie waie for the best seruice of his maiestie. And yet considering the great

The coronell prepared to fight with O'Neill.

The valiant seruice of capteine George Heruie.

The coronell Randolph is slaine.

O'Neill and his companie are pursued, killed & hurt about 800.

The lord deputie kept the coronell Randolphs funerals.

The Dirrie and all the vittels and munitions are burned.

The coronell abandoneth the Dirrie, and returneth to Dublin by seas.

Capteine George Heruie returneth by land in great danger.

Shane O'Neill besiegeth Dundalke, & is repelled.

1565

Coronell Randolph arriveth at the Dirrie where he intrencheth himselfe.

The lord deputie cometh to the Dirrie and setteth all things in order for the seruice.

O'Neill incampeth nere the Dirrie and waiteth for the assault.

Shane O'Neill more forwardly setteth all his lands to the queene & taketh it of his.

Shane O'Neill more made earle of Clancare.

Shane O'Neill collecteth at the earle of Clancare.

The proud taints of Shane O'Neill.

Shane O'Neill for his pride and tyrannie becometh hateful before God & man.

Sir Francis Knollys sent into Ireland, 1566

The lord deputie maketh a tourne into Ulster.

1566

The possimilitie of the Dneile.

Donnell re-
fused unto
his posses-
sions.
The lord de-
putie recon-
ceth a great
countrie in
Ulster unto
the crowne.

The earle of
Desmond is
in campe and
both no hurt.

The earle of
Desmond re-
ceiveth his re-
patrie to the
lord deputie.

importance of the service, he could not be satisfied herein, but that he would make a tourne into Ulster himselfe. And being accompanied with the earle of Kildare, and certeine of the counsell, and with such capteins and souldiers as he thought good: he advanced & set forth out of Drogheda the seventeenth of September 1566, and incamped that night at Kosslekeagh, & so from thence he travelled through out Ulster, and passed thence unto Athlon in Connagh, where he came the six and twentieth of October.

In this tourne the rebell neuer durst (for all his brags) once to shew his face, nor to offer anie sight at all: saving once at and nere a wood not far from Blogher, where he offered a skirmish, and gaue the charge with horsemen, footmen, and certeine Scottish shot: which continued a good space, and sundrie hurt on both sides, but none died of his lordships men. He shewed himselfe also once with a great multitude of horsemen and footmen, not farre from the castell of Lirlough Lenough, called the Salmon, but took his ease and durst not to giue the aduenture. In this tourne the lord deputie restored Donnell to the possession of his lands and castels, kept by Dneile from him; & sundrie lords and men of the best sort submitted themselves. By which this his lordships tourne he recovered to his highnesse a countrie of foure score miles in length, and eight and fortie miles in bredth, without losse of anie man saving Mac Swier, who being sicke died in this tourne; and saving a few persons which by the waie upon an occasion would aduenture the winning of a certeine Island in the middle of a lough, wherein was supposed to be great store of wealth and vittels of the enimies, and in assailing of it they were drowned.

Immediatlie upon the discharge of the armie at Athlon, the lord deputie fortified all the frontiers of the English pale with garrisons sufficient for the same. And as concerning the troublesome state of Spounser, the earle of Desmond was in the field with two thousand men, and incamped himselfe in places indifferent to aniove at his pleasure the earle of Desmond, the lord Barrie, the lord Roch, and sir Morris Fitzgiralde of the Decies; but he did not hurt anie man at all: saving one Mac Donogh a rebell and a disloyall savage man. The lord deputie being overlaid with the continuall cares to resist Dneile, could not in person traueil into Spounser, nor yet without great perill disaide his armie: wherefore he sent capteine Herne constable of Leighlin unto the said earle, wherby he might be aduertised of his intendment and meaning: which appeared to be but a mere insolencie and an outrage to be reuenged upon the earle of Desmond, although the rumor was, that he would consone with Dneile. Which report when it came to his eares, and being aduertised that the lord deputie was offended with him that he had gathered such a force, and was in the fields. He for his purgation herein, without further delaie, took his horse, and hauing in his companie onelle the baron of Dunboine, and capteine Herne, with their companies, made hast to present himselfe before the lord deputie: where and before whom for purging of himselfe, and to declare his dutie, he offered himselfe to his lordships denotion, either to go and attend him unto Ulster in that sort as he then was, or else to follow him with all such force as he could get; the lord deputie finding him vittels: and then to abide & serue in Ulster in despite of Shane Dneile; or else that he would in his lordships absence remaine upon the borders there, with such a number of horsemen, as should be appointed unto him; shewing also and pretending such dutifullnesse to his maiestie,

as was met for a subject to shew to his soveraigne. The deputie having some liking of his offers, and considering the sickle state of these presents, accepteth his last offer, willing him to go backe againe; and to prepare a crew of one hundred horsemen, at the least, and so to returne againe within fouretene daies: which he did, and with him came sir John Desmond, his uncle the baron of Dunboine, the lord Potoge and others: who accompanied with the baron of Deluin, sir Warham Bentleger, and capteine Herne, did remaine upon the borders, untill his lordships returne from out of his tourne in Ulster.

And as the realme at large was much infected with the cruell warres of Dneile and the troubles in Spounser; so also there wanted no daily complaints of griefs unto the lord deputie of sundrie persons one against another. For Oliver Sutton, a gentleman dwelling in the English pale, did exhibit a certeine booke in writing, containing an information of sundrie notozious disorders in that realme, hurtfull to the good policie of the same; and contrarie to sundrie good lawes and acts of parliament, whereof a great part did touch the earle of Kildare. The matter was referred by his maiesties order to the hearing of the lord deputie and counsell. Likewise sir Edmund Butler and Piers his brother were grievously complained upon by the lorde of Dunboine, Mac Brian Arra, Oliver Fitzgiralde, sir William McCarell, and others; for their dailie outrages, robberies, murders, preies, and spoiles taken. For the hearing and appealing of such matters, and for the better ministracion of iustice, the lord deputie had bene a long tyme to his maiestie and counsell for a chancelor to be sent ouer, who at length were resolved upon doctor Weston, deane of the arches, who arrived at Dublin in Iulie 1567, a notable and a singular man: by profession a lawyer, but in life a diuine, a man so bent to the execution of iustice, and so seuerer therein, that by no meanes would he be seduced or auerted from the same: and so much good in the end ensued of his bright, diligent, and dutifull service; as that the whole realme found themselves most happy and blessed to haue him serue among them. Now he taking upon him to deale in all matters of complaints, both eased the lord deputie of a great burthen, and did most good to the countrie, and acquitted himselfe against his maiestie.

But to returne to the L. deputie, who immediatlie upon the dismissing of the armie at Athlon, he took order (as is aforesaid) for placing of his garrisons in such convenient places upon the frontiers, as then appertained and was most meet & convenient. The rebell on his part leaueth nothing undone, which might be for the furtherance of his enterprises: and being in great tollitie of himselfe deuised manie things; and to make some shew of his abilitie, entered into the English pale, with sword and fire wasted the countrie, slue manie of his maiesties subjects, and in the end besieged his highnesse towne of Dundalk: where his pride and treason were iustlie scourged, who came not with so much glorie to besiege it, as he did returne with shame to leaue and lose it. The lord deputie not abiding the same, nor sleeping his matters, determined to make a new rode upon him; and in the meane time, he so handled the matter, that he had unfettered him of his best friends, aids, and helps. For besides the whole countrie, as is before said, gained from him the last tourne, Mac Swier, a mightie man in his countrie forsooke him, and submitted himselfe to his maiestie, offering all loiall obedience and faithfull service, and to receiue his lands and countrie at his highnesse hands.

Alexander

The earle of
Desmond
serueth in
the English pale.

Oliver Sutton
compleineth
against the
earle of
Kildare.

The lorde of
Dunboine
compleineth
against the
Butlers.

1567
Doctor Weston
is made
lord chancelor
of Ire-
land.

The Dneile
entrencheth the
English pale
with sword
and fire.
The Dneile
besiegeth
Dundalk the
second time
and departeth
with great
dilligence.
The Dneile
is taken of
friends.

Mac Swier
forsaketh
Dneile, and so
doth the
Scots.

The lord de-
putie maketh
a tourne into
Ulster.

The Dneile
dissatisfied of
all comfort
in doubt wher
to doe.

Dneile his
owne confes-
sion condemn-
eth him to
make submis-
sion.

Dneile see-
th for help
of the Scot.

The Scot
do disguise
with Dneile.

Shane D
came by the
Scots by
draught m
by capteine
Piers.

Shane D
nails head
upon the t
of the cast
Dublin.

Alexander Og and Mac Donnell offer to serue
hir maiestie, with all the Scots vnder them against
the rebell. Con Donnell late deliuered from the re-
bell, offereth seruice against him. Tirlogh Lenough
with the helps of his neighbours daile backed the
said Oneile, that his force was quailed that waie.
The lord deputie had continuallie foure regiments
residing nere the English pale, who continuallie as
it were by turnes were occupied in persecuting of
the rebell: & his lordship being at Drogheda did also
10 issue out, and in one morning took a preie of two
thousand nine, 500 garrons, and innumerable other
small beastes and cattell. The rebell seeing himselfe
thus distressed of his goods, and forsaken of his helps
and followers, his men, some by Donnell, and some
by others to the number of three or foure thousand
persons at times slaine, himselfe discomfited, his
passages stopped, and all places of his refuge preuen-
ted, and now but one poore castell left wherein he tru-
sted to commit himselfe vnto; he being thus weake-
20 ned, and beholding his declination and fall towards,
was fullie bent and determined to disguise himselfe,
and so as not knowne to come with a collar or halter
about his necke to the presence of the lord deputie,
and in all humble and lowlie manner to submit him-
selfe: hoping that by this kind of humilitie to find
mercie at hir maiesties hands. But his conscience
was so cauterised, and his hands so imbued with in-
finit and most horrible murders, bloodsheds, trea-
30 sons, whoredomes, drunkenness, robberies, bur-
nings, spoiles, oppreSSIONS, and with all kinds of wic-
kednesse, that his heart was ouerlaid and ouerla-
den with an vtter despaire to obtaine anie grace or
fauor: and therefore was the more easilie persua-
ded by those whome he took to be his friends, to trie
first and to intreat the Scots for friendship, and that
they would ioine and aid him in his most wicked re-
bellion. Whereupon he took his iournie towards
Clandeboie, where Alexander Og and his companie,
40 to the number of six hundred persons, were then in-
camped: and for the better gaining of his purpose,
he had a little before enlarged Charleie Bote brother
to the said Alexander, and who had bene prisoner
with him.

The Scots disguised the matter with him, preten-
ding and promising him aid and assistance: which
they ment not. For as soon as Oneile together with
Donnells wife, whom he kept, & the small companie
which he brought with him were come into the tent,
and they assured of him; they called to remembrance
50 the manifold iniuries which they had receiued at his
hands, and namelie the murdering of one James
Mac Conell, & one Mac Guille their nere cousins
and kinsmen: and being inflamed with malicious
minds to reuenge their deaths, they fell to quarelling
with the said Shane Oneile, and with their slaugh-
ter swords helued him to peeces, and slue all those
of his companie that were with him: his bodie they
wrapped in a kernes shirt, and so without all honor
was carried to a ruinous church not farre off, and
there interred; but after a few daies he was taken
vp againe by capteine Piers, by whose deuise this
stratagem or rather tragedie was practised, and his
head was sundred from the bodie, and sent to the lord
deputie, who caused the same to be set vpon a stake or
pole on the top of the castle of Dublin. A fit end for
such a beginning, and a iust reward for such a wicked
traitor and sacrileger: who began his tyrannie in
blood, did continue it with blood, and ended it with
blood. The lord deputie being then at Drogheda, and
aduertised of the death of this Shane, and of the iust
iudgements of God laid vpon him; for the same pro-
strated himselfe before the high and eternall God,
and gaue his most humble and hartie thanks for the

delinerie of that land from so wicked a tyrant, sacri-
liger and traitor; and with all the conuenient speed
that might be, he dispatched the messengers to hir
maiestie and counsell, aduertising this hap and good
successe. Which done, his lordship with all speed made
his repaire into Ulster, and incamped himselfe in
the middle and heart of the countrie, vnto whome all
the noblemen and gentlemen of Tiron being glad
that they were deliuered from the tyrant, made their
repaire vnto his lordship: and especiallie all they
which were competitors of the captainrie of Tiron,
who most humbly and obediently presented and
submitted themselves vnto hir highnesse. And when
his lordship had set all things in such order as the
time required, he assembled all the gentlemen of the
countrie, and most pithily and effectually instruc-
ted and perswaded them to obedience, teaching them
the great blessings of God which cometh thereby,
as also putteth them in mind what inconueniences,
miseries and calamities they had felt by the contra-
rie: and for their greater quietnesse and peace, he
promised shortly to send commissioners amongst
them, who should haue authoritie to decide all con-
trouersies betwene partie and partie (title of land
and death of man excepted.)

Also he proclaimed and commanded hir maiesties
peace to be kept, and commanded all churchmen
and husbandmen to returne to their accustomed ex-
ercises: and that all men of warre should liue vpon
their owne, or vpon that which their friends with a
good will would giue them: and so publishing peace
vniuersallie, euerie man departed home iofullie.
The lord deputie likewise returned to Dublin, and
commanded the sonne of the late rebell, who laie for
an hostage of his father, to be safely kept in the cas-
tell of Dublin, according to hir maiesties letters
of commandement in that behalfe, dated the first of
Iulie 1567. The quenes maiestie being deliuered
from this traitorous rebell, and hauing all Ulster
at hir commandement and disposition, was verie
desirous to haue a true plot of the whole land, wher-
by the might in some sort see the same, & did send ouer
into Ireland one Robert Leith, skilfull in that art,
and that he should make the perfect descriptions of
the same. Likewise also she being aduertised of the
outrageous dealings of the earle of Desmond, in
maintaining proclaimed rebels, and continuing of
warres against the earle of Desmond (whose info-
lencie to seeke to be reuenged vpon the said earle,
was the disturbance of the whole realme, the spoile
of the whole countrie, and the onelie cause of great
murthers, bloodshed, and bndwing of manie people)
she willed the lord deputie by hir letters to appre-
hend the said Desmond, and to commit him to the
castell of Dublin, which was so done. And after both
he and his brother sir John of Desmond were sent
into England, and there committed to the towre.

After all the foresaid broiles and ciuill wars were
appeased, and the realme set in quietnesse and good or-
der, the lord deputie hauing receiued hir maiesties
letters for his repaire into England vnto hir pre-
sence, he did accordingly prepare himselfe therevnto,
to, and by a commission vnder hir hode seale of Ire-
land did appoint doctor Weston then lord chancelor,
and sir William Fitzwilliams treasurer at wars,
to be lords iustices in his absence: the one of them
being verie well learned, iust, and vpright; the other
verie wise, & of great knowledge and experfence,
in the affaires of that land. Both which two being
like well minded to do hir maiestie seruice, did most
louingly and brotherly agree therein, each one adui-
sing and aduertising the other according to the seue-
rall gifts which God had bestowed vpon them: by
which meanes they passed their government verie
well

The quene
aduertised of
Shane O-
neils death.

The noblemen
of Ulster, be-
ing glad of
Oneils death,
did submit
themselves.

Orders giuen
by the lord de-
putie to the
noble men of
Ulster.

Oneils sonne
is committed
to safe custodie.

Robert Leith
sent into Ire-
land to draw a
true plot of the
whole land.

The earle of
Desmond
committed to
ward, and sent
to the towre,
together with
his brother sir
John Des-
mond.

1567
Doctor Wes-
ton and sir
William Fitz-
williams
made lords
iustices.

The earle of
Desmond
serueth in the
English pale.

The lord de-
putie taketh a
preie of
two thousand
nine hundred
and fiftie.

The Oneile
discomfited
of all comfort
as he was
about to
submit.

Oneile his
conscience
condem-
neth him to
submit.

Oliver Shon
complaineth
against
the earle of
Desmond.

The lord of
Dunboine
complaineth
against the
Butlers.

1567
Doctor Wes-
ton is made
lord chancel-
lor of Ire-
land.

Oneile see-
th for helpe
of the Scots.

The Scots
disguise
with Oneile.

Shane Oneile
slaine by the
Scots by a
stratagem
made
by capteine
Piers.

Shane O-
neils head set
vpon the top
of the castle
of Dublin.

The Oneile
entereth the
English pale
with sword
and fire.
The Oneile
besiegeth
Dundalk
the second time,
and departed
with great
dishonor.
The Oneile
is forsaken of
his friends.

Mac Guille
falsely
nells, and so
do the
Scots.

Sir Henrie Sidneie 10th deputie passed into England, and carried with him the earle of Desmond.

Ed. Mulineux.

Sir Edmund Butler breakech out into outrages.

The prde of Mac Artie Hore earle of Clancart.

The earle of Clancart maketh warres vpon the lord Roch. James Fitzmoris maketh warre vpon the baron of Lixenew.

The archbishop of Cashell in danger to be killed.

Sir Peter Carew maketh sute to hir maiestie for the recouerie of his lands in Ireland.

well and quietlie to the great contentation of hir maiestie, the commendation of themselves, and the common peace of the countrie; and so the said sir Henrie hauing placed the said iustices, he passed the seas into England, and carried with him the earle of Desmond and Conno; Sligo, he was with great honor receiued at the court, and the other was sent to the tower. Hir maiestie lay at this time at Hampton court, and looking out at a window, she saw him to come in with two hundred men attending vpon him, and not knowing at the first sight who it was, it was told hir that it was sir Henrie Sidneie hir deputie in Ireland. Then it is well (quoth she) for he hath two of the best offices in England. So he presented himselfe before hir highnesse, and was welcome to hir. Neuerthelesse, after his departure, the particular grudges betwene some certeine men, brake out into great and outrageous disorders, as sir Edmund Butler with great hostilitie maketh inuasion vpon Oliuer Fitzgerald, being accompanied with Piers Grace. The outlawes of the Conno; and Imores proclaimed traitors, and hauing in the field a thousand of Gallowglasses, horsemen, and horses, threaten to burne the towne of Kilkennie, and spoile Dearell of his countrie. But they as also Oliuer Fitzgerald, a man not apt in times past to complaine, but rather bent to satisfie himselfe with double reuerge, leauing to seeke reuenge by armes, made their recourses to the lords iustices, and by law requested redresse. The earle of Clancart was puffed vp with such insolencie, that he named himselfe king of Mounster, and did confederate with the Mac Swaines, Mollian Hore, and others of the Irishie of that prouince, and in warlike manner and with banners displayed inuade the lord Roches countrie, and in burning of his countrie, he destroyed all the corne therein, seven hundred sheepe, and a great number of men, women and children, and carried awaye fiftene hundred kine, and a hundred garons. Also James Fitzmoris of Desmond maketh cruel warres against the lord Fitzmoris baron of Lixenew, which albeit they were but priue displeasures, yet troublesome to the whole countrie: and the lords iustices being not prepared to stop the same, they did yet so temporise with them, as they gained time, till further order might be taken vpon aduertisement of hir maiesties pleasure here in. About this time one Hore a runnigate priest, hauing latelie bene at Rome, and there consecrated by the popes bull archbishop of Cashell, arrived into Ireland, and made chalenge to the same see: which being denied vnto him by the archbishop which was there placed by hir maiestie, the said supposed bishop suddenly with an Irish skaine wounded the bishop, and put him in danger of his life.

This yeare sir Peter Carew of Mhor: estrefe in the countie of Deuon knight, one descended of a noble and high parentage, whose ancestors for sundrie hundred of yeares were not onelie barons of Carew in England; but marqueses of Corke, barons of Dron, and lords of Malton Twete; and sundrie other seignories in Ireland. When he had looked into his euidences, and had found how by right these great inheritances were descended vnto him: he made the queens maiestie and counsell acquainted therewith, and prayed that with their fauor and furtherance he might haue libertie to follow, and by order of law to recouer the same. Which was granted vnto him, as also he had hir highnesse and their lordships severall letters to them, then lords iustices and officers there to that effect: and willing them to aid and assist him with all such hir maiesties euidences remaining in the records of the castell of Dublin, or else where in that land; and by all such other

good meanes they might. Wherevpon he sent the witer hereof to be his agent: who hauing by search found his title to be good, and confirmed by sundrie records and presidents, found in hir maiesties treasure and castell of Dublin, answering and agreeing with the euidences of sir Peter Carew: then the said sir Peter passed in person into Ireland, and made title and claime to the lordship of Malton, then in the possession of sir Christopher Chiuers knight, and to the baronie of Dron, then in the occupation of the Caucnaughts.

The first, when it was found good in law, and sir Christopher Chiuers yielded, and compounded for it: the other was trauced before the lord deputie and counsell, and vpon good and substantiall euidences, records, and proofes; a decree passed by the lords of the counsell, in the behalfe of sir Peter Carew, and the same confirmed by the lord deputie, and by that meanes he recouered the possession of the baronie, which was before taken from his ancestors; as the records doe impart, about the eighteenth yeare of king Richard the second. But as for the marqueship of Corke, being a matter of great weight and importance, and the prouince of Mounster then not settled in antequietnesse: he would not as then nor yet thought it good to deale therein. Sir Henrie Sidneie, hauing spent a long time in England, was commanded to returne to his charge in Ireland, where he arrived at Crag Fergus, in September 1568; and took the sword of gouernement vpon him, and so discharged the lords iustices. And then he and the counsell by their letters of the fourth of November 1568, did aduertise hir maiestie of the state that the said realme of Ireland then stood in. Which in brieue consisted in these points immediate following.

That sir Edmund Butler had made a prae in Shillelagh vpon Oliuer Fitzgerald, and done sundrie murders, burnings, and great spoiles vpon his countrie: who was forthwith sent for, and refused to come, excusing that he had businesse about the execution of certeine seruices in the counties of Kilkennie, and Tipperarie, and that the residue of all Leinster was quiet. That Connagh was in indifferent good order, sauing some contention betwene the earle of Clancart, and Mac William Enter; and an old controuersie renewed betwene McDonell and Conner Sligo for the title of a rent in Enter, Connaghs countrie. In Thomond great complaints made against the earle thereof, by Mthaghnes, who by reason of the oppression of the said earle, he was compelled with his followers to forsake his countries. As for Mounster, it was all in disorder by the warres of James Fitzmoris of Desmond, against Fitzmoris baron of Lixenew: and of the earle of Clancart, against the baron of Roch: and also by the disorders of Edward Butler, who being combined with Piers Grace and certeine outlawes, did disorderlie spoile and prae the countries to feed their bellies.

The present state of Ulster the lord deputie being desirous to know the certaintie thereof, immediatlie vpon his landing in Ireland he made a iourneie throughout the same, and found the Irishie to stand in waivering terms: wherevpon he sent for Turlogh Lenogh O'Neill, who yielding himselfe somewhat guiltie, because he somewhat swarued from his dutie, and differed from the articles in his lordships absence before, concluded with him in making a iourneie vpon Fernelte, and in combining with the Scots, of whom he had in retinue about one thousand; he desired pardon: which it was long and vaine hable obtained, and not until his lordship had caused the pledges to be executed, which the Scots

Sir Peter Carew passeth into Ireland.

Sir Peter Carew by a decree recouereth the baronie of Dron.

1568 Sir Henrie Sidneie returneth lord deputie.

The state that Ireland stood in.

Connagh in reasonable peace.

Mounster in disorder.

Turlogh Lenogh O'Neill breaketh the peace, but submitte himselfe.

Parliament summoned at Dublin.

The lord chancellor's opinion.

Stanthurst chosen to be speaker of lower house.

Scots had put in for their loltaltie. Adonelle quietlie possessed the countrie of Tirconell, and continued a dutifull subiect to his maiestie; saving the old grudge betwene him and Turlogh did rather increase than decate. Whan lord of the land betwene Loughfole and the Ban, being for the same sometime molested by Turlogh Kenogh, did beare with all iniuries, and desired to be exempted from Turlogh, and to hold the same of the quenes maiestie. He like did the two princippall men, eligible for the capitaine of Tircon, desire for their parts all the residue of Ulster in god staie and quietnesse.

The lord deputie after this iourneie returned to Dublin, and there, when by the aduise of the council he had disposed all things in god order concerning the gouernement: he caused the writs for summons of the parlement to be awarded out vnto euerie noble man for his apperance; & to euerie thirde for choosing of knights and burgeses for their like apperance at Dublin the seuenteenth of Ianuarie, in the eleuenth yeare of his maiesties reigne; at which time and date apperance was then and there made accordinglie. On the first date of which parlement, the lord deputie, representing his maiesties person, was conducted and attended in most honorable manner vnto Christes church, and from thence vnto the parlement house: where he sat vnder the cloth of estate, being apparelled in the princelie robes of crimson velvet doubled or lined with ermin. And then & there the lord chancelor made a verie eloquent oration, declaring what law was, of what great effect and value, how the common societie of men was thereby mainteined, and each man in his degree conserued; as well the inferior as the superior, the subiect as the prince: and how carefull all god common-wealths in the elder ages haue bene in this respect: who considering the time, state, and necessitie of the common-wealth, did from time to time ordeine and establish most holsonne lawes, either of their deuises, or drawn from some other god common-wealth: and by these meanes haue prospered and continued.

And likewise, how the quenes most excellent maiestie, as a most naturall mother ouer her children, and as a most vigilant prince ouer her subiects, hath bene alwaies, & now presentlie is verie carefull, studious, & diligent in this behalfe: hauing caused this present parlement to be assembled, that by the counsell and aduise of you her nobilitie, & you her knights and burgeses, such god lawes, orders, and ordinances maie be decreed, as maie be to the honor of almightie God, the preservation of his maiestie, and of his imperall crowne of this realme, and the safetie of the common-wealth of the whole realme: for which they were not onelie to be most thankfull; but also most carefull to do their duties in this behalfe. And then he the lord speaker directing his speeches to the knights and burgeses, who were there in the behalfe of the whole commons of the realme, willed them that for the auoiding of confusion, and for an orderlie proceeding in this action: they should assemble them selues at and in the house appointed for that assemble; and there to make choise of some wise and sufficient man to be their mouth & speaker. And then concluding with an exhortation of obedience and dutifulnesse, he ended, and the court adourned vntill thursdaie next, the twentieth of Ianuarie. In the meane time, the knights and burgeses met in the lower house, and appointed for their speaker one Stanhurst, recorder of the citie of Dublin, a verie graue, wise, and learned man; who vpon thursdaie aforesaid was presented to the lord deputie, and to the lords of the higher house: & then he hauing done most humble his

obedience and dutie, made his oration and speech; Stanhursts first abasing himselfe, being not a man sufficientlie adorned and furnished with such gifts of knowledge and learning, as to such an office and calling dooth appertene: wherein he was so much the more vnfit, as the cause he had in hand was of great weight and importance. And therefore he wished, if it might so seme god to his lordship, some man of more grauitie, and of better experience, knowledge, and learning might supplie the place. Neuerthelesse, for so much as he might not refuse it, he was the more willing, because he did well hope his seruise being done with his best god will, and in all dutifulnesse, it would be accepted. And againe his comfort was the more, because he had to deale in such a cause, as was for the establishing of some good and holsonne lawes, whereof he was a professor.

And hereupon he toke an occasion, according to the argument that was before handled by the lord chancelor, speaker in the higher house, to discourse of the nature and good effect of lawes, and what good successe there insueth to all such realmes, countries, and common-wealths, as by lawes are well ruled & gouerned. And when he had spoken at large hereof, there he declared what great causes that realme of Ireland had, to giue for euer most hartie thanks and praises to God for his goodnesse, in sending such a vertuous, noble, and a most goodlie prince, as was his maiestie; who not onlie was carefull by the sword to stand in their defense against all enemies, traitors, and rebels, in times of wars and rebellions: but also for their conseruation in times of peace would haue such lawes, statutes, and ordinances to be made in a parlement of themselves, as should be most expedient for the common-wealth of the same land. When he had at large discoursed of this matter, then he concluded with an humble petition, that it might please his maiestie to grant vnto them their liberties and freedoms of old belonging to euerie assemble of a parlement. The first was, that euerie man being a member of the lower house, should and might haue free coming and going to and from the parlement: and during their abode at the same without molestation or impeachment of anie person or persons, or for anie matter then to be laid against anie of them. The second, that they and euerie of them might haue libertie to speake their minds freely to anie bill to be read, & matter to be proposed in that parlement. Thirddie, that if anie of the said house should misorder and misbehaue himselfe in anie vndercent manner, or if anie other person should euill intreat or abuse anie of the said house, that the correction and punishment of euerie such offender should rest and remaine in the order of the said house. When he had ended his speech, and in most humble manner done his obeisance; the lord deputie hauing paused vpon the matter, made answer to euerie particular point in most eloquent and effectual manner, which consisted in these points: Nothing mistaking with the speaker for so much abasing of himselfe, because he knew him to be both graue, wise, and learned, and verie sufficient for that place, doubting nothing but that he would performe the same in all dutifulnesse, as to him appertained. And concerning the benefit which groweth to all nations and common-wealths by the vse of the lawes; besides that dallie experience did confirme the same generallie, so no one nation particularlie could better anouch it than this realme of Ireland: and therefore he did well hope that they would accordinglie frame themselves to liue accordinglie, and also to praise for his maiesties safetie and long life, whereby vnder his might intole a peaceable and a quiet life in all prosperitie. And concerning the priuileges, which they requested

The request of the speaker for allowance of the liberties of the parlement house.

The lord deputie answered Stanhursts oration.

Str Peter Carew passeth into Ireland.

Str Peter Carew by a decree receiveth the baronie of Wexon.

A parliament summoned at Dublin.

The lord chancelor his oration.

The state that Ireland stood in.

Connagh in reasonable peace.

Appointer out of order.

Turlogh Kenogh breaks the peace, but submitteth himselfe.

Stanhurst chosen to be speaker of the lower house.

requested to be allowed, forsomuch as the same at the first were granted to the end that they might the better and more quietlie serue hir highnesse in that assemble, to hir hono^r, and to the benefit of the common-wealth, it pleased hir maiestie so long as she were not impeached, no^r hir imperiall state derogated, that they should intoie the same. And so after a long time spent in this oration the court was adjourned.

The next daie following being fridaie the lower house met; and contrarie to the order of that house, and dutie of that compante, in stead of unitie there began a diuision, and for concord discord was received. For all, o^r the most part of the knights and burgesses of the English pale, especia^llie they who dwelled within the countie of Meth and Dublin, who seeing a great number of Englishmen to haue place in that house began to except against that assemble as not good, no^r warranted by law. Their vantage was sir Christopher Barnwell knight, who being somewhat learned, his credit was so much the more, and by them thought most meetest and worthie to haue bene the speaker for that house. And he being the spokesman alleged thre speciall causes, whie he and his complices would not yeld their consents. The first was, because that there were certeine burgesses returned for sundrie towne, which were not corporat, and had no voice in the parlement. The second was, that certeine shiriffes, and certeine maiors of towne corporat had returned themselves. The third and chiefest was that a number of Englishmen were returned to be burgesses of such towne and corporations, as which some of them neuer knew, and none at all were resiant & dwelling in the same, according as by the lawes is required.

These matters were questioned among themselves in the lower house for foure daies togither, and no agreement: but the more words, the more choler; and the more speeches, the greater boiles; untill in the end, for appealing the matter, the same was referred to the lord deputie and iudges of the realme: vnto whom the said speaker was sent to declare the whole matter, and to know their resolutions. And they hauing at large discoursed and conferred of this matter, returned their answer; that concerning the first and second exceptions, that the burgesses returned for towne not corporat, and for such shiriffes, maiors, and souereignes as haue returned themselves, shall be dismissed out of the same: but as for such others as the shiriffes and maiors had returned, they should remaine, and the penaltie to rest vpon the shiriffes for their wrong returns. The messenger of this answer, howsoeuer he were liked, his message could not be received no^r allowed: which being aduertised vnto the lord deputie and the iudges, then Lucas Dillon hir maiesties attorneie generall was sent vnto them, to ratifie and confirme their resolutions: and yet could not be credited, neither would they be satisfied, vntesse the iudges themselves would come in persons and set downe this to be their resolutions. Upon this answer the speaker commanded a bill to be read, but the foresaid persons would not suffer no^r abide the reading thereof: but rose vp in verie disordered manner, farre differing from their duties in that place, and as contrarie to that grauitie and wisdom, which was o^r should be in them. Wherefore, for pacifieng of the same, the chiefe iustices of the quenes bench, and the chiefe iustice of the common places: the quenes sergent, at some generall, and sollicito^r, the next daie following came to the lower house, and there did affirme their former resolutions, which thought it might haue sufficed. Yet certeine lawyers who had place in that house, did not altogether like thereof.

And albeit this matter were orderlie compassed, and sufficient to haue contented euerie man: yet the same was so stomached, that the placing of the Englishmen to be knights and burgesses, could not be digested, as did appere in the sequelle of that assemble, where euerie bill furthered by the English gentlemen was stopped and hindered by them. And especia^llie sir Edmund Butler, who in all things which tended to the quenes maiesties profit o^r common-wealth, he was a principall against it: fearing that their capteinries should be taken awaie, and coine, and liuerie be abolished, and such other like disorders redressed, which he and his complices mistaking, it did euen open it selfe of a rebellion then a breiuing and towards. Which in deed followed. For immediatlie after the parlement, he returned home with a discontented mind, and gathered his forces, and followed his purpose. But to the purpose.

There were two billes put in of moment & great consequence. The one was concerning the repeale of an act for that sessions, onelie made in the time of sir Edward Poynings lord deputie, in the tenth yere of king Henrie the seventh, which though it were meant most for their owne benefit and common-wealth of that realme: yet so gelous they were, that they would not in long time enter into the consideration thereof. The other was for the granting of the imposs for wines then first read. And in this matter they shewed themselves verie stoward & so vniquiet, that it was more like a bearebaiting of disordered persons, than a parlement of wise and graue men. Wherewith a certeine English gentleman (the writer hereof) being a burgesse of the towne of Athenrie in Connagh, who had before kept silence, and still so meant to haue done; when he saw these foule misorders and ouerthwarting, being græued, stood vp, and praied libertie to speake to the bill, who made a preamble, saying, that it was an vblage in Pythagoras schooles, that no scholars of his should for certeine yeares reason, dispute, o^r determine, but glue eare and keepe silence: meaning that when a man is once well instructed, learned, and aduised, and hath well deliberated of the things he hath to do, he should with more discretion and wisdom, speake, order, and direct the same. Notwithstanding, now he being but a man of small experience, and of lesse knowledge in matters of importance, and therefore once minded to haue bene altogether silent, is inforced euen of a verie zeale and conscience, and for the discharge of his dutie, to praie their patience, and to beare with his speeches. And then vpon occasion of the bill read, and matter offered, he entred into the discourse what was the office & authoritie of a prince, and what was the dutie of a subiect: and lastlie, how the quenes maiestie had most honorablie and carefullie performed the one, and how vndutifullie they had considered the other: for that the neither found that obedience in that land, which still liued in rebellion against hir; neither that beneuolence of the better sort, which for hir great expenses spent for their defenses and safeties they ought to haue yeldd vnto hir. It appered manifest in sundrie things, and especia^llie in this present assemble, namelie one bill concerning the repeale of Poynings act, for this time onelie meant for your owne benefit, and for the common-wealth of this realme: and the other concerning the bill now in question, the one by you denied, and the other liketh you not. And yet hir maiestie, of hir owne roiall authoritie, might and may establish the same without aie of your consents, as she hath already done the like in England; sauing of hir courttesie it pleaseth hir to haue it passe with your owne consents by order of law, that she might thereby haue the better triall and assurance of your dutifullnesse.

Sir Edmund Butler made hath with the parliament

The repeale of Poynings act.

The act of imposs of wines.

A mutinie in the lower house.

Sir Christopher Barnwell excepteth against the choice of the burgesses.

The resolution of the iudges.

The dissiking of the iudges opinions.

The selfewill and forwardnesse of the burgesse of the English pale.

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outfulness and goodwill towards him. But as he hath and doth find your bent farre otherwise, so doth the right honorable the lord deputie find the like. For notwithstanding his long services in times past, his continuall and daileie travels, toynesies, and hostings, with the great perill of his life against the rebels for your sake and safetie; and his endlesse turmoiles and troubles in ciuill matters and priuat sutes for your quietnesse, and to you well known, he hath deserued more than well at your hands: yet as the vniuersall thankfull Israelites against Moses, the vniuersall Romans against Camillus, Scipio, and others: and as the vniuersall Atheniens against Socrates, The mistocles, Apeltiades, and others; you haue and doe most vngratfullie requite and recompense this your noble gouernour: against whome and his doings you doe kicke and spurne what in you lieth. But in the end it will fall vpon you, as it hath done vnto others to your owne shame, ouerthrow, and confusion. And when he had spent a long time in this matter, and proued the same by sundrie histories of other nations, he proceeded to the bill, which by sundrie reasons and arguments he proued to be most necessarie, and met to be liked, allowed, and consented vnto.

Now when he had thus ended his speeches, he sat downe, the most part of the house verie well liking and allowing both of the person and of the matter; sauing the persons before named, who did not heare the same so attentiuely as they did digest it most vniuersally, supposing themselves to be touched herein. And therefore some one of them rose vp and would haue answered the partie, but the time and daie was so far spent about the ordinarie houre, being well nere two of the clocke in the afternoone, that the speaker and the court rose vp and departed. Howbeit such was the present murmurings and threatenings breathed out, that the said gentleman for his safetie was by some of the best of that assemble conducted to the house of sir Peter Carew, where the said gentleman then late and resided. The lord deputie in the meane time, hearing that the lower house were so close, and continued together so long about the ordinarie time, he doubted that it had bene concerning the questions before proponed, and therefore did secretly send to the house to learne and know the cause of their long sitting. But by commandement of the speaker, order was given to the doorekeepers, that the doores should be close kept, & none to be suffered to come in or out, so long as the gentleman was in deliuerie of his speeches; and after the court was ended, it was aduertised to the said lord deputie, who thanked God that had raised vp vniuersall friends vnto him in that place.

The next daie following being fridaie, as soon as the court of the lower house was set, sir Christopher Barnwell, and the lawiers of the English pale, who had conferred together of the former daies speeches, stood vp and desired hearing: who leauing the matter in question, did in most disorderly manner inueigh against the said gentleman, affirming, anouching, and protesting, that if the words spoken had bene spoken in any other place than in the said house, they would rather haue died than haue borne witness thereto. Wherevpon the speaker by consent of the residue of the house commanded them to silence, and willed that if they had any matter against the said gentleman, they should present and bring it in writing against mondaie then next following. And for so much as their dealings then were altogether disordered, being more like to a bearebaiting of lone persons than an assemble of wise and graue men in parlement; motion and request was made to the speaker, that he should reforme those abuses and disordered behauiours; who not onely promised

so to doe, but also prayed assistance, aduise, and counsell for his doings therein, of such as were acquainted with the orders of the parlements in England. Which was promised vnto him and performed, and also promised that a booke of the orders of the parlements used in England should in time be set forth in print, which the said gentleman did, and presented & bestowed the same among them in forme following.

A booke of the orders of a parlement house imprinted for Ireland.

The order and vsage how to keepe a parlement in England in these daies, collected by Iohn Vowell alias Hooker

gentleman, one of the citizens for the citie of Excester at the parlement holden at Westminster, Anno Domini 1571, & Elizabeth Reg. decimo tertio and the like used in hir maiesties realme of Ireland.

And here you must note, that what the kings and queenes of England do in their persons in England, the same is done in Ireland by the lord deputie, and who in the like parlement robes and vnder the like cloth of estate representeth hir maiestie there in all things.

By whom and for what cause a parlement ought to be summoned and called.

The king, who is Gods annointed, being the head and chiefe of the whole realme, and vpon whom the gouernement and estates thereof doe wholly and onely depend, hath the power and authoritie to call and assemble his parlement, and therein to seeke and aske the aduise, counsell, & assistance of his whole realme, and without this his authoritie no parlement can properly be summoned or assembled. And the king, hauing this authoritie, ought not to summon his parlement but for weightie and great causes, and in which he of necessitie ought to haue the aduise and counsell of all the estates of his realme, which be these and such like as followeth.

First for religion, for so much as by the lawes of God and this realme, the king next and immediately vnder God is his deputie and vicar in earth, and the chiefest ruler within his realms and dominions: his office, function, and dutie is, about all things to seeke and see that God be honored in true religion and vertue, and that he and his people doe both in profession and life liue according to the same.

Also that all idolatries, false religions, heresies, schismes, errors, superstitions, & what soeuer is contrary to true religion, all disorders and abuses, either among the cleargie or laitie, be reformed, ordered, and redressed.

Also the assurance of the kings and queenes persons, and of their children, their advancement & preferment in marriages, the establishing of succession, the suppression of traitors, the auoiding or eschewing of warres, the attempting or moving of wars, the subduing of rebels, and pacifying of ciuill wars and commotions, the leuelling or hauling ante and subsidie for the preservation of the king and publike estate: also the making and establishing of good and wholesome lawes, or the repealing and debarring of former lawes, as whose execution may be hurtfull or prejudiciall to the estates of the prince or commonwealth.

For these and such like causes, being of great weight, charge and importance, the king (by the aduise of his counsell) may call and summon his high court of parlement, and by the authoritie thereof establish and order such good lawes and orders as then shall be thought most expedient and necessarie.

The order and maner how to
summon the parlement.

The king ought to send out his writs of summons to all the estates of his realme, at least fortie daies before the beginning of the parlement; first to all his lords and barons, that is to wit, archbishops, bishops, dukes, marqueses, earls, vicounts and barons; and euerie of these must haue a speciall writ. Then to the clergie, and the writ of their summons must be addrested to euerie particular bishop for the clergie of his diocesse. All these writs which are for the clergie, the king alwaies sendeth to the archbishops of Canturburie and Poike, and by them they are sent and dispersed abroad to euerie particular bishop within their seuerall prouinces, and so the bishops giue summons to the clergie.

Lastlie, for the summoning of the commons, he sendeth his writ to the lord warden of the fine ports, for the election of the barons thereof, and to euerie seuerall shiriffe for the choise and election of knights, citizens, and burgeses within his countie.

How and what persons ought to be
chosen for the clergie, and of their
allowances.

The bishop ought upon the receipt of the writ sent vnto him for the summoning of his clergie, forthwith to summon and warne all deanes and archdeacons within his diocesse to appere in proper person at the parlement, vnlesse they haue some sufficient and reasonable cause of absence, in which case he may appere by his proctor, hauing a warrant or prozie for the same.

Then must he also send the like summons to the deane and chapter of his cathedrall church, who shall forthwith assemble their chapter, and make choise of some one of themselves to appere in their behalfe, and this man thus chosen must haue their commission or prozie.

He must also send out his summons to euerie archdeaconrie and peculiar, requiring that the whole clergie do appere before him, his chancelor or officer, at a certeine daie, time, and place: who being so assembled, shall make choise and election of two men of the said clergie to appere for them, and these shall haue their commission or prozie for the same.

These proctors thus to be chosen ought to be graue, wise, and learned men, being professors either of diuinitie or of the ecclesiasticall lawes; and that can, will, and be able to dispute in cause of controuersie, conuincing of heresies, appeasing of schismes, and deuising of good and godlie constitutions concerning true religion and orders of the church.

These proctors (thus elected) ought to haue reasonable allowances for their charges, according to the state, qualitie, or condition of the person, as also a respect had to the time. The proctors of the deane and chapter are to be paid out of the exchequer of the cathedrall church. The proctors of the clergie are to be paid of the clergie, among whom a collection is to be leuied for the same, according to an old order vied among them.

How and what maner of knights, ci-
tizens, and burgeses ought to be chosen,
and of their allowances.

The shiriffe of euerie countie, hauing receiued his writs, ought forthwith to send his precepts and summons to the maiors, bailiffes, and head officers of euerie citie, towne corporate, borough, and such places as haue bene accustomed to send bur-

geses within his countie, that they do choise and elect among themselves two citizens for euerie citie, and two burgeses for euerie borough, according to their old custome and vsage. And these head officers ought then to assemble themselves & the aldermen and common counsell of euerie citie or towne, and to make choise among themselves of two able and sufficient men of euerie citie or towne, to serue for and in the said parlement.

Likewise at the next countie daie to be holden in the said countie after the receipt of this writ, the shiriffe ought openlie in the court of his shire or countie, betwene the houres of eight and nine of the forenone, make proclamation; that euerie freholdere shall come into the court, and choise two sufficient men to be knights for the parlement; & then he must cause the writ to be openlie & distinalie read. Whereupon the said freholders, then and there present, ought to choise two knights accordinglie, but he himselfe cannot giue anie voice, neither be chosen.

These elections aforesaid so past and done, there ought to be seuerall indentures made betwene the shiriffe & the freholders of the choise of the knights, and betwene the maior and the head officers of euerie particular citie & towne of the choise of their citizens & burgeses & of their names, & of their mainperners and suerties. Of these indentures, the one part being sealed by the shiriffe, ought to be returned to the clerke of the parlement; and the other part of the indentures, sealed by such as made choise of the knights, & such as made choise of the citizens & burgeses vnder the seuerall common seales of their cities and townes, ought to remaine with the shiriffe, or rather with the parties so elected and chosen.

The charges of euerie knight and citizen was wont to be a like, which was thirtene shillings and foure pence by the daie: but now by the statute it is but eight shillings, that is, to euerie knight and euerie citizen foure shillings, and to euerie burgesse the old vsage to haue five shillings: but now it is but thre shillings and foure pence limited by the statute, which allowance is to be giuen from the first daie of their iourneie towards the parlement, vntill the last daie of their returne from thence. Provided, that euerie such person shall be allowed for so manie daies as by iourneies six and twentie miles euerie daie in the winter, and thirtie miles in the summer, he may come & returne to and from the parlement.

In choise of these knights, citizens, and burgeses, god regard is to be had that the lawes and customs of the realme be herein kept and obserued: for none ought to be chosen, vnlesse he be resiant and dwelling within the shire, citie, or towne for which he is chosen. And he ought to be graue, wise, learned, skilfull, and of great experience in causes of policie, and of such audacitie as both can and will boldlie utter and speake his mind according to dutie, and as occasion shall serue; for no man ought to be silent or dum in that house, but according to his talent he must and ought to speake in the furtherance of the king and commonwealth.

And the knights also ought to be skilfull in martiall affaires, and therefore the words of the writs are that such should be chosen for knights as be *Cinili gladio*: not bicause they shall come into the parlement house in armour, or with their swords: but bicause they should be such as haue god experience and knowledge in feats of warre and martiall affaires, whereby they may in such cases giue the king and relme god aduise and counsell. Likewise they ought to be laie men, and of god fame, honestie, and credit, being not outlawed, excommunicated, or perjured, or otherwile infamous: for such persons ought not to haue place or be admitted into the parlement house.

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The degrees of the parlement.

In times past there were six degrees or estates of the parlement, which euerie of them had their seuerall officers and ministers of attendance; but now the same are reduced into foure degrees.

The first is the king, who in his personage is a full and whole degree of himselfe, and without whom nothing can be done.

The second degree is of the lords of the clergie and of the tempozaltie, and are all called by the names of barons.

The third is of knights, citizens, and burgeses, & these be called by the names of the communalitie.

The fourth is of the clergie, which are called by the name of conuocation, & these persons haue no voice in the parlement; neither can they do any thing other than to intreat in causes of religion, which from them is to be commended to other estates.

Of the places and houses of the parlement.

As it lieth in the king to assigne and appoint the time when the parlement shall begin, so that he give at the least fortie daies summons: so likewise he maie name and appoint the place where it shall be kept. But wheresoever it be kept, the old vsage and maner was, that all the whole degrees of the parlement sat together in one house; and euerie man that had there to speake, did it openlie before the king and his whole parlement. But here of did grow manie inconueniences, and therfore to auoid the great confusions which are in such great assemblies, as also to cut off the occasions of displeasures which ensues did happen, when a meane man speaking his conscience freely, either could not be heard, or fell into the displeasure of his betters; and for sundrie other great græfs, did diuide this one house into three houses, that is to wit, the higher house, the lower house, and the conuocation house.

In the first sitteth the king, and his lords spirituall and tempozall, called by the name of barons, and this house is called the higher house.

The second is where the knights, citizens and burgeses do sit, and they be called by the name of commons, and this house is called the lower house.

The third is, where the prelates and the doctors of the cleargie, being called by the name of the cleargie, and this house is called the conuocation house. Of euerie of these houses, their orders and officers, we will breuie subiect and declare particularlie in order as followeth.

Of the higher house.

The higher house (as is said) is where the king and his barons do sit in parlement, where the king sitteth highest, and the lords & barons beneath him, each man in his degree: the order is this. The house is much more in length than in breadth, and the higher end thereof in the middle is the kings seat or throne hanged richlie with cloth of estate, and there the king sitteth alwaies alone. On his right hand there is a long bench next to the wall of the house, which reacheth not so farre vp as the kings seat, and upon this sit the archbishops and bishops, euerie one in his degree. On his left hand there are two like benches, upon the inner sit the dukes, marquesses, earles and vicounts. On the other, which is the hindermost & next to the wall, sit all the barons euerie man in his degree. In the middle of the house, betwene the archbishops seat and the dukes seat, sitteth the speaker, who commonlie is lord chancelor, or keeper of the great scale of England, or the lord

chiefe iustice of England, as pleaseth the king, who dooth appoint him: and he hath before him his two clerks sitting at a table before them, upon which they do write and late their bookes. In the middle roome beneath them sit the chiefe iustices and iudges of the realme, the barons of the exchequer, the kings sergeants, and all such as be of the kings learned council, either in the common lawes of the realme, or of the ecclesiasticall lawes, and all these sit upon great woolsacks, covered with red cloth.

At the lower end of all these seats is a barre or raile, betwene which & the lower end of the house is a bold roome seruing for the lower house, and for all suitors that shall haue cause and occasion to repaire to the king or to the lords. This house as it is distinct from the others, so there be distinct officers to the same belonging and appertaining, which all be assigned and appointed by the king, and all haue allowances for their charges at the kings hands, of which officers what they are, what is euerie of their offices, and what allowances they haue, shall be written in order hereafter.

Of the officers of the higher house, and first of the speaker, and of his office.

The chiefe officer of the higher house is the speaker, who is appointed by the king, and commonlie he is the lord chancelor or keeper of the great scale, or lord chiefe iustice of England, his office consisteth in diuerse points.

First, he must on the first daie of the parlement make his oration in the higher house, before the king, his lords and commons; and then and there declare the causes why the king hath summoned that parlement, exhorting and aduising euerie man to do his office and dutie, in such sort as maie be to the glorie of God, honoz of the king, and benefit of the commonwealth.

Also he must make one other oration, but in waite of answer to the speakers oration, when he is presented to the king.

Likewise he must make the like on the last daie of the parlement. And you shall vnderstand, that upon these three daies he standeth on the right hand of the king nere to his seat, at a barre there appointed for him; but at all other times he sitteth in the middle of the house, as is before said.

When he hath ended his oration upon the first day, he must giue order vnto the lower house in the kings behalfe, willing them to repaire vnto their house, and there (according to their ancient orders and customs) make choise of their speaker.

All bills presented vnto the higher house he must receiue, which he hath forthwith to deliuer vnto the clerks to be safely kept.

All bills he must cause to be read twice before they be ingrossed, and being read three times he must put the same to question.

If any bill put to question do passe with their consent, then the same must be sent to the lower house, vntlesse it came first from thence, and in that case it must be kept vntill the end of the parlement.

If any bill be denied, impugned, and clere ouerthrowne, the same is no more to be thenceforth re- ceiued.

If any bill be put to question, & it be doubtfull whether side is the greater, & giuen most voices; then he must cause the house to be diuided, and then iudge of the bill according to the greater number.

If any bill be imperfect, or requireth to be amended, he must choise a certeine number of that house, as he shall thinke good, and to them commit that bill to be reformed and amended.

If anie bill or message be to be sent to the lower house, it is his office to make chosse of two of the kings learned counsell there being, to be the messengers thereof.

If any bill or message be sent from the lower house, he must come from his place to the bar, and there receive the same; and being returned to his place, and everie stranger or messenger departed, he must disclose the same to the lords.

Item, if anie disorder be committed or done in the house by anie lord or other person, he ought with the aduise of the lords to reforme the same: but if it be among the lords, and they will not be reformed, then he must forthwith aduertise the king.

Item, he ought at the beginning of the parlement, to call by name all the lords of the parlement, & likewise at other times as he seeth occasion, whose defaults ought to be recorded, & they to paie their fines, unlesse they be dispensed withall by speciall licence from the king, or haue some iust and reasonable cause of absence.

Item, he must see and cause the clerks to make true entries & true records of all things done there, and to see that the clerks do giue and deliuer the copies of all such bills there read, to such as demand for the same.

Item, he shall keepe the secrets, & cause & command everie man of ech degree in that house to do the like.

Also he ought not to go anie where, but the gentle, man sergent ought to attend upon him, going before him with his mace, unlesse he be the lord chancellor, for then he hath a sergent of his owne.

His allowance that he hath is at the kings charges.

Also for everie privat bill that passeth and is enacted, he hath ten pounds for his part.

Of the chancellor of the higher house.

The chancellor is the principall clarke of the higher house, and his charge is safelie to keepe the records of the parlement, & the acts which be pass.

All such statutes as be enacted, he must send to the kings severall courts of records to be inrolled, as naimelie the Chancerie, the Kings bench, the Common pleas, and the Exchequer.

All such acts as are to be imprinted, he must send to the printer.

All such privat acts as are not imprinted, if anie man will haue the same exemplified, he must transmit the same to the lord chancellor, to be ingrossed and sealed, and for the same he to take the fees appointed and accustomed.

He hath for his allowance an ordinarie fee for terme of life of the king.

Of the clerks of the parlement.

There be two clerks, the one named the clarke of the parlement, & the other named the clarke of the crowne. The clarke of the parlement his office is to sit before the lord speaker, and to read such bills presented as he shall be commanded.

He must keepe true records, and true entries of all things there done and to be entred.

If anie require a copie of anie bill there, he ought to giue the same, receiving the ordinarie fees.

If anie bill after his ordinarie readings be to be ingrossed, he must do it.

The counsell of the house he may not disclose.

At the end of the parlement he must deliuer up unto the chancellor all the acts and records of that house, saving he may keepe a transumpt and a copie

thereof to himselfe.

He hath his allowance of the king.

Also for everie privat bill which is enacted, he hath three pounds.

Also for everie bill thereof he giueth a copie, he hath for everie ten lines a penie, according to the custome.

The clarke of the crowne, his office is to supplie the place and roome of the clarke of the parlement in his absence, & hath in all things the like charges and profits as the clarke ought to haue.

He must giue his attendance to the higher house from time to time, & do what shall be intimated him.

All such acts as be not imprinted, if anie man will haue them exemplified vnder the brode scale, he must exemplifie them, and haue for the same his ordinarie fees.

These two clerks, at the end of the parlement, ought to be present in the house, and within the lower bar at a board before them, their faces towards the king: and there the one must read the bills which are pass both houses, and the other must read the content of disagreement of the king.

Of the sergeants or porters of the higher house.

There is but one sergent, which hath the charge of keeping of the doores: for though there be diuerse doores, yet the keepers thereof are at his assignment.

He ought to see the house be cleane & kept sweet.

He ought not to suffer anie manner of person to be within the house, so long as the lords be there sitting, other than such as be of the learned counsell, and of that house; and except also such as come in message from the lower house with bills or otherwise, and except also such as be sent for, and be admitted to haue anie thing there to do.

Also he must attend and go alwaies with his mace before the speaker, unlesse he be lord chancellor, or keeper of the great scale: for then he hath a sergent of his owne.

He ought to keepe safelie such prisoners as be commanded to his ward, and to fetch or send for such as he shall be commanded to fetch.

This porter or sergent hath (besides his ordinarie fee) a standing allowance for everie date of the parlement.

Also he hath for everie privat bill which is enacted, fortye shillings.

Also he hath for everie prisoner committed to his ward, a certeine allowance for his fees.

Also he hath of everie baron or lord of that house, a certeine reward.

Of the lower house.

The lower house (as is said) is a place distinct from the others, it is more of length than of breadth, it is made like a theater, having foure rowes of seates one aboute an other round about the same. At the higher end in the middle of the lower row, is a seat made for the speaker, in which he alwaies sitteth: before it is a table board, at which sitteth the clarke of the house, and thereupon laith his bookes, and writeth his records. Upon the lower row on both sides the speaker, sit such personages as be of the kings priuie counsell, or of his chiefe officers; but as for anie other, none claimeth, nor can claime anie place; but sitteth as he cometh, saving that on the right hand of the speaker, next beneath the said counsell, the Londoners, and the citizens of London do sit, and so in order should sit all the citizens accordinglie. Without this house is one other,

in which the under clerkis do sit, as also such as be tutors and attendant to that house. And when soever the house is divided upon any bill, then the come is voided; and the one part of the house cometh downe into this to be numbered.

The office of the speaker of the lower house.

The chiefe or principall officer of this house is the speaker, and is chosen by the whole house, or the more part of them; he himselfe being one of the same number, and a man for gravitie, wisdom, experience, and learning, chosen to supplie that office, during the time of the parliament; and is to be presented to the king the third daie following.

His office is to direct and guide that house in good order; and to see the ordinances, usages, and customs of the same to be firmelie kept and observed.

When he is presented unto the king, sitting in his estate rofall in the parlement house for the purpose, he must then and there make his oration in commendation of the lawes and of the parlement; which done, then he hath (in the name of the house of the commons) to make to the king three requests.

First, that it maie please his maiestie to grant, that the commons assembled in the parlement, may haue and intiole the ancient priuileges, customes, and liberties, as in times past haue appertained, and bene used in that house.

Then, that euerie one of that house maie haue libertie of speech, and freelie to utter, speake, and declare his mind and opinion to any bill or question to be proposed.

Also, that euerie knight, citizen, and burgesse, and their seruants, maie haue free coming and going to and from the said parlement; as also during the said time of parlement; & that they, nor any of their seruants or retinue to be arrested, molested, swad, imprisoned, or troubled by any person or persons.

And lastlie, that if he or any other of that companie, being sent or come to him of any message, and do mistake himselfe in doing thereof; that his maiestie will not take the aduantage thereof, but graciously pardon the same.

He must haue good regard, and see that the clerke do enter and make true records, and safelie to keepe the same, and all such bills as be deliuered into that house.

He must on the first and third daie, and when soeuer he else will, call the house by name, and record their defaults.

All bills, to be brought and to be presented into that house, he must receiue & deliuer to the clerke.

He ought to cause and command the clerke to reade the bills brought in, plainelie, and sensiblie; which done, he must breuilie rectie and repeat the effect and meaning thereof.

Of the bills brought in he hath choise, which and when they shall be read: vnlesse order by the whole house be taken in that behalfe.

Euerie bill must haue three readings, and after the second reading he must cause the clerke to ingrosse the same, vnlesse the same be reiecte and dashed.

If any bill or message be sent from the lords, he ought to cause the messengers to bring the same vnto him, and he to receiue the same openlie; and they being departed and gone, he ought to disclose and open the same to the house.

If when a bill is read, diuerse do rise at one instant to speake to the same, and it cannot be discerned who rose first; then shall he appoint who shall speake; neuertheless, euerie one shall haue his course to speake

if he list.

If any speake to a bill and be out of the matter, he shall put him in remembrance, and will him to come to the matter.

If any bill be read three times, and euerie man haue spoken his mind; then shall he aske the house whether the bill shall passe or not: saying thus: As manie as will haue this bill passe in manner & forme as hath bene read, saie *Aye*: then the affirmatiue part saie *Aye*. As manie as will not haue this bill passe in manner and forme as hath bene read, saie *No*.

If upon this question the whole house, or the more part, do affirme and allow the bill: then the same is to be sent to the higher house to the lords. But if the whole house, or the more part do denie the bill: then the same is to be dashed out, and to be reiecte: but if it be doubtful upon giuing voices, whether side is the greater; then must a diuision be made of the house, and the affirmatiue part must arise and depart into the better come, which (by the sergeant) is voided before hand of all persons that were there. And then the speaker must assigne two or foure to number them first which sit within, and then the other which be without, as they do come in, one by one: and as upon the trial the bill shall be allowed or disallowed by the greater number: so to be accepted as is before said.

If upon this trial the number of either side be like, then the speaker shall giue his voice, and that onelie in this point; for otherwile he hath no voice.

Also if any of the house do misbehaue himselfe, & breake the order of the house: he hath to reforme, correct, and punish him, but yet with the aduise of the house.

If any foreign person do enter into that house, the assemblie thereof being sitting, or do by arresting any one person thereof, or by any other meanes breake the liberties and priuileges of that house, he ought to see him to be punished.

Also during the time of the parlement, he ought to sequester himselfe from dealing or intermeddling in any publike or priuat affaires, and dedicat and bend himselfe wholly to serue his office and function.

Also he ought not to resort to any noble man, counsellor, or other person, to deale in any of the parlement matters: but must and ought to haue with him a competent number of some of that house, who maie be witnesses of his doings.

Also during the time of parlement, he ought to haue the sergeant of armes with his mace to go before him.

Also he hath libertie to send any offender, either to sergeants ward, or to the tower, or to any other prison at his choise, according to the qualitie and quantitie of the offense.

He hath allowance for his diet one hundred pounds of the king for euerie sessions of parlement.

Also he hath for euerie priuat bill passed both houses, and enacted, five pounds.

At the end, and on the last daie of the parlement, he maketh his oration before the king in most humble manner, declaring the dutifull seruice and obedience of the commons then assembled to his maiestie: as also most humbly praying his pardon, if any thing haue bene done amisse.

Of the clerke of the lower house.

There is onelie one clerke belonging to this house, his office is to sit next before the speaker at a table, upon which he writeth & laith his bookes. He must make true entrie of the records and bills of the house, as also of all the orders thereof.

The bills appointed vnto him by the speaker to be read,

¶.iii.

read,

read : he must read openlie, plainelie, and sensible.

The billes which are to be ingrossed, he must do it.

If anie of the house aske the sight of anie bill there, or of the booke of the orders of the house ; he hath to deliuer the same vnto him.

If anie desire to haue the copie of anie bill, he ought to giue it him, receiuing for his paines after ten lines a pennie.

He maie not be absent at anie time of sitting, without speciall licence.

He ought to haue for euerie priuat bill passed and enacted, fortie shillings.

He hath allowed vnto him for his charges (of the king) for euerie sessions, ten pounds.

Of the sergeant or porter of the *lower house.*

The sergeant of this house is commonlie one of the kings sergeants at armes, and is appointed to this office by the king. His office is to keepe the doores of the house ; and for the same he hath others vnder him, for he himselve keepeth the doore of the inner house, where the commons sit, and seeth the same to be cleane.

Also he maie not suffer anie to enter into this house, during the time of the sitting there ; vntil he be one of the house, or be sent from the king or the lords, or otherwise licenced to come in.

If anie such person doe come, he ought to bring him in, going before him with his mace vpon his shoulder.

If anie be committed to his ward, he ought to take charge of him, and to keepe him in safetie vntill he be required for him.

If he be sent for anie person, or to go in anie message, he must leaue a substitute behind him, to do his office in his absence.

He must alwaies attend the speaker, and go before him, carling his mace vpon his shoulder.

His allowance (during the time of the parlement) is twelue pence the daie of the kings charges.

Also he hath of euerie knight and citizen, two shillings six pence ; and of euerie burgesse, two shillings.

If anie be commanded to his ward, he hath of euerie such prisoner, by the daie, six shillings and eight pence.

If anie priuat bill doe passe and be enacted, he hath for euerie such bill, twentie shillings.

Of the conuocation house.

The conuocation house is the assemblie of the whole clergie, at and in some peculiar place appointed for the purpose.

But as the barons and lords of the parlement haue their house seuerall and distinct from the commons : euen so the archbishops and bishops doe sequester themselves, and haue a house seuerall from the residue of the clergie. And this their house is called the higher conuocation house, the other being named the lower conuocation house. Both these houses haue their seuerall officers, orders, and vsages ; and each officer hath his peculiar charge and function ; as also certeine allowances, euen as is vied in the parlement houses of the lords and commons.

The archbishops and bishops doe sit all at a table, and doe discourse all such causes and matters as are brought in question before them, either of their owne motions, or from the higher court of parlement, or from the lower house of conuocation, or

from anie priuat person. Euerie archbishop and bishop sitteth & taketh place according to his estate and degree, which degrees are knowne by such degrees & offices in the church as to euerie of them is assigned : for one hath the personage of a priest, an other of a deacon, this is a subdeacon, he is a sexton, and so forth, as such officers were wont to be in the church.

The bishops doe not sit at forenone, but onelie at afternone, because they, being barons of the higher house of parlement, doe resort and assemble themselves there at the forenones with the temporal lords.

The conuocation house of the rest of the clergie doe obserue in a manner the like orders as the lower house of the commons doe vse. For being assembled together on the first daie, with the bishops, are by them willed to make chise of a speaker for them, whom they call the prolocutor : when they haue chosen him, they doe present him vnto the bishops : and he thus presented, maketh his oration, and doth all things as the speaker of the lower house for the commons doth, as well for the ordering of the clergie & of the house, as for the order in sitting, the order in speaking, the order of recording things done among them, and all other such like things.

And this is to be vnderstood, that the whole clergie can deale and intreat but onelie of matters of religion, and orders of the church, which their doings and conclusions can not bind the whole realme, vntil they be confirmed by act of parlement : but yet sufficient to bind the whole clergie to the keeping thereof ; so that the king (who is the supreme gouernor of both estates) doe consent and confirme the same. And forsomuch as by knowing the orders of the parlement house, you may also know the orders of both the conuocation houses, which are like & correspondent to the others : these shall suffice for this matter.

Of extraordinarie persons which ought to be summoned to the parlement.

Besides the personages of the former degrees, which ought to be summoned to the parlement : the king also must warne and summon all his counsellors both of the one law and of the other ; and these haue their places onelie in the higher house, namely the two chiefe iustices and their associates of the kings bench and the common ples, the barons of the exchequer, the sergeants, the attorneie, the solicitor, the maister of the rolles, and his fellows of the chancerie.

The offices of these personages are to giue counsell to the king and parlement, in euerie doubtfull cause according to the lawes.

Also if anie bill be conceived and made disorderlie, they ought to amend and reforme the same, vpon order and commandement to them giuen.

Also they must attend to come and go at the commandement of the king and parlement.

Also they may not speake nor giue aduise, but when they be asked and put to question.

Also they haue no voice in parlement, because they are commonlie counsellors to the same.

They are all reteined at the kings charges. Likewise all officers of the parlement are to be summoned, as namelie the chancelor of the parlement, the clerks, the sergeants, the porters, and such others, who likewise are reteined at the kings costs. Of their offices and charges it is already partly declared.

Of the daies and houres to sit in
parlement.

All daies of the weeke are appointed, saving and
Accepted the sundaies and all principall feasts,
as namelie the feast of Alhallowes daie, Christmas,
Easter, Whitsuntide, and saint John the baptists
daie, and also such other daies as the parlement by
consent shall appoint and assigne.

The beginning is at eight of the clocke in the moꝝ
ning, and dooth continue untill eleuen of the clocke.

They do not sit at afternoones, for those times are
reserued for committees and the conuocation house.

In the morning they beginne with the common
prayer and the letanie, which are openlie read in the
house.

Of the king, his office and authoritie.

Having declared of all the estates, degrees, and
personages of the parlement, it resteth now to
speake also of the king, and of his office, who is all in
all, the beginning and ending, and upon whome rest-
eth and dependeth the effect & substance of the whole
parlement. For without him and his authoritie no-
thing can be done, and with it all things take effect.
Nevertheless, when he calleth & assembleth his par-
lement, there are sundrie orders which of him are to
be obserued, and which he ought to see to be kept and
executed; or else the parlement ceaseth to be a par-
lement, and taketh not his effect, of which orders these
be the chiefe which do inſue.

First, the king ought to send out his summons to
all the estates of his realme, of a parlement, assign-
ing and appointing the time, daie, and place.

Also his summons must be at the least forty daies
before the beginning of his parlement.

Also he must appoint and prouide all such officers
as ought to attend the parlement, who must be found
at his charges.

Also the king ought not to make anie choise, or
cause anie choise to be made of any knight, citizens,
burgesses, proctors of the clergie, speaker of the com-
mon house, or proloquutor of the conuocation house:
but they must be elected and chosen by the lawes, or-
ders, and customs of the realme, as they were wont
and ought to be, and the kings good aduise yet not to
be contemned.

Also the king ought to grant, permit, and allow
to all and euerie of the estates, and to euerie parti-
cular man lawfullie elected, and come to the par-
lement, all and euerie the ancient freedoms, priuile-
ges, immunities, and customs, during the par-
lement; as also during the times and daies, comming
and going to and from the parlement: but yet the
same humble to be requested of his highnesse by the
speaker in his oration at the beginning of the par-
lement.

Also the king in person ought to be present in the
parlement three daies at the least, during the time of
the parlement; that is to saie, the first daie, when the
whole estates according to the summons make their
appearance, which is called the first daie of the par-
lement. On the second daie, when the speaker of the
common house is presented, which is counted the be-
ginning of the parlement. And the third daie, which
is the last day, when the parlement is proroged or dis-
solved: for upon these daies he must be present, un-
lesse in case of sickness, or absence out of the realme,
for in these cases the king may summon his par-
lement by commission, and the same is of as good ef-
fect as if he were present in person: and as for anie
other daies, he is at his choise and libertie to come or
not to come to the parlement.

Also the king ought to propound to the parlement
house in writing all such things & matters of charge,
as for which he calleth the said parlement. And accor-
dinglie as the same shall then by the consent of all
estates be aduised, concluded, and agreed: so the king
either hath to allow or disallow the same, for he can
(of himselfe) neither adde nor diminish anie bill; but
accept the same as it is presented unto him from the
estates of the parlement, or else altogether reiect it.

Also the king as he dooth prefix and assigne the daie
and time when the parlement shall begin; so also he
must assigne & appoint the time when the same shall
be proroged or dissolved: which ought not to be as
long as anie matters of charge, weight, or impor-
tance be in question, and the same not decided nor
determined.

Of the dignitie, power, and authoritie
of the parlement, and of the orders
of the same.

The parlement is the highest, chiefe, and great-
est court that is or can be within the realme: for
it consisteth of the whole realme, which is diuided in-
to three estates; that is to wit, the king, the nobles,
and the commons, euerie of which estates are subiect
to all such orders as are concluded and established in
parlement.

These three estates may iointlie and with one con-
sent or agreement establish and enact anie lawes, or-
ders, and statutes for the common wealth; but being
diuided, and one swaruing from the other, they can
do nothing. For the king, though he be the head, yet
alone can not make anie law; nor yet the king and
his lords onelie, nor yet the king and his commons
alone; neither yet can the lords and the commons
without the king do anie thing of auaille. And yet
nevertheless, if the king in due order haue summo-
ned all his lords and barons, and they will not
come, or if they come they will not yet appeere; or if
they come and appeere, yet will not do or yeld to any
thing, then the king with the consent of his com-
mons (who are represented by the knights, citizens,
and burgesses) may ordeine and establish anie act or
law, which are as good, sufficient, and effectuell, as if
the lords had giuen their consents.

But of the contrarie, if the commons be summo-
ned and will not come, or comming will not appeere,
or appeering will not consent to do anie thing, alle-
ging some iust, weightie, and great cause; the king
(in these cases) cannot with his lords deuisse, make, or
establish anie law, the reasons are these. When par-
lements were first begun & ordeined, there were no
prelats or barons of the parlement, and the tempo-
rall lords were verie few or none, and then the king
and his commons did make a full parlement, which
authoritie was hitherto neuer abidged. Again, e-
uerie baron in parlement dooth represent but his
owne person, and speaketh in the behalfe of himselfe
alone.

But in the knights, citizens, and burgesses are
represented the commons of the whole realme; and
euerie of these giueth not consent onlie for himselfe,
but for all those also for whome he is sent. And the
king with the consent of his commons had euer a
sufficient and full authoritie to make, ordeine, and e-
stablish good and wholesome lawes for the common
wealth of his realme. Wherefore the lords being law-
fullie summoned, and yet refusing to come, sit, or
consent in parlement, can not by their folleie abidged
the king and the commons of their lawfull procé-
ding in parlement.

The lords and commons in times past did sit all
in one house, but for the auoiding of confusion they
be

be now divided into two severall houses, and yet nevertheless they are of like and equall authoritie, euerie person of either of the said houses being named and counted a peere of the realme (for the time of the parlement) that is to saie, equall: for *Par* is equall. And therefore the opinion, censure, and iudgement of a meane burgesse, is of as great auail as is the best lords, no regard being had to the partie who speaketh, but the matter that is spoken.

They be also called *pærs*, as if were fathers, for *Pier* is a father, by which is meant that all such as be of the parlement should be ancient, graue, wise, learned, and expert men of the land: for such were the *senatores* of Rome, and called *Patres conscripti*, for the wisdom and care that was in them in governing of the common-wealth. They are also called counsellors, because they are assembled and called to the parlement for their aduise and good counsell, in making and deuising of such good orders and lawes as may be for the commonwealth.

They therefore which make choise of knights, citizens and burgesse, ought to be well aduised that they doe elect and choise such as being to be of that assemble, and thereby equall with the great estates, should be graue, ancient, wise, learned, expert and carefull men for their commonwealth, and who (as faithfull and trustie counsellors) should doe that which should turne and be for the best commoditie of the commonwealth, otherwise they doe great iniurie to their prince and commonwealth.

Also euerie person of the parlement, during the times of the parlement, and at his coming and going from the same, is free from all troubles, arrests and molestations: no action or sute taking effect which during that time is begun, entered, or commenced against him, in what court so euer the same be, except in causes of treason, murder, and felonie, and except also executions in law, awarded and granted before the beginning of the parlement.

Also euerie person having voices in parlement, hath free libertie of speech to speake his mind, opinion, and iudgement, to anie matter proponed; or of himselfe to propone anie matter for the commoditie of the prince and of the commonwealth: but hauing once spoken to anie bill, he may speake no more for that time.

Also euerie person once elected & chosen a knight, citizen or burgesse, and returned, cannot be dismissed out of that house; but being admitted, shall haue his place and voice there, if he be a layman. But if by error a man of the cleargie be chosen, then he ought and shall be dismissed; also if he be excommunicated, outlawed, or infamous.

Also euerie one of these houses ought to be incorrupt, no briber nor taker of anie rewards, gifts, or monie, either for deuising of anie bill, or for speaking of his mind; but to doe all things by rightie, and in such sort as best is for the king and commonwealth.

Also euerie one ought to be of a quiet, honest and gentle behauiour; none taunting, checking, or misusing an other in anie vnseemlie words or deeds: but all affections set apart, to doe and indeuour in wise, done, sobrietie and knowledge, that which that place requireth.

Also if anie one doe offend or misbehaue himselfe, he is to be corrected and punished by the aduise and order of the residue of the house.

Also all the prisons, wards, gales, within the realme and the keepers of the same are at the commandement of the parlement, for the custodie and safekeeping or punishment of all and euerie such prisoners, as shall be sent to anie of them by the said parlement houses, or anie of them: howbeit most commonlie the towne of London is the prison which

is most vsed.

Also if anie one of the parlement house be seized, sued, arrested, or attached by anie writ, attachment, or minister of the kings bench, Common pleas, Chancerie, or what court so euer within this realme: the partie so troubled and making complaint there, of to the parlement house: then forth with a sergeant at armes is sent to the said court, not onelie aduertising, that the partie so molested is one of the parlement house; but also inhibiting and commanding the officers of the said court to call in the said processe, and not to deale anie further against the said partie: for the parlement being the highest court, all other courts as inferior yeld and giue place to the same.

Also as euerie one of the parlement house is free for his owne person, for all manner of lites to be commenced against him: so are also his seruants free, and not to be troubled nor molested; but being troubled, haue the like remedie as the maister hath or may haue.

Also no manner of person, being not one of the parlement house, ought to enter or come within the house, as long as the sitting is there, vpon paine of imprisonment, or such other punishment as by the house shall be ordered and adiudged.

Also euerie person of the parlement ought to keepe secret, and not to disclose the secrets and things spoken and done in the parlement house, to anie manner of person, vnlesse he be one of the same house, vpon paine to be sequestred out of the house, or otherwise punished, as by the order of the house shall be appointed.

Also none of the parlement house ought to depart from the parlement, without speciall leave obtained of the speaker of the house, and the same his licence be also recorded.

Also no person, being not of the parlement house, ought to come into the same, during the time of the sitting: so euerie one coming into the same oweth a dutie and a reuerence, to be giuen when he entresth and cometh in.

If a baron or a lord come and enter into the higher house, he ought to doe his obeisance before the cloth of estate, and so to take his place.

Also when he speaketh, he must stand bare headed, and speake his mind plainlie, sensiblie, & in decent order.

If anie come in message or be sent for to the higher house, they must staie at the inner doore vntill they be called in, and then being entered, must first make their obeisance; which done, to go to the lower end of the house, and there to staie vntill they be called: and being called, they must first make one lowe courtesie and obeisance, and going forwarde must in the middle waie make one other lowe courtesie, and then being come forth to the barre, must make the third courtesie; the like must be done at the departure.

Also when anie knight, citizen or burgesse doth enter and come into the lower house, he must make his dutifull and humble obeisance at his entrie in: and then take his place. And you shall vnderstand, that as euerie such person ought to be graue, wise, and expert; so ought he to shew himselfe in his apparel. For in time past, none of the counsellors of the parlement came otherwise than in his gowne, and not armed nor girded with weapon. For the parlement house is a place for wise, graue, and good men; to consult, debate, and aduise, how to make lawes and orders for the commonwealth, and not to be armed as men readie to fight, or to trie matters by the sword. And albeit the writ for the election of the knights haue expresse words to choise such for knights

knights as be girded with the sword: yet it is not meant thereby that they should come and sit armed, but be such as be skilfull in feats of armes, and besides their good abilities can well serue in martiall affaires. And thus the Romane senators used, who being men of great knowledge and experience, as well in martiall affaires, as in politike causes, sat alwaies in the senat house and places of counsell in their gownes and long robes. The like also was alwaies and hath bene the order in the parlements of this realme, as long as the ancient lawes, the old customes, and good orders thereof were kept and obserued.

Also if anie other person or persons, either in message or being sent for, doe come: he ought to be brought in by the sergeant, and at the first entring must (following the sergeant) make one lowe obeisance, and being past in the middle waie, must make one other; and when he is come before the speaker, he must make the third, and then do his message; the like order he must keepe in his returne. But if he doe come alone, or with his learned counsell, to plead anie matter, or to answer to anie objection: he shall enter, and go no further than to the bar within the doore, and there to do his three obeisances.

Also when anie bill is committed, the committees haue not authoritie to conclude, but onelie to order, reforme, examine, and amend the thing committed vnto them, and of their doings they must giue report to the house againe, by whome the bill is to be considered.

Also euerie bill, which is brought into the house, must be read three severall times, and vpon three severall daies.

Also euerie bill, which vpon anie reading is committed and returned againe, ought to haue his three readings, vnles the committees haue not altered the bill in anie substance or forme, but onelie in certeine words.

Also when anie bill vpon anie reading is altogether by one consent reiecte, or by voices after the third reading ouerthrowen, it ought not to be brought anie more to be read, during the sessions of parliament.

Also if anie man doe speake vnto a bill, and be out of his matter; he ought to be put in remembrance of the matter by the speaker onelie and by none other, and be willed to come to the matter.

Also whensoever anie person doth speake to anie bill, he ought to stand vp, and to be bareheaded, and then with all reverence, grauitie, and seemelie speech to declare his mind. But whensoever anie bill shall be tried either for allowances, or to be reiecte: then euerie one ought to sit, because he is then as a iudge.

Also euerie knight, citizen, and burgeise, before he doe enter into the parliament, and take his place there, ought to be sworn and to take his oath, acknowledging the king to be the supreme and onelie gouernour of all the estates within this realme, as also to renounce all forren potentates.

The order of the beginning and ending of the parlement.

On the first daie of the summons for the parlement, the king in proper person (vnlesse he be sicke or absent out of the realme) being apparelled in his roiall and parlement robes, ought to be conducted and brought by all his barons of the cleargie and laitie, and the commons summoned to the parlement, vnto the church, where ought a sermon to be made by some archbishop, bishop, or some other famous learned man. The sermon ended, he must in like order be brought to the higher house of par-

ment, and there to take his seat vnder the cloof of estate: likewise euerie lord and baron (in his degree) ought to take his place.

This done, the lord chancelor, or he whom the king appointeth to be the speaker of that house, maketh his oration to the whole assemble, declaring the causes whie and wherefore that parlement is called and summoned, exhorting and perswading euerie man to do his best indeuour in all such matters as shall be in the said parlement proponed, as shall be most expedient for the glorie of God, the honor of the king, and the commonwealth of the whole realme. Then he directeth his talke vnto the knights, citizens, and burgeses, aduertising them that the kings pleasure is, that they doe repaire to their house; and there according to the old and ancient custome, doe chuse and elect some one, wise, graue, and learned man among themselves to be speaker for them, and giueth them a daie when they shall present him to the king. And these things thus done, the king ariseth, and euerie man departeth. This is accounted for the first daie of the parlement.

The second or third daie after, when the speaker is to be presented: the king with all his nobles (in like order as before) doe assemble againe in the higher house, and then come by all the commons of the lower house, and then and there doe present their speaker vnto the king. The speaker forthwith maketh his dutifull obeisances; beginneth and maketh his oration before the king, and prosecuteth such matters as occasion serueth, and as is before recited in the office of the speaker; and this done, euerie man departeth. And this is accounted for the beginning of the parlement, for before the speaker be presented, and these things orderlie done, there can no bills be put in, nor matters be intreated of.

Lastlie when all matters of weight be discussed, ended, and determined, the king commandeth an end to be made. And that daie the king, his nobles, and commons doe againe assemble in the higher house in their robes, and in like order as is before recited, where the speaker maketh his oration, and is answered by the lord chancelor or speaker of the higher house. Then all the bills concluded and past in both houses, that is to saie, in the higher house of the lords, and in the lower house of the commons, are there read by the titles: and then the king giueth his consent or dissent to euerie of them as he thinketh good. And when the titles of all the bills are read, the lord chancelor or lord speaker, by the kings commandement, pronounceth the parlement to be proroged or cleane dissolved. And this is called the last daie or the end of the parlement, and euerie man is at libertie to depart homeward.

The mondate following, sir Christopher Barne, well and his complices, hauing better considered of themselves, were quiet and contented, and the parlement begun with some troubles had his continuance and end with better successe. In the time of this parlement, and after the same, sundrie grievous complaints were exhibited to the lord deputie and counsell by the late wife of the deceased baron of Dunboin, Mac Brian Arra, Oliver Fitzgiralde, sir William Mearrell, and diuerse others the quenes good subiects, against sir Edmund Butler and his brethren, for sundrie routs and riots, spoiles and outrages which they were charged to haue done vpon his maiesties subiects. Whereupon first letters and then commissioners were sent in to the counties of Bilkennie and Tipperarie for the hearing and redressing thereof: but they returned without doing of anie thing. For sir Edmund, conceiuing some hard dealings to be meant toward him by the lord deputie,

Commissioners sent to heare the complaints made against the Butlers.

The noble-
men & gen-
tlemen in
Hounster
sent their
messengers
to the pope.

The noble-
men & gen-
tlemen in
Hounster
proclaimed
traitors.

Sir Peter
Carew was co-
manded to
serve against
the Butlers.
Cloughgr-
man taken.

Sir Peter
Carew in
danger to
have bene
killed.

Henrie Da-
uels sent to
discover the
enemie.

Sir Peter
Carew and
the English
captains gi-
ueth charge
vpon the re-
bels & haue
the victorie.

tie, and minding to stand vpon his defense and gard, did not appeere before the said commissioners, but both he and his brethren combined themselves with James Fitzmoris Desmond, Mac Artie More, Mac Donagh, and the senechall of Imokille and others of Hounster, who before (and unwittingly the Butlers) had sent the usurped bishops of Cashell and Cmelie together with the yongest brother of the erle of Desmond vnto the pope & to the king of Spaine, for reformation of the popish religion, & for freeing the land from the possession of his maiestie and of the imperfall crowne. Which matter in the end brake out into an open and aduall rebellion, and the lord deputie by proclamation published them all to be traitors, and against whom he prepared an hosting. But before the same was fullie prepared, he sent his letters and commandement vnto sir Peter Carew knight then being at Leigblin, to enter into the action of warres against sir Edmund Butler, who being accompanied with capitaine Gilbert, capitaine Malbie, capitaine Wasenet, and others, latelie sent vnto him from the lord deputie, followed his commandement, and first assaulted the castell of Cloughgriman in the Duloogh belonging to sir Edmund Butler, and took it, and gaue the spoile vnto the soldiers.

From thence they removed to Kilkennie towne, where they laie for a time, where a man of the earle of Dymonds, espieing vpon a certaine daie sir Peter Carew to be walking in the garden of the castell of Kilkennie alone, he charged his peere, and leueled the same vnto the said Peter Carew, and minded to haue discharged it vpon him out of a window in the castell. At which verie instant a chapleinc of the said earls & his steward, comming by him, & suspecting some euill thing towards, turned by the mouth of the peere, which therewith was discharged, and so no bodie hurt; and vnderstanding the thing was meant against sir Peter Carew, blamed the fellow, and for a time thrust him out of the house. Whilest these capitains laie at Kilkennie, it was aduertised vnto them, that a great companie of the rebels were incamped about thre miles out of the towne, & were there marching in verie good order. Wherevpon sir Peter Carew, being then the generall, assembled all the capitains, and taking their aduise what was best to be done, they concluded that Henrie Dauels a verie honest and a valiant English gentleman, who had serued long in that countrie, and was verie well acquainted, especiallie in those parts, for he had married his wife out of that towne, and him they sent out to discover the matter, who about thre miles off had the view, and espied a great companie of about two thousand, resting vpon a little hill in the middle of a plaine, being all armed and marching in battell arate. When he returned with this report, then sir Peter Carew appointed the vordard to capitaine Gilbert, who together with Henrie Dauels and twelue other persons of his companie galloped before the rest, and finding as it was before aduertised, gaue the charge. The residue of the companie followed with the like hast vnder sir Peter Carew, and then capitaine Malbie, and capitaine Wasenet, seeing and assured that all things were clere behind them, followed so nere, that all the companie even as it were at one instant gaue the like charge, where they slue foure hundred Gallowglasses at the least, besides others. The residue of the companie were fled into the mountains fast by, and none or few escaped but the horsemen and kerns. And of his maiesties side no one man slaine, but a man of capitaine Malbies was hurt.

Sir Peter Carew, hauing had and obtained this victorie, and marching in good order, did returne with

all his companie to the towne of Kilkennie, euerie capitaine and souldier carieng two Gallowglasses axes in his hand; but left the spoile to their followers. Sir Edmund Butler at this instant was not in the campe, but was at his uncles house at dinner. The townesmen of Kilkennie were verie soie for this the slaughter of so manie men. And yet neuertheless not long after, James Fitzmoris came to this towne, and besieged it; but the towne being well garonised with certeine soldiers, & they themselves well appointed, did so carefullie and narrowlie looke to themselves, that they defended and kept the towne, notwithstanding all his force. But yet the countrie and other small townes did not so escape, for the countie of Waterford, and the lord Polowe, the countie of Dublin, and all the countrie were spoiled, preied, and overrun; and among all others the old Fulco Quimerford a gentleman, of long time seruant to thre earles of Dymond, was robbed in his house at Callon of two thousand pounds, in monie, plate, and household stufte, besides his coine and cattell. When they had taken their pleasure in this countrie, they went to the countie of Wexford, which thing had not lightlie bene sene before, and at a faire kept then at Enescoth, these the souldiers committed most horrible outrages, lamentable slaughters, filthie rapes, and deslourings of yong women, abusing mens wines, spoiling the towne, & slaughtering of the men, and such as did escape the sword were caried captiues & prisoners. From hence they went into Dierie and into the quenes countie, and spoiled the countrie, burned townes and villages, murdered the people: and then they met with the earle of Clancare, and James Fitzmoris Desmond, with whom they then combined, and agreed to canse Tirlough Lennough to procure in the Scots, they sent new messengers to the pope, and to the king of Spaine. Finally, nothing was left vndone, which might ante waies tend to the subuersion of his maiesties imperfall crowne of Ireland, and to discharge that land from all Englishmen and English gouernement, and by these means (the English pale and the good cities & townes excepted) the most part, if not the whole land, was imbued & infected with this rebellion.

The earle of Dymond himselfe, a man of great honour and nobilitie, was all this time in England: but from time to time was aduertised of the trouble, some state in that land: and whereof no little detriment redounded to his lordship, by reason that a great and most part of all his lordships throughout that land were spoiled and wasted, which did not so much grieve him as the follies of his brethren. For great were his griefs, & verie much was he vniquieted therewith: for when he bethought himselfe of his brethren, nature moued him, and reason perswaded him, that no such outrageous parts could proceed from them, which in antie waies should either concerne his maiestie, or the dishonour of him and his house, which hitherto hath bene alwaies found sound and true. Wherefore, when he heard of antie matter against them herein, he would plead their innocencies, and defend their causes, vntill such time as by credible letters, aduertisements, and reports, he saw apparant matter and manifest proofes of the contrarie. Which reports albeit they grieved him verie much, yet (as I said) nothing grieved him more, than their disolaltie and breach of dutie against his maiestie, and the dishonour of his owne house. Wherefore to acquite himselfe and his dutie towards his highnes: he offereth to serue against them & others, by the sword, or by some other means, to reconer and reclaime them.

Wherevpon his maiestie, standing assured of his

The earle of
Dymond ar-
riued at
Wexford.

The earle re-
pareth to the
lord deputie.

Edmund
Butler sub-
mitteth him
saile.

Sir Edmund
Butlers
excuses.

1569

The lone and
grauntie of the
earle of Dymond to his
brethren.

The citie of
Waterford
standing vpon
their liberties
refuse to send
aid to the lord
deputie.

The lord de-
putie went
into Clonmell
& vnto verie
good speeches
vnto them.

his fidelitie, and hauing a speciall trust in him, sent him ouer into Irel and, who arrived at Wexford the fourteenth of August 1569, at that verie time when that wicked massaker was committed and done at the faire at Innescoth. Immediatlie vpon his landing, he aduertiseth vnto the lord deputie his coming, and with all conuenient speed maketh his repaire vnto him, who then was incamped and laie nere Limerike: and then and there offereth his seruice with all his best power, and brought with him his brother Edmund Butler, who in the open view and sight of the whole campe did yeeld and submit himselfe simplie to hir maiesties mercie, confessing his follie and craving pardon. And then was he delivered to the earle his brother vpon his bonds, to bee forth comming before the said lord deputie at his comming to Dublin: and also promised to doe the like with his two other brothers, which he did vpon the sixteenth of October 1569. At which time when they all appeared before the lord deputie and counsell, they were charged with manie and sundrie things: but sir Edmund Butler for himselfe alledged, that others were the causers whie he did that which he did. And for himselfe he alledged, first that the lord deputie did not bzoike noz like him, for he could haue no iustice at his hands, noz against sir Peter Carew, who claimed and had entered vpon some part of his lands, noz yet against any other person. When that the said lord deputie had thetred him that he would lie in his skirts, and would pull downe his loffie lokes, whirle, that the said lord deputie should go about to kill all the Butlers in Ireland, and would then go into England, and there would doe manie things.

When all these things were heard at full, and nothing in pzoof falling out as was anonched, the three brethren were committed to ward into the castell of Dublin, out of which sir Edmund escaped, and made breach: neuertheless the earle brought him againe. And vpon the last of Februarie 1569 he brought also his two other brethren, for whome he had vnder taken, and presented them before the lord deputie and counsell, where the matter being heard at large, the counsell conferred herof among themselves, and in the end they all the three brethren were againe called before the lord deputie and counsell, and then and there kneeling vpon their knees, did confesse their follies, and submitted themselves in all dutifullnesse and simplicitie to the quens mercie: where the earle not onlie naturallie as a brother made humble petition for them: but grauelie as a father recited their errors, repzoined them of their outrages, and counsellled them to their duties: and in the end condiscended in the due consideration of hir maiesties rofall estate. And therevpon they were committed to safe keeping within hir maiesties castell of Dublin, at hir highnesse disposition; and not long after vpon hope of amendment were pardoned. But to the matter againe.

The lord deputie followed his first begun hosting, who when he was incamped nere Clonmell, where it was thought he should haue bene fought withall, he wrote to the maior and his brethren of the citie of Wexford, to send vnto him the assistance of a few souldiers onelie for three daies; who did verie insolentlie and arrogantlie returne an answer by waie of disputing their liberties with hir maiesties prerogatiue, and so sent him no aid at all. Wherein the more they shewed their affection to the rebels; the more was their ingratitude & disolaltie to hir highnesse, the reward whereof they felt in the end. The camp at this time being within half a mile of Clonmell, the lord deputie before his dislodging from thence went into the towne, where the souereigne and his brethren receiued him with all the honour

they could, and gaue him a banquet in their townehouse, where, vnto them & the whole multitude then present, he made a verie eloquent speech, teaching them the dutifullnesse and obedience of a subiect, and the great inconuenience which groweth by the contrarie to all commonwealths, and each member of the same: and therefore laung before them their present estate for example, did moue and persuaide them to hold fast the dutie & obedience which they owght to hir maiestie, and not to be dismayd at the doings of the rebels and disobedient: who though for a time they had their will and pleasure, yet God, in whose hand is the heart of the prince, and vnder whome all kings and princes doe rule, hath bene alwaies, is, and will be, a swift reuenger against them for the same: euen as of the contrarie he sendeth his manifold blessings of peace, wealth and prosperitie to the obedient and dutifull subiect. And so hauing used sundrie and notable sentences and exampls to this effect, he left them and returned to his campe.

And from thence he remoued and marched towards Cathell, which lieth in the countie of Tipperarie, nere vnto which place Edmund Butler had warded a castell: who when he saw the armie approaching, he set all the out houses on fire, and prepared themselves to defend the pile. The lord deputie taking the same as a defiance, approached therevnto and besieged it: and whilest the assault was in preparing, it was yeilded by composition, and after restored to one Cantrell the owner thereof. From thence by iourneies he marched and went to Corke, being met in the waie by the vicounties of Roch and Barrie, and by sir Cormac Mac Leage: and being aduertised that Fitzedmund seneschall of Imokille, a principall rebell, and combined with James Fitzmorris, had spoiled and pzeied the whole countie, and had also warded and vittelled his castell of Ballee martz, which by his tenure he was of himselfe bound to mainteine and defend it, he marched thither and laid siege to the same, and in the end toke it full of vittels. But the seneschall in the dead of the night fled out through a hole of the house in a bog, and there escaped.

The spoile was giuen to the souldiers, & the castell with a gard of twentie men was giuen to Jasper Wolfe, & so he returned to Corke, and from thence he toke iourneie to Kilmallocke, and finding that place most necessarie for a fort, he appointed and named Humfrete Gilbert hir maiesties seruant to be coronell, and besides his owne band of an hundred horsemen he appointed foure hundred footmen, and certeine harnes there to remaine. And there he bid knit and conioine vnto him by oth, and vnder good pledges, the vicounties of Roch and Derris, with the lord Powze, the lord Courcie, sir Cormac Mac Leage, sir Donogh Clancartie, and Barrie Age, and the most part of the freeholders in the counties of Limerike and Corke. And this done he passed by iourneies to Limerike, and from thence he went to Gallewaie, and there established a president and a counsell, and placed sir Edward Fitton to be lord president, the earles of Thomond and Clancircar, and all the noble men & septs of gentlemen of that prouince yeilding to the same.

Thence he marched to Athlon, taking in the waie the castell of Rosocomen, which he left with the ward of twentie horsemen, to Thomas le Strange, and then dismissed the armie; but himselfe by iourneies trauelled and came to Dublin, and there remained. Captaine Gilbert in the meane time, hauing a speciall respect and regard to his charge, his balliance and courage was such, and his god hap so well answering his worthe and forward attempts, that he in short time broke the hearts, and appalled the

Ballee martz a castell of the seneschalls besieged and taken.

The seneschall escaped out of his castell.

Humfrete Gilbert made coronell of Mounster.

Sir Edward Fitton made president of Connaugh.

Captaine Gilberts good seruice.

The earle of Thomond arrived at Wexford.

The earle repaireth to the lord deputie.

Edmund Butler submitted himselfe to him.

Sir Edmund Butler accused.

1569

The lord and gaunte of the earle of Thomond to his brethren.

The citie of Wexford standing vpon their liberties refuse to send aid to the lord deputie.

The lord deputie went into Clonmell to which verie good speeches he made to them.

James Fitzmorris killed the earle.

Fulco Dunsford spoiled and robbed.

A wicked massacre at Innescoth.

A wicked conspiracy combining of the traitors.

The earle of Thomond spoiled lands.

The good location of the earle of Thomond to his brethren.

The earle of Thomond offered to serve against his brethren.

the courages of all the rebels in Mounster, and no rebell knowne left in effect, which dare to withstand and make any resistance against him. And to such an obedience he brought that countie, that none did or would refuse to come unto him, if he were sent for but by a horse boy: for all yielded unto him, some by putting in recognizances, & some by giving of pledges, and all in seeking mercie and pardon.

The earle of Clancare submitteth himselfe to captaine Gilbert.

The good seruice of Sir Edward Fitton lord president in Connagh.

The Canenaghs submissions.

Turlough shot through with two bullets.

Drogheda.

Captaine Gilbert dubbed knight.

The description of Sir

And that proud earle of Clancare, which in his glorie not long before usurped this name to be king of Mounster; when he now, and Mac Donagh his chiefe follower, went to Limerike unto him, and there falling upon their knees acknowledged their treasons, and most humbly desired his maiesties pardon: and offered to put in his eldest sonne, and the sonnes of his chiefeest freholders for pledges and hostages. Liketwise the president of Connagh in such wisdom, courage, & brightness, directed his gouernement, that he was obeyed of all the whole people in that prouince, as well the nobilitie as the commons. The wicked he spareth not, but being found faultie either in open sessions, or by martiall inquisition, he causeth to be executed: and by these meanes hauing rid awaie the most notable offenders and their fosterers, the whole prouince rested in good quietnesse and in dutifull obedience to his maiestie and his lawes.

The Canenaghs, the ancient enemies to the English gouernement, and who in the rebellion were conioined with the Butlers: these bordering vpon the frontiers appointed to Sir Peter Carew, were so by him chased and persecuted, that finding no place of rest or quietnesse, he hath brought them to submit themselves simple to his maiesties mercie, and haue put in their pledges to abide such orders and conditions as shall be laid vpon them. Turlough Lennogh in Ulster, being at supper with his now wife, aunt to the earle of Argile, was shot through the bodie with two pellets out of a caluer, by a leafer or rimer of the Doniloghs. Wherevpon the Scots whome he retained were in a maze, and the countie standing vpon the election of a new captaine: howbeit, he was in hope of recouerie. And thus after long troubles was the state of the whole realme recovered to quietnesse. Wherevpon captaine Gilbert, when he had settled Mounster in outward appearance in a most perfect quietnesse, and brought it to good conformitie: he made his repaire to Dublin to the lord deputie, where he aduertised and recounted all his doings at full.

And hauing matters of great importance in England, he desired licence to depart ouer: whome the said deputie did not onelie most courteously receiue; but also most thankfullie did accept his good seruice, and in some part of recompense, vpon Newpeares daie in the church at Drogheda, he did bestow vpon him the order of knighthood; which he well deserved, and at his departure gaue him letters of credit to his highnesse, and to the lords of the counsell. And now by the waie, if without offense a man maie, after the maner of Cambrensis in his historie, and after the vsage of noble gouernors and captaines in other realmes, who for the increase of vertue, and encouraging of worthy persons, do attribute to such as do deserue well their due praises & commendations, I hope it shall not be offensive to the reader, nor impertinent to the historie, to set downe somewhat of much, what maie be said of these two worthy personages, Sir Peter Carew, and Sir Humfreie Gilbert: both which were of one countie and birth, bozne in the countie of Deuon, and of next blood, kintred, and consanguinitie.

Sir Humfreie Gilbert, he was a second brother, and bozne of a great parentage, whose ancestors

came and descended from the earle of Cornwall, a man of a higher stature than of the common sort, & of complexion chelerike; from his childhoo of a verie pregnant wit and good disposition: his father died leauing him verie yong, and he conceiuing some great good thing to come of his towardnesse, prouided some portion of liuing to mainteine and keepe him to schole. And after his death, his mother, being no lesse carefull of him, did cause him to be sent to schole to Eton college: from thence, after he had profited in the elements & principall points of grammar, he was sent to Oxford, & did there prosper & increase verie well in learning and knowledge. And being (as his friends thought) verie well furnished, they would haue put him to the ins of court. But an aunt of his, named mistres Katharine Ashleie, who was attendant to the queenes maiestie, after that she saw the yong gentleman, and had had some conference with him, she fell in such liking with him, that she preferred him vnto his maiesties seruice: and such was his countenance, forwardnesse, and behauiour, that his maiestie had a speciall good liking of him; and verie oftentimes would familiarly discourse and conferre with him in matters of learning. After a few yeares spent in the court, he passed ouer into Ireland, being commended by his highnesse to Sir Henrie Sidneie then lord deputie: who gaue him intertainment, and made him a captaine ouer an hundred horsemen: wherein he so well acquitted himselfe, that he was also made colonell of Mounster; and had appointed vnto him, besides his owne band of one hundred horsemen, foure hundred footemen, besides such Geraldines as Thomas of Desmond, brother to the erle of Desmond had procured, & vpon his oath of loyalty and pledges had promised his faithfull seruice.

And albeit he were but yong of yeares, which might seme to hinder his credit: yet such was his deuout mind to serue his maiestie, and so effectually to his great praise he followed the same; that with manie good gifts and excellent vertues he supplied euen as much as manie men of elder yeares & greater experience did not commonlie attaine vnto. For in seruice vpon the enimie he was as valiant and courageous as no man more; and so good was his hap to answer the same: for he alwaies for the most part daunted the enimie, and appalled their courage; as did appere in the ouerthrow giuen nere Bilkennie in the Butlers warres, when he with threue persons gaue the onset vpon a thousand men, of which six hundred were armed Gallogglashes, who then were overthowne: and liketwise in Mounster, which was altogether by in rebellion; and he colonell, did not onelie in martiall affaires shew himselfe most valiant; and in short time reduced the whole troope of the rebels, and the proudest of them to obedience, hauing vnder him but sixe hundred against fundrie thousands; and enforced that proud earle of Clancart to follow him to Limerike, and there humbly vpon his knees to aske pardon and merite: but also, after that he had subdued and overcome them, did most brightnessly order and direct his gouernement, and with all indifferencie would heare, decide, & determine the complaints & griefes, and compound all the causes of euerie sort. Which was so rare a thing in one of his yeares, as scarce was credible, had not eietwitnesses and daile experience proued and iustified the same.

After that he had established peace and tranquillitie in that countie, he went to Dublin: where when he had recounted all his seruices, and the good success thereof, and in what quiet state he left the countie, he desired leaue to passe ouer into England, for and about certeine matters of great importance,

The balsh was in Ireland, and the whole countie in gouernement of Sir Humfreie Gilbert.

The earle of Thomond reuolteth.

The earle of Thomond followeth the earle of Thomond, and dimeth him out of the land.

Lucas Dillon made cheefe baron.

which in re (as is) and b his m ted. high spea sed a mag was ritri pert uiga and thou kno anie as b conf so in Eng grea whid com high in n tein four coun with gati com doio had coun And sage and Hu imp to th En for: hie me not wea ing of A bec so h lan Er reb cell wa for thea fow Ho go in ché for cor lth ma be m bil

which he had to follow, which he did obtaine: as also in reward of his service, and for his good deserts he (as is before said) was honozed and dubbed a knight; and with letters in his praise and commendation to his maiestie, and the lordes of the counsell, he departed. Althow as he had presented himselfe before his highnesse, his good countenance and fauour, in respect of his good service to his maiestie was increased and doubled; and he speciallie aboue all others magnified and well accepted. Not long after, he was married to a yong gentlewoman, and an inheritor: and thenceforth he gaue himselfe to studies pertaining to the state of gouernement, and to nauigations. He had an excellent and readie wit, and therewith a toung at libertie to utter what he thought. Which being adorne with learning and knowledge, he both did and could notable discourse anie matter in question concerning either of these, as he made good proofe thereof, as well in familiar conference with the noble, wise, and learned; as also in the open assemblies of the parlements, both in England and in Ireland: in which he shewed the great value of knowledge, wisdom, and learning which was in him, and the great zeale he had to the commonwelth of his countrie. He had a great delight in the studie of cosmographie, and especiallie in nauigations; and finding out by his studies, certaine nations and vnknowne lands, which being found, might redound to the great benefit of his countrie: he made his maiestie acquainted therewith, and obtained of his licence to make a nauigation, which he took in hand. But before he could compass the same to effect, he was in a foule storme drowned at the seas. Onelie he of all his brethren had five sonnes and one daughter, children by their countenances giuing a hope of a good forwardnesse. And albeit he in person be deceased, yet in their visages, and in the memorie of his great vertues, and a life well spent, he shall liue in fame immortall. Thus much without offense, and not altogether impertinent, concerning this gentleman, and now to the historie.

His humilitie
Gilbert is
humane.

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ring to invade
the English
pale.

The earle of
Thomond re-
uolteth.

The earle of
Thomond fol-
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land.

Lucas Wil-
lon made chiefe
baron.

Turlough Lenough thinking to innade vpon the English pale, for the bending of the lord deputies force against him, he was repressed, and diuened to keepe himselfe within his owne limits, and by that meanes brought to disperse his power: for being not able to paie and satisfie the Scots, the one was wearie of the other; and his wife and he not agreeing, they were vpon a point to sunder. The earle of Thomond reuolteth from his due obedience, and becommeth a rebell: whome the earle of Thomond so hardlie pursued, that he dyaue him out of that land, and he fled into France, and from thence into England. For the discouerie of whose treasons and rebellions to his maiestie & to the lordes of the counsell, one Mase Rochelete chiefe iustice of Connaugh was sent into England, where after long sute made for his submission, he was sent backe into Ireland, there to receiue according to his deserts: his maiesties pleasure yet being such, that if he were not found culpable of treason against the state, that he should be spared from iudgement of death.

This yere the queenes maiestie, considering the good service of Lucas Willon his generall attorneie in Ireland, was vpon the death of baron Bath made chiefe baron of the exchequer there; & capitaine Piers for his good service at Knockfergus was liberallie considered and countenanced by his maiestie. And likewise after manie motions, suites, and requestes made to his maiestie for a president and counsell to be established in Mounster; and the same once determined and appointed: but by the sicknesse and vna- bilitie of sir John Pollard, appointed to be the presi-

dent, it was lingered and deferred, is now renewed and renewed: and sir John Perot knight was made lord president, and a counsell of good assistants chosen, as also his diet houses, intertainment, and all other things necessarie ordered, assigned, and appointed. This knight was borne in Denbroke-shire in South Wales, and one of great reuenues and woorthip, valiant, and of great magnanimitie; and so much the more meet to gouerne and tame so faithlesse and unrulie a people, as ouer whome he was now made ruler. They heard no sooner of his comming, but as a sort of wasps they sting out, and reuolting from their former feined obedience, became open rebelles and traitors vnder James Fitzmorris an archtraitor, and as dogs they returne to their vomit, and as swine to their durt and puddles.

Sir John Perot appointed to be lord president of Mounster.

The rebelling of Mounster against the president.

The nature of the Irishmen.

And here may you see the nature and disposition of this wicked, effrenated, barbarous, and vnfaithfull nation, who (as Cambrensis writeth of them) they are a wicked and peruerse generation, constant alwaies in that they be alwaies inconstant, faithfull in that they be alwaies vnfaithfull, and trustie in that they be alwaies trecherous and vntrustie. They do nothing but imagin mischief, & haue no delite in anie good thing. They are alwaies working wickednes against the god, and such as be quiet in the land. Their mouths are full of vnrighteousnesse, and their tongues speake nothing but cursednesse. Their feet swift to shed blood, & their hands imbued in the blood of innocents. The waies of peace they know not, & in the paths of righteousness they walke not. God is not knowne in their land, neither is his name called rightlie vpon among them. Their queene and soueraigne they obete not, and his gouernment they allow not: but as much as in them lieth do resist his imperiall estate, crowne, and dignitie. It was not much aboue a yere past, that capitaine Gilbert with the sword so persecuted them, and in iustice so executed them, that then they in all humblenesse submitted themselves, craued pardon, and sware to be for euer true and obedient: which, so long as he mastered and kept them vnder, so long they performed it; but the cat was no sooner gone, but the mice were at plate; and he no sooner departed from them, but forthwith they skipped out, and cast from themselves the obedience and dutifullnesse of true subiects. For such a peruerse nature they are of, that they will be no longer honest and obedient, than that they cannot be suffered to be rebelles. Such is their stubbornnesse and pride, that with a continuall feare it must be brydeled; and such is the hardnesse of their hearts, that with the rod it must be still chastised and subdued: for no longer feare, no longer obedience; and no longer than they be ruled with severity, no longer will they be dutifull and in subiection; but will be as they were before, false, trucebreakers & traitorous. Being not much unlike to Mercurie called quicke silver, which let it by art be neuer so much altered and transposed, yea and with fire consumed to ashes; yet let it but rest a while vntouched nor medled with, it will returne againe to his owne nature, and be the same as it was at the first. And euen so dallie experience teacheth it to be true in these people. For withdraw the sword, and forbear correction, deale with them in courtesie, and intreat them gentle, if they can take anie aduantage, they will surelie slip out; and as the dog to his vomit, and the sow to the durt & puddle they will returne to their old and former insolencie, rebellion, and disobedience. This is to be meant of the Irish, and savage people, who the further they are from the prince and court, the further from dutie and obedience; the more they are loosed from their Mounster government, the lesse dutifull to their naturall soueraigne and prince. But concern-

The nature of quicke silver.

P. j. ing

Humfrise
Gilbert, and
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ing the inhabitants in the English pale, and all cities and towns, the contrarie (God be praised) is daily scene.

The government of Sir John Perot.

His seruice against the rebellies.

James Fitzmoris is both for peace, and submitteth himselfe.

The ciuill government of Sir John Perot.

The quietnes and safetie in Mounster.

Sir John Perots assistants.

George Bourcier his birth and seruices.

Well, this worthy knight knowing that he should haue to doe with a sort of netles, whose nature is, that being handled gentle, they will sting; but being hard crushed together, they will doe no harme: neuer so he began with them. The sword and the law he made to be the foundation of his gouernement, by the one he persecuted the rebell and disobedient, and by the other he ruled and gouerned in iustice and iudgement. Great troubles he had in both, but little he did preuaile in the latter, before he had ouercome the first: and therefore minding to chastise the rebellies, and to bring them to obedience, he followed and chased them from place to place: in the bogs he pursued them, in the thickets he followed them, in the plaines he fought with them, and in their castles and holds he besieged them, and would neuer suffer them to be at rest and quietnesse, vntill he had fired and wearied them out, and at length inforced James Fitzmoris and his complices to come vnto Killmalocke vnto him, and there simple to submit himselfe, and vpon his knees in the open sight of all the people to confesse his disloyalties, and in all humble manner to craue mercie and pardon. Whome though vntill his maiesties pleasure knowne he did forbear, yet the residue he spared not; but after their deserts he executed in infinit numbers. And hauing thus rid the garden from these weeds, and rooted by the fields from these thornes, he entred into the gouernement by order of law, and from place to place throughout all Mounster he trauelled and kept his sessions and courts, hearing euerie mans complaints, and redressed their grieues, and in short time brought the same to such a quietnesse and peaceable estate, that whereas no man before could passe through the countrie, but was in danger to be murdered and robbed, and no man durst to turne his catell into the fields without watch, and to keepe them in barnes in the night time: now euerie man with a white sticke onlie in his hands, and with great treasures might and did trauell without feare or danger where he would (as the writer hereof by triall knew it to be true) and the white sheepe did keepe the blacke, and all the beasts laie continually in the fields, without any stealing or preieng.

Now when he had thus quieted this prouince, and settled all things in good order, then he beginneth to reforme their manners in life and common conuersation and apparell, suffering no glibes nor like vices of the Irishie to be vsed among the men, nor the Egyptianall rolles vpon womens heads to be worn. Whereat though the ladies and gentlewomen were somewhat grieved, yet they yielded: and giuing the same ouer, did weare hats after the English manner. In this his seruice he had two verie good & notable assistants, the one concerning the martiall affaires, and the other for his gouernement by the course and order of the law. Concerning the affaires martiall George Bourcier esquier was ioined with him in commission, and did him notable good seruice, he was the third sonne to John earle of Bath, whose ancestors were descended from out of the loines of kings, and men of great honor and nobilitie; and they were no more noble of blood than valiant, wise and prudent in all their actions, both in the seruices of chivalrie and masters of policies, and whereof the histories of England in many places doe make mention and report. And this gentleman, hauing some motion of the valie and valiantnesse of his ancestors deriued and descended vpon him, was affected and giuen to all feats of chivalrie, and especially to the seruice in the warres, wherein he proued

a verie good souldior, and an expert captaine, both as an hoileman, and as a footeman, both which waies he serued, as the seruice and time required. If he serued vpon foot, he was apparelled in the manner of a Kerne and a foot souldior, and was so light of foot as no Kerne swifter: for he would pursue them in bogs, in thickets, in woods, in passes, and in streets whatsoeuer; and neuer leaue them, vntill he did performe the charge and seruice committed vnto him. If he were to serue vpon his horsebacke, his valie seruice can witness sufficientlie how much, and how often he preuailed against the enimie, and appalled their courages, and with whom he would encounter if he might by any means.

Notwithstanding, as couragious and circumspect as he was, that he would not be highlie intrapied in the field, yet was he deceiued in the house. For vnder the colour of a parley, and vpon a truce taken, he was invited to a supper, and little thinking that any breach of the truce should be made, he went into the castell whereas he was bidden. But in his being there, he was taken prisoner, and banished, and so kept for a space; but yet not long after he was restored and set at libertie. Concerning his other assistant, his name was George Welles borne in Wiltford, and a gentleman of an ancient familie, he was brought vp in learning, and was a student in the innes of court at London, and prospered verie well therein: and albeit his yeares were but yong, yet his knowledge, grauitie, and sinceritie counteruailed the same with an ouerplus. In deciding of all matters he was byright and iust, being not affected nor knowne to be corrupted for any mans pleasure. In iudgement byright, in iustice seuer, and without respect of persons would minister what the law had prescribed, he spared neither partie, nor would be affected to any; by which means he did marvellous much good in that seruice, and happy was that gouernor that had so good a counsellor.

Immediatlie vpon the placing of this gouernement in Mounster, Sir Henrie Sidneie had libertie and licence to returne ouer into England, and received his maiesties letters dated the thirtieth of December one thousand five hundred, seuentie and one, & in the thirtieth yeere of his maiesties reigne, for the placing of Sir William Fitzwilliams to be lord deputie in his place. Which when he had done, he passed ouer the seas, and by iourneies came to the court. He was verie honorablie receiued, and by his highnesse well commended, there being many noblemen and gentlemen of the court, which met him before he came to Whitehall, where his maiestie then laie, who (as time convenient serued) did recount vnto him the whole estate in all things of the realme of Ireland, which his maiestie liked verie well.

But this Sir John Perot president of Mounster continued still in his office, and there remained for certeine yeares vntill he was reuoked, which was too soone for that countrie. For neuer man was more fit gouernour for that effrenated and hardnecked people than was he, nor was that countrie euer in better estate for wealth, peace and obedience, than he in the time of his gouernement did reduce the same vnto. Happy was that prouince, and happy were those people, which being eaten out, consumed and deuoured with caterpillers, he had brought and reformed to a most happy, peaceable, and quiet estate; and he left it euen in the same manner. Which if it had bene continued by the like, to haue followed him in the gouernement, the same would so haue continued: but the want of the one was in short time the decaye of the other, and that reformed countrie brought to a most miserable estate, as by the consequence may

The points of Sir William Fitzwilliams his deputies gouernement. Religion. The common peace.

The saving of expenses.

Lawes to be executed.

Souldiors to be kept in their discipline.

Brian O'Har his harres in Wexford.

Brian O'Har his harres in the wexford men.

Thomas Walker.

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Sir William Fitzwilliams, hauing a speciall care and respect to his charge and office, disposed all things in the best order he could by the aduise of the counsell, and finding the state somewhat quiet, lanning Pountier, his care and studie was so to keepe and mainteine it. And he bring a wife and a graue man, and of so great experience in that land, he diuised the plot of his gouernement into certeine speciall points and articles. First, that the religion established according to Gods holie word, should haue a free passage through the whole land, and by euerie man aswell of the clergie as of the laitie to be receiued, embraced and followed. Then that the common peace and quietnesse throughout the whole land might and should be conserued, and all occasions of the breach thereof, and of all mutinies and diuisions to be cut off. Thirdlie, that his maiesties great and excessive charges to the consuming of his treasure might be shortned, and his reuenues well husbanded and looked vnto, according to his fundrie commandments tofore giuen. Lastlie, that the lawes and iustice might haue their due course and be current throughout the whole land, and the iudges and officers should by sightlie minister iustice to each man according to his desert, and that all the souldiers should be kept in that discipline as to them apperteneith.

These considerations and such like, being ordered and established with the consent and aduise of the whole counsell, and well liked of euerie good subject, because the same was grounded vpon verie good reasons: yet it toke not that effect as it was meant and wished it should. For that wicked race of the Irishie, in whom was no zeale in religion, and lesse obedience to his maiestie, and least care to liue in an honest conuersation and common societie, but alwaies watching the best opportunitie and time to breake out into their wonted outrages, robberies, and rebellions: these (I saie) in sundrie places began to plate their agents. The first was Brian Mac Bahir of Knocking in the countie of Catherlough Caenagh, who vpon certeine wrongs which he complained he had receiued by one Robert Browne of Malrenham, he tyrannized ouer the whole countrie, committed manie outrages, and spoiles, preied the countrie & burned sundrie towne. Likewise the gentlemen of the countie of Wexford, and namelie sir Nicholas Deuereux knight, being grieved with the death of Robert Browne, who was his nephue, being his sisters sonne, were as vnquiet on their parts, and all rose vp in armour against Brian Mac Bahir, and each one with all the forces they could make did resist the other, so that all the whole countrie was thereby in a verie troublesome state; and no end could be had before they had tried it with the sword. For the Wexford men following their matters verie egarlie, and being in a great companie well appointed, they sought out Brian Mac Bahir, and gaue the onset vpon him; but he so watched the matter, and toke them at that aduantage; that although he and his companie were but small in respect of the others, yet he gaue them the foile and ouerthrow, and killed the most principall gentlemen of that shire about 20 about thirtie persons.

In this companie was an English gentleman, who after was in great credit & office among them, and he in danger to haue drunken of the same cup, was driuen to leape vp on horsebacke behind another man, and so escaped, or else he had neuer bene seneschall of that prouince. After this fight, though the grudge were not forgotten nor a reuenge vnto sought, yet by little and little it quailed. About two

yeares after, Brian Mac Bahir made humble sute to the lord deputie for his pardon, and submitted himselfe to his lordships deuotion, confessing in writing his fowle disorders and outrages; and yet firme lie auouching that the quarrell did not begin by him nor by his meanes: his submission was such and in so humble sort, as that he obtained the same. And according to his promise then made, he did therewith vse and behaue himselfe most dutifullie, and liued in a verie good order. This Brian was a Caenagh, and the sonne of Charels, the sonne of Arthur, which Arthur was by king Henrie the eight made a baron for terme of his life: for he was a man of great power within the counties of Wexford & Catherlough. And this Brian Mac Bahir Arthur was a younger sonne to Charels, but the chiefest for valiantnesse, magnanimitie and wisdome; and none of all the sept of the Caenaghs, though they were manie and vallant men, to be compared vnto him euerie waie, and vnto whom they all would giue place.

Now he being assured of them, and also being assisted by marriage vnto Helwen Mac Shane, whose daughter he married, he was also assured of the Dairnes and of the Omroughs, & so a man of great strength and abilitie. He became in the end to be a follower vnto sir Peter Carew, with whom he neuer brake his promise, but stood him in great stead aswell in matters of counsell, as of ante seruice to be done in those parts. A man (which is rare among these people) verie constant of his word, and so faithfullie he serued, and so much he honoured sir Peter Carew, that after his death, being as one maimed, he consumed and pined awaie, and died in peace.

The Omroughs, notwithstanding the earle of Rutland was waged by his maiestie to persecute and chastise them, yet without ante resistance or impediment they rage and outrage in all traitorous manner and rebellious disorders. They invaded the English pale, spoiled and burned sundrie towne and villages, and carried the preies and pillage with them without anie resistance. The whole prouince of Connagh was altogether in a full rebellion by the earle Clanricard sonnes, and they for their aid had called & waged a thousand Scots. And though they and the Irishie were of diuerse nations, yet of one and of the same dispositions and conditions, being altogether giuen to all sinne and wickednes, and their hearts were altogether imbued in bloud and murther. The earle himselfe was at this time prisoner in the castell of Dublin for the same rebellion, who hearing of the outrages of his sonnes, made sute to the lord deputie, that if he might be set at libertie, he would undertake to bring in his sons, and to quitte the countrie.

The lord deputie, desiring nothing more than peace, after sundrie conferences had with him, did by the aduise of the counsell enlarge him, in an assured hope that he would effectually performe in deed what he had promised in word. But he came no sooner home among his people, and had conferred with his sonnes, but he forgot his promise and performed nothing at all. Likewise the Ochoonners and the Omroughs, accompanied with a rabble of like rebels, fell into open rebellion, spoile the countrie, deuoure the people, and make all wast and desolate. Although enough in Wexford was ready to reuolt, but that he stood in doubt of the earle of Essex, who lieng vpon the fynes and marches in Wexford, was not onelie in readinesse to haue bearded him: but also he had set Odoneile in open warres against him. Pountier was likewise in open rebellion. But sir John Perrot then president so coursed and followed them, that notwithstanding a great combination and league

Brian Mac Bahir his submission.

Brian Mac Bahir what he was.

The strength of Brian Mac Bahir.

Brian Mac Bahir is a follower to sir Peter Carew.

The Omroughs rebell.

All Connagh in a full rebellion.

The false dissembling of the earle of Clanricard.

The Ochoonners and the Omroughs rebell.

The point of Sir William Fitzwilliams lord deputies gouernement.

The common peace.

James to be executed.

Souldiers to be kept in their discipline.

Brian Mac Bahir was baron in Wexford.

Brian Mac Bahir hath the victory of the Wexford men.

Thomas Malrenham.

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The distressed
mind of
the lord de-
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The death of
doctor Weston
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was betwene James Fitzmorris and all the rebels in Connagh and Leinster, yet he kept them asunder and so Tharpelle pursued James, that he left him no one place to rest in, nor anie followers to follow him. Besides these vniuersall troubles, which were sufficient to haue appalled the best and wisest gouernour, these three things increased his griefe and sorrow. First the losse of a most faithfull counsellor and one of his chiefest and trustiest assistants doctor Weston then lord chancelor, whom it pleased God to call out of this miserable life, a man in his life time most godlie, vpright and vertuous, and such a one as that place was not possessed of the like in manie currentes of yeares, in his life most vertuous and godlie, in matters of counsell most sound and perfect, in iustice most vpright and incorrupted, in hospitalitie verie bountious and liberall, and in manners and conuersation most courteous and gentle, faithfull to his prince, firme to his friend, and courteous to all men. And as was his life so was his death, who a little before the same called his household, and gaue them such godlie instructions, as to their callings appertained. Then he set his priuate things in order, and he spent all the time that he had in prayers and exhortations.

At last, feeling a declination towards, he appointed a generall communion to be had of his household and friends in his chamber, vnto which all the counsell came and were partakers. And then these godlie actions finished, he gaue a most godlie exhortation to the counsell, perswading them to be vertuous and zelous in Gods true religion: then to be mindfull of their duties to hir maiestie, and lastlie remembryng their callings and estate, and the great charge of the gouernement laid vpon them and committed vnto them, that they would be baliant, carefull, and studious to perfoyme the same, as might be to the glorie of God, honor to the queene, & benefit to the whole realme. Which points he handled so godlie, learnedlie & effectualle, that he made their teares to trill, and their hearts to be heauie. After this done he bid them farewell, and not long after he being seruent in his prayers, he died most godlie, vertuouslie, and chrystian like.

The next was the breach of the earle of Desmond, who was a prisoner in the castell of Dublin, and he hauing giuen his faith and oth to be a true prisoner, and to shew himselfe a dutifull subiect, did yet make his escape: which being done in so troublesome a time, it was doubted verie much what would insue thereof. Wherefore not onelie in that land, but in England also, hir maiestie vpon knowledge did cause mufters to be made in all the parts vpon and towards the south and west parties, and men to be in readinesse to be transported, if anie occasion by his escape should happen to follow. For it was greatly doubted what would follow of that his breach, sauing that the president in Mounster was thought to be sufficientlie prepared and furnished against him, if he did or would attempt anie disorder that waie.

The third was the reuocation of the earle of Essex, who had taken vpon him to recouer the whole prouince of Ulster to obedience, with hir maiesties aid. And he hauing with great charges brought the same to a great likelihood and towardnesse, the armie was calhed, and he dismissed and discharged, and the enterpryse dissolued. These with sundrie other accidents of the like nature, were sufficient to haue swallowed by anie man in the gulfes of despair, had not the lord God looked vpon him, and hir maiestie most gratiouslie pondered his manie & sundrie most humble requests for his reuocation, which hir highnes by hir letters vnto him granted; and immediatlie wher vpon he (after foure yeares painfull seruice)

The earle of
Desmond
breaketh
prison.

The reuoca-
tion of the earle
of Essex.

Sir William
Fitzwilliams

was discharged of his office, & returned into England. Manie good & notable things were done in the time of this mans deputation worthie to be remembred, and for euer to be chronicled. But forsomuch as the records and presidents of the same cannot be had, and the impinter cannot staie his impression anie longer time, the same with patience must be borne withall, vntill a better opportunitie shall serue as well for it, as for the commendation of his honorable & ancient gentleman, who hath deserued well and honourable of his prince and countrie for his seruice and gouernment. After that this man was cleane discharged, the sword and office was deliuered vnto sir Henrie Sidonie, who now the third time entred into the gouernment of this curled land, and arrived at the Skirries the twelue of September 1575, who at his comming found the infection of the plague so generallie dispersed, and especiallie in the English pale, that he could hardlie find a place where to settle himselfe without danger of infection. And even as this plague reigned, so the old rebellious minds of the northerne Ulsterians brake out. For he was no sooner knowne to be entred into the land, but for a bien venen to welcome him into the countrie, Serlo Boie with his companie came to Knockfergus, there to make prete of the towne, & so proudlie assailed the same, that he slue a capteine named Baker, and his lieutenant, with fortie of his souldiers, besides diuerse of the townsmen, of whome some were hurt, some maimed, and some slaine; and yet neuertheless by the valour & courage of the rest of the souldiers and townsmen, the prete was rescued, and the Scots perforce driuen awaie.

The lord deputie, considering with himselfe that of such beginnings euill would be the enents and sequels thereof, if the same were not out of hand prevented; and knowing also by his owne experience, how perillous delaies be in such cases, thought it verie necessarie and expedient (according to the old saying *Principijs obsta, sero medicina paratur*, &c.) forthwith to withstand the same. And therefore by the aduise of so manie of hir maiesties priuie counsell, as could in that queste time be assembled, he toke order for the safe keeping of the English pale, and committed the custodie thereof in his absence, to certeine gentlemen of best account and wisedome, to see the same to be kept and quieted. And he himselfe in his owne person, taking with him hir maiesties armie, which was then about six hundred horsemen and footmen, and accompanied with such gentlemen and counsellors as he had appointed for that seruice, toke his iourneie towards Ulster. And as he passed, he found the whole countrie throughout wasted, spoiled, and impouerished, sauing the Newtowne, which sir Nicholas Bagnoll knight marshall did inhabit, and the Glins and Mouts which Serlo Boie with the Scots possessed, and Killulagh.

Now in all that tyme few came to submit themselves, sauing Mac Mahon, and Mac Swier, & Tirlough Lenough, who first sent his wife; and she being a woman verie well spoken, of great modestie, nurture, parentage, and disposition, and aunt to the then earle of Argile, was verie desirous to haue hir husband to liue like a good subiect, and to be nobilitated. Tirlough himselfe followed verie hoztly after his wife, & came before the lord deputie without pledge, promise or hostage, and simple & without anie condition did submit himselfe in all humblenesse and reuerence to his lordship, making the like lutes as his wife before his comming had motioned vnto his lordship, referring himselfe neuertheless to be ordered and directed by his lordship in all things. And after that he had spent two daies, vsing himselfe in all the time of his abode in all dutifulnesse, subiection, and

discharged
the deputie

Sir Henrie
Sidonie
deputie the
third time.

The pestilence
great in the
English pale

Serlo Boie
assaulteth
Knockfergus

The lord de-
putie maketh
a iourneie
to Ulster.

Sir Peter
Carew died at
Kilke, & was
buried at wa-
terford verie
honourablie.

Sir Peter
Carew his
life, birth and
conditions.
His descent.
Baron of
Carew.

Tirlough
Lenough
submitth him
in all humblesse

The sonnette
of the lord de-
putie in
Lancster.

Boie Dg by
on the sword
of the earle of
Desmond came
into the lord
deputie, and
submitth
himselfe.

The lord de-
putie inter-
meddeth well
in Kilkennie.

Sir Peter
Carew his
death.

Sir Peter
Carew died at
Kilke, & was
buried at wa-
terford verie
honourablie.

Sir Peter
Carew his
life, birth and
conditions.
His descent.
Baron of
Carew.

Tirlough
Lenough
submitth him
in all humblesse

and reverence, did in like manner take his leaue, and returned to his owne home. And as for Odonell lord of Tirconnell, and Mac Swier lord of Farmanagh, albeit they came not in persons, yet they wrote their most humble letters of submission, and offered all such rents and seruices, as to them appertained to yield, making request that they might onelie serue vnder his highnesse, and be discharged from the exactions of all others.

After that the lord deputie had performed this 10
journeie, and was returned to Dublin, then he made the like journeyes towards the other parts of the land. And beginning in Leinster, he found the whole countie of Kildare, and the baronie of Carberie, extreamelie impouerished by the Omeries, both in the time of the late rebellion, and also since, when they were vnder protection. The kings and queenes countiees were all spoiled & wasted by the Oconnors and the Omeries, the old native inhabitants of the same, and of them Korie Og had gotten the possession, and the setting of himselfe in sundrie lands there, whether the tenants will or no, and as a prince occupieth what he listeth, and wasteth what he will. After this lesse, vpon the word of the earle of Desmond, he came to the lord deputie at his being in Kilkennie; and in the cathedrall church there he submitted himselfe: and in outward appearance repented his former faults, and promised amendment: but how well he kept and performed it, his rebellions in the yeare following can witness.

The lord deputie at his comming to Kilkennie was receiued by the townsmen in all the best manner they could, and the earle of Desmond himselfe feasted and intreated him most honourable, and had great care that his lordship and all his traine should not want any thing. At this towne the two cousins and kinsmen of sir Peter Carew late deceased, that is, Peter Carew, and George Carew, and the gentleman who had bene his agent in all his causes within that land, came before the lord deputie, and there communicated with his lordship the state of the deceased knight, and of his countie; submitted the same to his order and direction, as also made humble sute vnto his lordship for his presence at the funerals at Waterford, where it was appointed he should be buried. Whose lordship as vpon the first newes of this knights death, so now also vpon the new recitall thereof, maruellouslie lamented and bewailed the losse of so worthy a knight, and the want of so wise and faithfull an assistant and counsellor. And then he took order therein, shewing most honourable not onelie the offices of a faithfull and good friend to the dead; but also the like good will to the two young gentlemen, of which one was then his heire, and to inioy his baronie. And according as things were determined, the corps was removed from Kille where he died, and caried to Waterford against his comming thither, where it was buried in verie honourable manner, as shall hereafter appeare, being not impertinent to the historie to set downe some short discourse of this most worthy gentleman and of his life.

Sir Peter Carew was descended of noble and high parentage, whose first ancestor was named Montgomerie, and in the time of king Henrie the second he married the lady Elisabeth daughter to Roeluis prince of Southwales, by which marriage he was advanced to honour, and made baron of the castle of Carew, whereof his posteritie in time took their surnames, being called Carews. And some of their passing into Ireland did grow to be mightie men, and of great honor and possessions in that land, being marquesses of Cozke, barons of Hydron and Lerneu, lords of Passon, and inheritors to sundrie great lordships and seignories in that land. And

likewise in England they were men of great credit, seruice, and honour, and by waie of marriages matched and combined with honourable and great houses.

This foresaid sir Peter, who was lineallie descended from them, was of stature meane, but verie stronglie and well compacted; of complexion cholericke, from his childhood vpwarts bent and giuen to an honest disposition, and in his tender yeares he served vnder, and was page to the prince of Deneg beyond the seas, and by that means had the greater delight & skill in martiall affaires, wherein he had god knowledge, as did well appeare in the manifold seruices he did vnder king Henrie the eight, king Edward the first, and queene Elisabeth, in sundrie places beyond as also on this side the seas. He was in his younger yeares a great traveller, and had bene at Constantinople in the Turkes court, at Vienna in the emperours palace, at Venice, and in the French kings court, and in the houses of the most of all christian princes; in euerie of which places he left some tokens of his value. He was blessed of God with manie singular god gifts, as well of the mind as of the bodie, being vertuouslie disposed even from his verie infancie, sincere in religion (and for which he was partlie an exiled man in the Spanish daies) dutifull to his prince, and faithfull to his countie, by right in iustice, politike in gouernement, and ballant in armes, skilfull in the Italian and French tongues, and a great student in such booke as those tongues did yield; and by that means some knowledge ioined with his pregnancie of wit, he would discourse verie substantiallie in any matter concerning policie or religion, peace or warres, god to euerie man, hurtfull to no man; bountifull & liberall, abhorring couetousnesse and vborndome: a great housekeeper, and of great hospitalitie. And if any fault were in him, it was rather of too much spending, than in reasonable sauing; he would be soone warne, but without gall, and against his enimie most stout and valiant: finally such was his vpright dealing, honest conuersation, and zeale to the commonwealth, as no man was more honoured, nor vniuersallie beloued than was he.

When he had spent the greater part of his age, he bethought himselfe vpon such lands as his ancestors had in Ireland, and which in right did descend vnto him: and finding his title to be good, he acquainted his highnesse therewith; and obtained his fauour and god will to passe ouer into Ireland, to follow the recoverie thereof. Which he did, and made such good proofes of his title, as well by records as by evidences, that he recovered so much as he did then put in sute, namelie the lordship of Passon, of which he had bene dispossessed of about seauen score yeares, which he departed with vnto sir Christopher Chiners knight, then tenant to the same, and the baronie of Hydron then in the possession of the Cauenaghs, the ancient enimies of the English gouernment, and who had expelled his ancestors about two hundred yeares past. But being put once in possession, he dealt in such good order with them, and so honourable bled himselfe, that they all voluntarilie yielded vnto their lands, and submitted themselves to his deuotion; and finding him to be a verie rare man in manie and sundrie respects, as of the like they had not heard nor knowne, they much reioiced of him, and counted themselves happy and blessed to be vnder his gouernment. At his first comming he resumed the whole baronie into his owne hands, and thereof he gave some peeces in free hold, to such gentlemen as he thought good; and for the residue enerie of them what he had before, he took it againe vnder writing by lease. He diuided the baronie into cer-

His stature.
His disposition.
His skill and service in the warres.
His travels.
His religion.
His qualities.
His learning.
His conditions.
His anger without measure.
His zeale.
His title to his lands in Ireland.
He recovered some part of his lands in Ireland.
His good dealing with his tenants.

The countie of the lord deputie in Leinster.

1575
Sir Henrie Sidmore lord deputie the third time.

The pestilence great in the English pale.

Sir Peter Carew assaulted Kilkennie.

Korie Og by the word of the earle of Desmond came into the lord deputie, and submitted himselfe.

The lord deputie interceded with the earle of Desmond in Kilkennie.

Sir Peter Carew his birth.

The lord deputie making a journeye vnto Water.

Sir Peter Carew died at Kille, & was buried at Waterford verie honourable.

Sir Peter Carew his birth and conditions. He descended from of Carew.

Enough submitted himselfe in all humilitie.

teine manors and lordships, and in euerie one he did erect a court baron, and there all matters in variance betwene them were ended and determined after the English maner, according to iustice & truth. He would not suffer anie wrong to be done vnto them, neither would he beare with anie of them doing wrong. Their complaints he would heare, and with indifferencie he would determine them: he dwelled among them, and kept a verie liberall and a bountifull house, and such hospitalitie as had not bene before knowne among them; and for which he was marvellouslie beloued, and his fame spred through out that land.

His housekeeping and hospitalitie.

He kept continuallie of his owne priuat familie, aboue or nere a hundred persons in house, he had alwaies in readinesse for tie horsemen well appointed, besides footmen, & commonlie one hundred kerns, and all that his countrie at commandement; by which meanes he chased and pursued such as late vpon the frontiers of his countrie, that they if anie had offended, would come and submit themselves simplie to his mercie: & the residue willing to serue him at all needs. If anie noble man or others did passe by his house, there he first staied and was intertained according to his calling, for his cellar doore was neuer shut, & his butterie alwaies open, to all comers of anie credit. If anie garrison either came to assist and attend him, or passed through his countrie, he gaue them intertainment, and vittelled them at his owne charges, and paid readie monie both for it, and for all things taken of the countrie; for without present paiement he would haue nothing: which was a rare thing and not heard of in that land. And as concerning his maiesties seruice, it was so honourable for his highnesse, and so profitable to the countrie, and accomplished with such a disposition and a good will, as all and euerie the gouernours in his time thought themselves happie to be assisted with such a man. In matters of counsell he was verie graue and considerate, in matters of policie verie wise and circumspect, and in martiall affaires verie valiant and noble, and in all of great knowledge and experience: in euerie of which (as occasion serued) his seruice was readie and at commandement, so long as his abode was in that land.

Readie paiement for all things.

His seruice in the Irish wars.

In the Butlers warres, vpon commandement from the deputie, he did first serue at Cloghgreman, a castell of sir Edmund Butlers, where being accompanied with capteine Gilbert, capteine Palbeie, and capteine Basinet, and Henrie Dauels, and their bands, assailed the castell, toke it, and gaue the preie to the souldiers. Then they went to Kilkennie where they issued out and made a sallie vpon the whole armie of sir Edmund Butler: which being about thre miles from the towne, gaue them the ouerthrow, and put all the Gallowglasses and the rest to the sword, sauing the horsemen and kernes which fled into the woods: and then meeting the lord deputie, attended him in the whole iourneie and seruice of the said warres vntill the same was ended. In which he assisted the said deputie with his faithfull aduise and counsell, and with all such dutifull seruice as which his lordship could not lacke, and which he so aduertised to his maiestie. Likewise in Ulster he was in the whole or the most part of that seruice with the earle of Essex, whom he aduised and assisted with all the best seruice and counsell he could, to the great comfort of the earle, and commendation of himselfe.

Sir Peter Carewes seruice in Ulster.

His title to his lands in Downster.

The same and report of this noble gentleman, for his wisdom, valiantnesse, experience, vprightnes, housekeeping, bountifullnesse, liberalitie, and his iust dealings with euerie man, was spred through out all that nation, and he fauoured and beloued of all

men. And certeine gentlemen in Downster, knowledging and confessing that he had a iust title to their lands and possessions, and that he (as descending lineallie from the marquesse of Corke) was their lawfull lord, and to whome they ought to yeld their lands; some of them made their repaire, and some wrote their letters vnto him: and all with one consent acknowledged him to be their right and lawfull lord, and offered not onelie true lie to instruct and to aduertise him throughlie of his whole inheritance; but if it would please him to come to the citie of Corke, they would all appeare before him, and submit themselves, and yeld vp their lands into his hands. Sir Peter Carew, when he had considered and well bethought of these offers, and had taken aduise with his friends, thought it not good to refuse the same; and that so much the sooner, because he had made his highnesse acquainted with his title, and had before obtained his letters to sir William Fitzwilliams then lord deputie of Ireland, and to sir John Barret then lord president of Downster, that they should assist him in his sutes, and to call the contrarie parts, and to persuaide them with all quietnesse to yeld to his iust titles. And againe, finding that part of the realme to be now verie quiet, & the people well disposed, he sent first his agent the wyter hereof to Corke, where and before whome there came Mac Artie Kioagh, Cormac Mac Eage, Barrie Dg, the Dmalions, the Ddyscots, the Ddallies, & sundrie others, who of their owne freewill offered to giue in recompense of that which was past, and towards the setting vp of his house, if he would come and dwell among them, thre thousand kine; and so manie sheepe and hogs and corne, as according to that propozition; and would also yereleie giue him in the like maner such a portion as should be to his contentation and god liking. When his agent had aduertised these things vnto him, and according to his order had prepared a house in Kinsale, and one other in Corke for him: the said sir Peter did let the house of Leiglin to his kinsman and cousin Peter Carew, who afterward was his heire, and prepared his ship to passe himselfe with his household stuffe to Corke. And being in readinesse for the same, it pleased God to call him to another passage; for falling sicke at the towne of Kille, he died the seauen and twentieth of Nouember 1575, and was buried verie honourable and in warlike manner at Waterford, the sixteenth of December in the cathedrall church, with all such ensignes of honor as to his degree appertained, there being then present sir Henrie Sidney lord deputie, and the counsell. And thus much concerning that worthy knight sir Peter Carew.

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The lord deputie, being accompanied from Kilkennie with the earle of Downster vnto the citie of Waterford, he was verie honourable received at his entrie into the citie, by the maior & his brethren, and an oration congratulatorye made vnto him in the Latine tongue by a yong scholar clad in white attire, verie well and eloquentlie pronounced. Great triumphes were made, both vpon the land and vpon the water; with all such shewes and tokens of iote and gladnesse, as could be deuised. And while he remained in the citie, there wanted not anie thing meet and conuenient for the intertainment of his lordship, and of all his traine: which his lordship did verie well accept and take in good part; as also aduertised it to the lords of his maiesties honorable priuie counsell in England. This citie is a verie ancient citie, and first builded (as the common opinion is) by Sittacus one of the thre brethren, which came out of Porwate, called Easterlings. It standeth and is situated vpon the riuier of Suire, which riseth in the hill or mount Blandina, named in Irish Blomne;

The offer of the gentlemen to be his name.

A controuersie betwene the earle of Downster and the waterfordians.

The waterfordians refused to acknowledge Perkins to be their king. The waterfordians in 1575 with the kings of England.

The common name of the river.

Large port.

The river at Waterford.

The death of sir Peter Carew.

His burial.

The receiving of the lord deputie at Waterford.

A controuersie betwene the waterfordians and the towne of Kille for the riuier of Barrow.

A verdict passed in the behalf of the waterfordians.

The purchase of waterford vpon the water.

The description of the citie of Waterford.

blome : and steeeth by Thurles in Tipozarie, where of the earles of Dymond are vicounts : from thence to the Holie crosse, Aromale, Cahir Dowleske, Ard-
finan, Inslouagh, Clomnell, Caricke Mac Griffin, and so to Waterford.

It was of it selfe a verie little pile, but strong and well walled, and of late yeares (vpon occasion of warres) enlarged in the time of king Henrie the seuenth and inclosed with a strong wall : when Lamb-
berd (named Perkin Warbecke) was crowned king at Dublin, about which king fell great contro-
uersies betwene them and Gilbert erle of Wiltshire. For the said erle being then lord deputie sent his let-
ters to the said maior & his citizens, requiring them to receiue into their citie the new king, as other
god cities had done : who refusing to acknowledge anie other king, than king Henrie of England, he
threatened them that he would take their citie per-
force and hang the maior. Whereupon hot words
grew on euerie side, & the same like to haue growne
to hand fight : the Waterfordians offering to wage
the battell where the erle would appoint. Which their
truth at that time auailed them much afterwards,
and they in speciall fauour with king Henrie the se-
uenth and king Henrie the eight, by whome their li-
berties and franchises were enlarged.

The soile about it is verie barren and full of hills and rocks, and the lesse profitable for lacke of good
manurance and husbandrie : but what faileth in the
land, is recompensed with the sundrie commodities
which the riuer yeldeth, which is not onlie plentifull
and abundant of all sorts and kinds of fishes, but
also it is a goodlie haven and a receptacle for all sorts
of ships : & for this it is called *Larga porta*. The great
of all countries to this citie maketh the same verie
populous and rich, & is the chiefest *Emporium* of that
prouince. Great be the priuileges which the kings of
England gaue to the maior & citizens, as well con-
cerning the riuer as the citie, by king John, king
Henrie the third, and king Edward the first.

The riuer was bounded and limited from the
mouth of the seas, betwene Kinsdowan where Hoke
tower standeth vpon the east side, and Rodibanke
vpon the west side, and from thence vnto Caricke
vpon Suire : and so farre beyond, as the said riuer
ebbeth and floweth that wate : & from the said mouth
vnto the Inostage vpon the riuer of Dtre, and so far
as the same water ebbeth and floweth ; and likewise
from the said mouth, vnto saint Polins vpon the ri-
uer of Barrow ; and so farre beyond the same, as the
water ebbeth & floweth. Yet notwithstanding great
controuerfies haue bene betwene this citie and the
towne of Rosse, which lieth vpon the riuer of Bar-
row, concerning the bounds and limits that wate,
because they of Rosse doe claime a priuilege vpon
that riuer as of the gift and grant of Roger Bigod
earle marshall : who married Isabell the eldest
daughter of Walter earle marshall, and in his right
was lord of Rosse and of the riuer of the Barrow.
Whereupon certeine inquisitions were taken in the
time of king Edward the third, and of king Richard
the second : and then at Clomnell vpon the othes of
six knights and eightene esquiers, it was found for
the citie of Waterford. And these are the bounds of
the port or haven of Waterford ; within the which
bounds and limits the citie of Waterford, by the
grants of sundrie kings vnder their charters, haue
these priuileges : That no ship shall be laden nor vn-
laden, but at the citie of Waterford, and there to
paye all such customes and duties as belong and are
due for their merchandise : Also that they haue the
priuilege of wike and the iurisdiction of the admeraltie,
within the limits of the said riuer.

The citie it selfe was first incorpozated by king
Henrie the second, & after confirmed by king John,
Henrie the third, and king Edward the first with
augmentations. The maior hath the sword bozne
before him by the gift of king Edward the fourth,
and king Henrie the seauenth, by the name of the
sword of iustice. They haue cognisance of all maner
of ples as well reall, personall, & mixt. They are iusti-
ces of oier and determiner, & maie sit vpon triall of
treasons, murthers, and felonies, without anie spe-
ciall commission to be sued out for the same. Also
that no officer nor officers of the kings or quenes of
England, nor their deputies shall intermeddle, nor
exercise anie authoritie nor iurisdiction, within the
citie and liberties, but onelie the maior & officers of
the same. Also they haue a maior and officers of the
staple yearelie to be chosen, who haue the liberties
for taking of statutes and recognisances staple, not
onelic within their owne towne & concerning them-
selues, but also of sundrie townes in Leinster and
Mounster, and the counties of Waterford, Wilt-
shire, Wexford, and Tipozarie. Also they haue liber-
tie from time to time to transport, lade, and carrie a-
waie coire, biffels, wolle, horses, & hauks ; and to li-
cence anie other within the limits of their iurisdic-
tion to doe the like. Also all forfeitures, amerciaments,
fines, felons goods, and deodands goods, they haue to
their owne vse. Also that in all doubts, the words of
their charters should be expounded to the best sence,
and if then there were anie further doubt, the same
should be determined and decided by the king or his
councell in the realme of England. Also that they
should not at anie time be compelled to go and serue
in anie hosting, except the king himselfe or anie of
his sonnes were present in person.

These and manie other like priuileges of the
kings of England from time to time, of their boun-
teous liberalitie, and in consideration of their du-
tiful and good seruices, did giue and bestow vpon
them. All which, & you the inhabitants of Pana-
pia and citizens of Waterford, the offspring of so
good ancestozs, ought to be lessons and prebents vn-
to you, for your continuance in the like offices and
duties : that you maie thereby shew your selues to
be as were your predecessozs, faithfull, lofall, and
obedient : and that your apophegme maie be for e-
uer found true, *Waterfordia semper manet intacta*. And
therwise bzag neuer so much of your worthinesse,
& glorie neuer so much of your valies (as the Jewes
did of their father Abraham) yet it shall so little a-
uaile you, that their honour shall be your reproch,
and their glorie your shame, if you doe not also the
like ; and in the end your vtter confusion. For as the
holie scripture saith : If you be the children of light,
then as children walke you in the light ; other-
wise that light which is in you shall be darkened.
If you be the children of Abraham, then doe you the
workes of Abraham : otherwise God, who is able
and will raise vp the verie stones to be sonnes to A-
braham, shall reiect you, and giue your citie to a
people which shall bring forth the fruits of dutie and
obedience. For so did he with his owne peculiar peo-
ple, the Jewes, whom for their disobedience against
himselfe, and against his annointed princes, did af-
ter sundrie punishments and no amendment giue
them ouer vnto their enemies hands : who put their
yong men to the sword, & their priestes to slaughter,
their virgins were deflowred, their widows defiled,
their citie vtterlie destroyed, and not one stone left
vpon an other ; and all the people which escaped the
sword, carried awaie captiues, & made bagabonds,
euen to this daie vpon the face of the earth. If he did
this to his owne peculiar people, doe not you of Wa-
terford, whom God hath blessed manie waies, thinke
that

The incorpo-
ration of the
citie.
The priuile-
ges of the ci-
ties of water-
ford.
The sword of
iustice.

An admoniti-
on to the citi-
zens of Wa-
terford.

Waterfordia
semper manet
intacta.

The offer of
the gentlemen
to be his te-
nants.

Controuer-
sie betwene
the earle of
Wiltshire and
the waterfor-
dians.
The water-
fordians re-
fused to ac-
knowledge
Perkin to be
king.
The water-
fordians in-
fused with
the kings of
England.

The comen-
dation of the ri-
uer.

Larga porta.

Christen at
Waterford.

The death of
sir Peter
Carew 1575.
His buriall.

Controuer-
sie betwene
the waterfor-
dians and the
towne of
Rosse for the
riuer of Barrow.

Verdict pas-
sed in the be-
halfe of the
waterfordi-
ans.

The priuile-
ges of water-
ford vpon the
riuer.

The recti-
fying of the
lord deputie at
Waterford.

The descrip-
tion of the ci-
tie of water-
ford.
The situa-
tion.

An exhortati-
on to the citi-
zens of Wa-
terford.

that you doing the like wickednesse, shall escape the like iudgements: Wherefore if you will eschew the wrath to come, beware by their examples, and humble your soldiers in all dutifulnesse & obedience to God and to your prince. Cramine not his authoritie, nor decipher his power: compare not your privileges with his authoritie, nor do you dispute your liberties with his prerogative. For notwithstanding your privileges, liberties, and grants be great and manie: yet they can not abate nor impugne the least part of the princes prerogative: which is so great, as nothing can be greater, if you will take the view of Gods alone ordinances, when he first created and established a king, who gave him so high and so absolute authoritie, that (as the apostle saith) it must be with all humbleness obeyed: because he is Gods minister expectant upon it concerneth the interest of his majesties imperfall crowne of that land, the suppression of rebels and traitors, & the delivrie of your selues and that realme from the enemies and rebels.

And do not you thinke that this digression is impertinent to the historie, for as your ancestors good doings are set downe to their praises and commendations; so the same shall be done of yours, either to your praises for your well doings, or for your reproch to the contrarie. But to the historie. When the lord deputie had given thanks to the maior and his brethren for his good intertainment, he departed thence by iournies towards Corke, and by the waie at Dungarvon the earle of Desmond came unto him, and verie humble offered him all the service he was able to do to his maiestie, and did accompanie him from thence unto the citie of Corke, where the said lord deputie was receiued in the best manner the citizens could, with all humbleness, and with all such triumphs and other shewes and tokens of good will and dutifulnesse as they could give, without grudging or complaining either of the townesmen or of the souldier. To this towne resorted unto him the earles of Desmond, Thomond, Clancarr, and all the noblemen and best gentlemen in all Mounster, and their wives, and there kept their houses the whole Christmasse. During his being there, manie complaints were made of great outrages, murders, spoiles, and thefts done throughout that province; whereupon daile sessions were kept, and the malefactors of which thre and twentie verie notable and notorious offenders were executed and put to death.

It was also ordered, that for the cutting off and abolishing of the great swarms and clusters of the idlers, which like waspes troubled the whole land, and liued onelie by spoile and rapine; that euerie nobleman and gentleman should give and deliuer in the names of euerie servant and follower which he had, and should see the same to be booked and registred. And if any of them were found unbooked and not registred, that he should be used as a felon where so euer he was taken; and for all such, as whose names were registred, his lord and master should answer for him. To this order all the noble and gentlemen gave their full consents, and forthwith the same was openlie proclaimed in their presence, who seemed to receiue it with all joy, and promised that it should be followed with effect, and immediatlie they gave in their pledges. When all things were thus in these parts settled in good and quiet order, he took his iourne towards Limericke, and there he was receiued with much more pompe and shewes than in anie place before. But as before, so here he spent a few daies in keeping of sessions, in executing of iustice, and in hearing of poore mens complaints, and took the like order for registring of euerie noble and gentlemen follower, as he had done at Corke, which

when he had done, he rode thence into Thomond, where he was complained unto of manie great murders, rapes, thefts, and other outrages, whereof he found great plentie. And for want of sufficient time to proceed thoroughlie to do iustice and iudgement therein, he referred the same to certeine commissioners appointed for the purpose: saying that he committed the principall offenders to ward, and some he banished and abandoned out of those parts, untill further order were taken for them.

From thence he entred into Connagh, and came to the towne of Gallewaie, where he found the towne much decayed and almost desolated, sundrie of the good householders having sought new habitations vnder Mac William Coughter, and the countie thorough out altogether spoiled and denoured by the Mac an Carles, the hopeles (but much better if they had bene hopelesse) sonnes of the earle of Clancarr, whose outrages were most heinous and horrible. But when these graceles impes perceived of the great complaints made against them, and doubting what would be the sequelle if some waie were not taken, they voluntarilie went to Gallewaie towne, and came to the church vpon a fundaie at the publike service, where the lord deputie then was; and there kneeling vpon their knees confessed their faults, submitted themselves, and most lamentable craved pardon, promising vnfeinedlie amendment, and neuer to reuolt more from their dutifull obedience to his maiestie and his lawes. The deputie moued herewith, and hoping the best, did by the aduise of his maiesties counsell thinke it good, with some sharpe reprehensions and a little punishment for this time to release them, & so he took his iourne towards Dublin, where he came the thirtieth of Aprill 1576, but kept sessions in euerie place as he passed through the countie, and placed his garrisons in places conuenient.

In this his iourne he found a verie ruinous state and most lamentable disorders, which required a speedie reformation. And though the outrages in the ciuill government were great, yet nothing to be compared to the ecclesiasticall state, for that was too far out of order; the temples all ruined, the parish churches for the most part without curates and pastors, no service said, no God honored, nor Christ preached, nor sacraments ministred. And therefore it appeared, yea and it was openlie preached before the lord deputie himselfe, that manie were borne which neuer were christened: and the patrimonie of the church wasted & the lands imbeuelled. A lamentable case, for a more despoiled and a more ouerthrowne church there could not be among christians. The deputie considering and bethinking with himselfe, how the church of God was abused, and that God had in store some wrath and indignation for this defiling of his holie sanctuarie, did for the auoiding thereof write his letters of aduertisement to his highnesse, and most earnestlie prayed his princelie authoritie for redresse thereof; and therewith most humble requested, that the commonwealth being destitute of a chancelor, and other most necessarie magistrates for the gouernement, might likewise with all speed be sent ouer. When his maiestie and counsell had considered this aduertisement, and had entered into the depth thereof, order for a redresse was taken forthwith, and the matters concerning religion and reformation of the church, it was committed to the said lord deputie, and to archbishops and certeine bishops, with others, to see the same to be put in execution. And for the gouernment one William Gerard esquier a possessor of the laws was sent to be lord chancelor, & sir William Durrrie to be president of Mounster, which arrived at Dublin,

The princes
prerogative.

The earle of
Desmond
humble offer-
eth his ser-
uice to the
lord deputie.
The lord de-
putie receiued
honorable in-
to Corke.

All the noble-
men in Moun-
ster repaire to
the lord de-
putie.

Executions
at Corke.

Euerie noble
man and gen-
tlemen to an-
swer for his
men.

The lord de-
putie hono-
rable receiued
at Limericke.

The earle of
Clancarr
cometh brake
out into re-
bellion.

The earle
sent to
his sonnes
Mounster.

The earle
sent to
his sonnes
Mounster.

The earle
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The earle
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his sonnes
Mounster.

The earle
sent to
his sonnes
Mounster.

Dublin, the one the thirteenth of June, and the other the thirteenth and twentieth of the same 1576. The lord chancellor he did forthwith settle and place in his countie. And then his lordship prepareth to take a tourne towards Waterford, to doe the like with sir William Dzurie. But when he was passed a daies tourne, word was brought unto him from the bishop of Meeth, who laie then upon the confines of Meeth and Connagh for ordering of matters in these parties; and the like from the mayor of Gallewaie, and from diuerse others, who affected well the state, crying out with trembling termes and dolefull reports, that the earle of Clanricard his sonnes that baserlie boud, which not scarce two moneths past had humbled themselves to the lord deputie, confessed their faults, and craued pardon, and had most firmelie protested and swozne most dutifull and continuall obedience.

These (I saie) not without the counsell and consent of their father, were on a night stolen ouer the river of Shennon, and there cast auaie their English apparell, and clothed themselves in their old wonted Irish rags, and sent to all their old friends to come auaie to them, and to bring the Scots whom they had solicited, and their Gallowglasses, and all other their forces with them. Who when they met together, they forthwith went to the towne of Athenrie, and those few houses which were newlie builded, they sacked, set the new gates on fire, beat auaie the masons and labourers which were there in working, brake and spoiled the quenes armes, and others, there made and cut to be set vp. Bad and wicked they were before, but now ten times worse than ever they were; being come, euen as it is said in the scriptures, that the wicked spirit was gone out of the man, and wanting his wonted diet, returneth unto the house from whence he came, and finding the same swept cleane, he goeth and seeketh out other feuen wicked spirits, and entred and dwelleth where he did before, and the last state of that man is worse than the first. And if a man should aske of these baserlie boies, and of their sies, what should be the cause that they should thus rage, and so wickedlie and suddenlie reuolue, as dogs to their vomits, so they to their treasons and treacheries, hauing bene so courteouslie vnder, so gentle intertained, so friendly countenanced, so fatherly exhorted, so pithilie perswaded, & so mercifullie pardoned in hope of amendment: surely nothing can they answer, but that they would not be honest, nor in anie part satisfie a little of infinite the robberies, thefts, and spoiles which they had made. For baserlie slips cannot bring forth better fruits, neither can thornes bring forth grapes. It is the god trea onelie that bringeth forth good fruits, which is to be cherished, and to be much made of; but thornes and briers are prepared for the fire, and to be burned. For let the husbandman be slow neuer so much husbandrie vpon the thorne, he will still be but a thorne: yea let him graffe neuer so good a peare vpon him, the same shall be but a stonie peare; and lacking continuall husbandrie, will reuolt to his old nature againe. As the husbandman then prospereth best, when his fields and gardens are weeded and clenched from thornes, brambles & briers, prepared for the fire: euen so shall the magistrat inioie the quiet state of a commonwealth, when iustice taketh place, and iudgement is executed; when the god are preserved and cherished, and the wicked (prepared for the gallows) according to their deserts are punished.

The instrument, when euerie string is streined to his proper tune, then the musike is sweet, and the harmonie pleasant; but if that one string be out of order, the discorde of that one marreth and disgraceth

all the whole musike of the rest: euen so is it in a commonwealth, when euerie subiect is dutifull to his prince, obedient to his magistrate, and liueth according to his vocation and calling, the same prospereth and flourisheth; but let the wicked be left at libertie, and be unpunished, the whole state is disturbed, & the commonwealth (as a garden ouergrowne with weeds) in perill and danger to be ouerthrowne. The best commonwealth in all ages then prospered best, when the wicked were as well punished, as the good conserued. And experience teacheth, that a theefe, murderer, a traitor, & such malefactors doe neuer better seruice to their prince & commonwealth, than when they be hanged on the gallows, and so fastened to a gibbet. But to the matter.

The lord deputie vpon these aduertisements, finding the matter to be of such importance, which required some expedition to withstand the same, or else the whole land like to be in danger, altereth his intended tourne, and returneth to Dublin, vising such expedition, that within three daies following he was entered into Connagh. The hute thereof when it was blowing abroad, it was scarce credited by the rebels, because it was so sudden and with such speed. But finding it to be true, and they afraid of their shadowes, they all one and other fled into the mountains, saving certeine gentlemen of the earls countrie, which left the traitorous boies, & came to the deputie, and offered their loialtie and seruice with fidelitie. The earle their father would faine haue excused himselfe, but in the end when no excuses could be accepted, his castles were taken, and he brought to the lord deputie: who notwithstanding his humble submissions and craving of pardons, he was sent to the castell of Dublin, and there kept in close prison. But the lord deputie he passed thence to Gallewaie, and after he had there staied a few daies, for the comforting of the townefemen, who stood much dismayed of their estate, and in feare to be surprised and taken for pledges: he passed through Thomond, and came to Limericke, where he settled sir William Dzurie (who had accompanied him in all this seruice) to be the lord president. And from thence being accompanied and attended vpon with him and the nobilitie of that prouince, and diuerse gentlemen of account, they passed to Corke, & there the lord president remained.

Now he the said president, being thus placed in the gouernement of that prouince, did beare himselfe so vprightlie, and in so honourable a sort, that he reformed the same maruellouslie both in life and manners: and of a fierce people he tamed them to obedience. For the euill men he spared not, but by law and iustice in the open sessions, or by sword without respect of persons he punished according to their deserts: euen as of the contrarie the good subiects he would fauour and protect. If anie seruice were to be done vpon the enimie and rebell, he would be the first in the field, and neuer cease to pursue him, vntill he had either taken him, or giuen him out of the countrie. If anie matters were in variance betwene man and man, or anie bills of complaints exhibited vnto him, the same he would either determine, or referre them to the law, for which he kept courts continuallie, & where the same were heard and ended, and at which for the most part he would be present. The rude people he framed to a ciuilitie, & their manners he reformed and brought to the English order. And by all these means he did maruellouslie reforme that whole prouince to a most peaceable, quiet and ciuill estate, saving the countie palatine in Kerie: which the earle of Desmond claimed to be his libertie, and that no person was to intermeddle nor yet to vse any iurisdiction there, other than his owne officers. But when his lordship had looked into the most

The lord deputie altereth his course, and entred into Connagh.

The earle of Clanricard is sent to the castell of Dublin and kept in close prison.

Sir William Dzurie placed to be lord president in Mounster.

The gouernment of sir William Dzurie.

The earle of Desmond will haue no officer to intermeddle in his countie palatine.

The town of Gallewaie in great decay.

The town of Gallewaie in great decay.

The earle of Clanricard's sonnes submit them: felices.

1576

The ruine of the ecclesiastical state.

Manie in Ireland not christened.

The spoile of the churches.

An order for the reformation of religion.

William Gerard to be lord chancellor. Sir William Dzurie to be lord president.

The countie palantine a sanctuarie of sinne and wickednesse.

The lord president purposeth to doe iustice in Kerrie.

most loose and dissolute life there used, and that it was a sanctuarie for all lewd and wicked persons, and how that liberties granted at the first for the maintenance of iustice was now become a cloke and a shroud for all licentiousness: he purposed and was fully determined to make a iourneie into that privileged place, to make a passage for law and iustice to be there exercised, even as he had tofore done in other places, knowing that it could not be safe among a great flocke to leaue a scabbed shepe, nor god for a commonwealth to haue nurseries for sinne.

The erle, when he perceiued this, he was in a great furie and agonie, and used all the waies he could to dissuade the lord president from the same. Which when he by no means could compass, then according to his accustomed dissimulations he maketh faire weather, and offereth all the seruice he could doe to his lordship, and requested him that it would please him to vse his house and countrie at his pleasure, and that it would likewise please his lordship to lie at his house at Tralie when he passed that waie; the earle minding nothing lesse than his welcome thither, but practising in the end openlie what he had dissemblingly and in secret deuised and determined. The lord deputie, nothing mistrusting anie secret practise to be imagined against him, granteth the earles request; and when he saw time, he taketh his iourneie into Kerrie, hauing no more men with him than sufficient, to the number of six score, or seven score persons; and as he passed through the countrie, he kept courts and sessions, and heard euermans complaint; and at length as his iourneie laie, he rode vnto Tralie, where he minded to lodge with the earle. The earle hauing the gouernor (as he thought) within his clothes, and minding to practise that openlie, which he had deuised secretly; had appointed in a readinesse seven hundred, or eight hundred of his best followers to haue intrapped his lordship; and in stead of a bein vnto the countrie, to haue cut him off for euer comming more there.

The lord president entirely into Kerrie.

The treacherous practise of the earle to haue intrapped the lord president.

The lord president giueth the charge vpon the earle of Desmond.

Which his villanous treacherie when his lordship saw and vnderstood; and considering that he was so nere vpon them, as that he was either to aduenture vpon them, or with dishonor to hazard himselfe and his companie: he calleth all his companie together, and with vertie good and pitie words, encourageth them to giue the onset vpon them: and forthwith with a good courage they all march forwards, and gaue the charge vpon them. But they, notwithstanding they were all well armed, and seven to one of the other: yet being as it were affronted at the boldnesse of this noble man, and at his great courage; for which he was famous in & through all that land; both the earle and his companie turned their heeles, forsooke the field, and dispersed themselves into the woods, and elsewhere, for their best safetie.

The countesse, when she heard hereof, fell in a great sorrow and heavinesse for hir husbands so bad dealings; and like a good Abigail went and met the lord president, fell vpon his knees, held vp his hands, and with trilling teares prayed his lordships patience and pardon, excusing as well as she could his husbands follie, saying that he had assembled all that companie onelie for a generall hunting, nothing thinking vpon his lordship; and that the men seeing his lordship could not be persuaded to make anie staie: and so prayed his lordship to take it. And herein the so iustelle and in such modestie did behaue hir selfe, that his lordship granted hir request, and temporized with the earle. But he followed his determination, and used his authoritie to decide matters in and throughout the palantine of Kerrie. This grieved the earle to the hart, who hauing no o-

ther waie to be reuenged, he deuisech certaine articles against the president, which he with great clamours exhibited vnto the lord deputie. The lord deputie, when he departed from Corkie, he returned to Dublin, where he was aduertised that the Mac an Carles in Connagh had hired a new supplie of two thousand Scots, and were in actual rebellion. Whereupon he prepared a new iourneie thitherwards: and being come thither, he found the matter to be true, and that they were by in campe and in outrageous maner spoiling the countries. But before his comming they had besieged Baillie Kiogh, which was the earles their fathers house, and for his treacherous dealings confiscated.

In this house the lord deputie, at his last departure from thence, had placed Thomas le Strange, and capitaine Colier with one hundred footmen, and fiftie horsemen to lie in garrison; but the earls sons, thinking themselves of sufficient strength to reconer the same againe, laid siege vnto it, and inuironed it round about: but they were so resisted, that they did not onelie not pzeualle; but the garrison within did make sundrie assaults vpon them, and sune at sundrie times six of their principall captains, and one hundred and fiftie of their men. And in the end, when they saw they could not pzeualle, they raised their siege, and followed their accustomed robbing and spoiling of the countrie; but especiallie vpon Mac William Coughter, from whence they toke sundrie of his castles, and spoiled him of his goods and cattels. The lord deputie, not slackening nor slowing his businesse, followed out of hand the foresaid rebels, who skipped to and fro in such sort, that in no wise could he find them at anie aduantage. Wherefore he did disperse his companies, and according as intelligence was giuen, he caused pursue to be made vpon them. And by that meanes, although he could not meete with the whole troope of them, whereby to haue a full aduantage vpon them; yet many times he met with some of them, sune them, hanged and executed them, toke their pzeies from them, and gained a waie their holds and castles. And at length hauing good espials, it was aduertised vnto him, that the Scots were incamped in the confines and marches of Mac William Coughters countrie: and thereupon he forthwith marched thitherwards, and in his waie manie of them fell into his lap, who had their rewards. Vnto whose lordship refozged the said Mac William with all the force he had, & could make; who in this rebellion, being the onelie man of power in Connagh, & yet not able to saue himselfe a hole from their inuasions, did shew himselfe most loiall, and did the best seruice that was done vpon the rebels: and by the meanes of the said deputie, he recovered, and was repossessed of sundrie his castles, which in this rebellion had bene taken from him.

The Scots, when they heard of the approaching of the deputie towards them, they raised their campe, and suddenlie dispersed themselves, and the most of them, being werie of their abode and intertainment, fled into the rout in Ulster. The residue like vnto the bare armed rebels sculked to and fro; but in the end, they and the others were all dispersed, & durst not to appeare. Wherefore the deputie, when he had broken the galles of them, & had thus dispersed them, he by iourneies returned towards Dublin, and hauing a little before receiued his maiesties letters in the behalfe of Nicholas Spalbie his seruant, whom he commended for his sufficiencie, both for martiall and ciuill causes: and as well for the encouragement of him, as for the nourishing of the like vertues in others of his profession; his pleasure was to commit vnto him the cheefe charge and gouernement

The earle countesse palatine against the president.

The earle countesse palatine against the president.

The earle countesse palatine against the president.

The death of the earle of Essex.

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The death of the earle of Essex.

His praising
and hearing
the word.

In matters of pollicie he was verie prudent, and of a great reach: in caues of counsell sound, and of a

he was in prayer, and requested all his companie to do the like; and the verie last words that he spake was, The lord Jesus. And when his tong gaue ouer to speake anie moze, he lifted vp his hands & eyes to the Lord his God, vntill most sweetlie, milde, and godlie he did yeld by his ghost, which manie times befoze he had commended to his Lord and God. And thus this noble man vpon the two and twentieth daie of September, and in the yere of our Lord one thousand five hundred seuentie and six, left this world, to the great sorow of his frends, and losse of the commonwealth; but to the gaine of himselfe, who by all apparant arguments and testimonies of his vndoubted faith, doth assure vs of his euermore sole, and eternall felicitie.

About thre daies befoze his death, he wrote his last letters to the lord deputie, being then in the remote parties of Connagh; and verie desirous he was to haue spoken with him. In which letters he gaue his lordship most hartie thanks for all the good friendships past betwene them, and wished that the god and faithfull dealings betwene them were knowne as well in England as elsewhere. Then he commended to him all his seruants generallie, and some by particular name; and therein a speciall request for his sonne and heire, that though he himselfe should die to his frends, yet his sonne the earle of Essex might liue to the seruice of his prince, and the good of the commonwealth. And lastlie, he touched somewhat concerning his buriall, and herewith he sent vnto his lordship a little George and a garter, the ensignes of the order of the garter, whereof they both were knights and companions, to be a memorie of the loue and goodwill past betwene them. And now leauing this honozable earle in his heauenlie soie and blisse: let vs returne to the historie of this effere and effrened nation.

The province of Mounster was indifferent quiet, but some repinings were betwene the earles of Thomond and Desmond, the one not abiding nor digesting the orders, which vpon sundrie complaints were made against him, which he refused to obeie, vntill *Potens nolens* he were pressed therevnto by the lord president: the other, who was alwaies a verie wilfull man, notwithstanding he had at Cork yelded himselfe (of his owne free consent) to abide the orders there made for the quietnesse of the countrie, yet now hauing taken the aduise of his disordered followers, he would not be withdrawen from his wonted exactions, and therefore repined to beare further anie celsse; and wrote his letters to the lords of his maiesties priue counsell in England, complaining much, and prouing nothing, and aggravating the taking of the celsse, with most manifest vntuths. And so far he was carried in misliking the government, because he saw his owne wonted swaie was much abated, that he would verie faine haue slipped out if he could. And it was verelie thought that he was combined in a secret conspiration with the forlorne sonnes of the earle of Clanricard, as was his brother sir John of Desmond, who for his conference had with Shane Burke, was suspected to haue joined with him in his rebellion; as also because he had promised him aid out of Mounster, if he would hold out, and for which he was committed to ward. Which carried the more likelihood, because his intention was to put awaie his owne wife, & to haue matched himselfe in marriage with Shanes sister, who was Mowches wife, & of late forsaken by him. Reuer the lesse, the erle was fearefull to offend the state, for the president was so watchfull to espy out both his and all the rest of their doings, and in such a readinesse to be at inches with them, and vpon their bones if they started out neuer so little, that he kept

himselfe quiet, and came in to the said president, and deliuered in his men that were demanded, & which befoze he dented, being verie notozious malefactors and pzadisers of vniquietnesse.

And now that the whole land was (as was thought) in quiet, or at least in outward shew more quiet than in times past, the noblemen & gentlemen in the English pale, of whome least suspicion of anie euill was thought: they began verie inconsideratlie to repine against the celsse: who if they had entred into the due consideration thereof, they (although somewhat to their further charge) should haue maintained it: because that the same was procured for the defense of themselves, and they onelie had the benefit thereof. For you shall vnderstand that the lord deputie, being a man of great wisdom, knowledge, and experience, when he considered the sickle state of that wauering and rebellious nation of the Irish, who notwithstanding they had neuer so firmly promised, sworn, and vowed all allegiance and obedience to his maiestie: yet vpon enerie light occasion, without anie respect of faith and dutie, would sing out into secret conspiracies, and so into open rebellion; and then for the appeasing thereof, and the preservation of his good subiects, his highnesse was driuen to enlarge his garrisons, and to increase his armie to his excessive charges, and all which companies were vittelled by the English pale: and further, considering that the benefit which grew hereby, was generallie extended to the whole pale, who in equitie should be contributozie to the burthen, as they were partakers of the ease, and yet manie of them, pretending to haue liberties and priuileges, claimed to be exempted from anie contribution at all, whereby the residue were the moze grieued, & the greater burthened, to their impouerishing, & the hindersance of their seruice: the lord deputie caused a thorough search to be made in his highnesse court of the exchequer in Ireland, of all the records, for and concerning all and all manner of liberties which at anie time had tofoze bin granted to anie person or persons whatsoever: and in the end found that (verie few ancient liberties excepted) all were vsurped, or by statute repealed.

Wherevpon to ease the oppressed, and to make the burthen to be borne moze vniuersallie, and so moze indifferentlie; and for the better furtherance of his highnesse seruice: he commanded by proclamation all such liberties and freedoms to be dissolved, as which either had no grant at all, or which had not that continuance of times out of memorie of man. And of this latter sort were manie made by a statute but to indure onelie for ten yeares, and all which were expired. And for this cause they neuer found fault before now that they are grieued, and therefore do repine against celsse; and with open mouths cry out, that they were so poore that they could not beare anie celsse, and that it was against the law. And here for your better vnderstanding what celsse is, and what is meant thereby; it is a prerogative of the prince, to impose vpon the countrie a certeine proportion of all kind of vittels for men and horse, to be deliuered at a reasonable price called the quens price, to all and euerie such souldiours as the is contented to be at charge withall, and so much as is thought competent for the lord deputies house; and which price is to be yerelie rated and assessed by the lord deputie and the counsell, with the assistants and assent of the nobilitie of the countrie, at such rates and prices as the souldiours may liue of his wages, and the said deputie of his intertainment.

These things although they were orderlie done, yet certeine malecontents, finding themselves grieued, because they should alow now beare a portion, and

See more of this earle of Essex in the chronicles of England, pag. 1263.

His letters to the lord deputie.

The effect of the earles letters to the deputie.

The disagreements betwene the earles of Desmond and Thomond.

The earle of Desmond repineth against all good orders, and complaineth against the celsse.

Sir John of Desmond committed to ward.

Sir J. Desmond putteth away his wife and marryeth another mans wife.

disputie & counsel to be charged of the celsse.

The gentlemen in the pale began to repine against the celsse.

Liberties claimed to be discharged of the celsse.

The records searched by liberties.

Liberties claimed to be discharged of the celsse.

what celsse

The prerogative of a prince by the law of God.

The malecontents made their supplication to the

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be contributaries: first they draw their heads together, and make there supplication to the lord deputie and counsell, which was receiued verie willinglie, and offer made that conference should be had with them, how and what waie it might best be deuised to ease there griefes, & not to charge the queene. Whereupon at a time appointed they all met, and came in persons before the deputie and counsell, where the said malecontents first opened their griefes, that they had certeine old and ancient priuileges and liberties which were taken from them; then that they were compelled to yeld to an unreasonable cesse, which they were not able to beare, and that was will and pleasure onlie, and contrarie to all law and reason, that anie such charge should be imposed vpon them without a parlement or grand counsell.

When the lord deputie and counsell heard them at full, they appointed a date, when they should come and receiue their answer. In the meane time the lord deputie and counsell consulted and considered of the matter, and resolved themselves vpon an answer. And when the date came and they appeared, answer was made vnto them by the mouth of the lord chancelor, that they had no charters nor liberties at all to be found in his highnesse records, other than such as were expired and of no validitie. And as for the greatnesse of the cesse, the burden whereof they had alleged to be unreasonable and not to be borne, because they said & auouched that it was ten pounds & twelue pounds of ech plough land; it was offered that they should be discharged, if they would paie but five markes for euerie plough land. And whatsoeuer they said in deniall of the pateng of the cesse, it was and is to be proued, that it was not onelie his maiesties prerogative which may not be impeached; but also to be proued by most ancient records, that euer since the time of king Henrie the fourth, for the space of eight or nine score yeares, there hath bin still from time to time, as occasion hath required, the like charges imposed by the name of cesse by the deputie and counsell, and such nobilitie as were sent for; and did come to the same, now in question and by them repined at. Neuerthelesse, they repined and flatlie denied that they would yeld to anie cesse, saying and alledging as before, that it was against reason and law, and therefore prayed that they might haue his lordships libertie to make their repaire ouer into England, and to acquaint his highnesse with their case. Wherevnto he answered, that he would neither giue any such leaue nor denie them to go. Wherevpon they assembled themselves together againe, and by the aduise of certeine busie headed lawyers and malecontented gentlemen, who had stirred and set them a worke to confoine themselves to follow this sute, and contributed a masse of monie amongst themselves, for the charge of the said lawyers, namelie Barnabie Scurlocke, Richard Peteruill, and Henrie Burnell, who hauing bene sometimes students in the ins of the court in London, & acquainted with Littletons tenures, thought themselves so well fraughted with knowledge in the laws, as they were able to wade in all matters of the deepest points of the law. But if they had first (as it becometh dutifull subjects) to haue looked in the booke of God, they should haue found it written there, that it was God himselfe who first made kings and established their thrones, and gaue them most excellent preeminences next to himselfe, that they should be vnder him the supreme gouernours vpon the earth; and haue that authoritie and prerogative, that all inferiours and subjects should and ought in all humblenesse and dutifulnesse submit themselves vnto the obedience of them for the Lords sake: because so is it the will of God, without siffing of his

authoritie or examining his gouernment. For there is no power (as the apostle saith) but of God; & they are ordeined of God; wherefore who so resisteth them, resisteth God, and whose resistances & disobediences the Lord himselfe hath reuenged oftentimes on the disobedient. Wherefore euerie man is to be subiect in all humilitie & obedience vnto them in all maner of ordinances, being not against God, nor onlie because of wrath, but also for conscience sake, especiallie in matters being well considered, & which doe concerne their one benefit and safetie. If this be the infallible truth, how farre were these men ouershot, that thus would dispute the princes prerogative with their Littletons tenures; and measure the same with their owne rules and deuises? It had bin much better for them, & moze to their commendations, if they had (as the scholars of Pythagoras) kept silence and had held their peace, vntill such time as they had bene better studied in their owne lawes; and then they should haue found it written that the prince or king is the head and most excellent part of the bodie of the commonwealth; and through his gouernance the preseruer and defender of the whole bodie, and (as the prophet termeth them) to be nourishing fathers of the people which are the rest of the bodie, and for which causes the lawes doe attribute vnto him all honoz, dignitie, prerogative, and preeminence aboue all others; and which his prerogative doth not onelie extend to his owne person, and all that which he hath of his owne, but also to all his subjects. And the law prescribes themselves do so far stretch this for a *Maxime*, that whatsoeuer lawes be made and established either for the benefit of holie church or common profit, it is alwaies implied *salua in omnibus regis prerogativa*; and that nothing shall be intended to be preiudiciall to his crowne and dignitie. But by all likelihood these men were not so farre read; or if they had, their malice or desire of some peltting lucre, which blindeth manie of that profession, had made them forgetfull of themselves & of their duties. Well, these great lawyers beare the malecontented lords & gentlemen in hand, that their cause & sute was good and reasonable, and by the law to be warranted; & not to be doubted but the same would haue good successe. Wherevpon they made by their supplication and letters to his maiestie, with the like letters to his honorable priuie counsell, dated the tenth of Ianuarie, 1576, and vnder the hands of Rowland vicount of Balinglas, Ed. of Deluin, Christopher of Hoth, Peter of Trimleston, James of Kellew, and Patrike Paugle barons; sir Oliuer Plunket, sir Thomas Pugeat, sir Christopher Chiucers, and sir William Searesfield knights; Edward Plunket, Patrike Paugle, Patrike Husseie, George Plunket, Francis Pugeat, Laurence Pugeat, Nicholas Tasse, James Pugeat, and William Talbot, in the names of all the inhabitants within the English pale, had subscribed. And then also they deliuered in the like order their letters of attorneie vnto their said agents, and so much monie for their expences as was thought sufficient, with their order and promise to supplie what soeuer they should need. And thus being furnished with all things to their contentments, they pass ouer the seas, and made their repaire vnto the court of England, and there at time conuenient did exhibit their supplications and letters to his maiestie and the lords of the counsell, which in effect consisted in these points.

First, that where there was a cesse imposed by the lord deputie and counsell vpon the English pale for his maiesties garrisons, they finding themselves grieved therewith, made their complaint thereof vnto the said lord deputie and counsell for redresse, and could not be heard.

D. J.

Seconda

The kings prerogative by the lawes of the realm.

The impeled gentlemen send into England their agents to complain.

The effect of the letters & complaints exhibited to his maiestie and counsell.

Liberties claimed to be discharged of the cesse.

The records searched for liberties.

Liberties claimed to be discharged by proclamation.

What relief

The prerogative of a king by the law of God.

The malecontents made their supplication to the

2 Secondarilie, they affirmed that the said cesse, or anie other like to be imposed upon them, was against the lawes, statutes, and vsages of that realme.

3 Thirdlie, that the cesse was a most intollerable and grieuous burden, there being eracted out of euerie plough land ten and twelue pounds.

4 Fourthlie, that in the leueng and eracting, there were manie and sundrie abuses done and committed.

The matter
is referred to
the counsell.

When hir maiestie had throughlie read both the complaints and letters, the forthwith sent and set them ouer to the lords of hir priue counsell to be considered, and the same to be throughlie examined; who forthwith assembled themselves, and having read and heard the contents thereof, did compare them with the like letters sent vnto them from the said malecontented lords & gentlemen; as also with the instructions and aduertisements, which they likewise had receiued from the lord deputie and counsell out of Ireland, concerning the same. And after long debating of the matter, that they might the better proue and vnderstand the greatnesse thereof, did by hir highnesse commandement call befoze them the earles of Kildare and Dunmoyne, the viscount of Ossington, and the baron of Dunsany, who then were attendant at the court, and declared vnto them the whole matter, and the manner of these mens proceedings both here and in that realme, whose intent and meaning was in verie deed, vnder color to seeke some reliefe, to haue taken awaie wholie the imposing of anie cesse, and so consequentlie to haue taken awaie the right & prerogative, which hir maiestie & predecesors haue alwaies inioined, and without which that realme could not be defended, nor themselves preserved.

These foure noblemen, when they had heard the whole matter, seemed to be forie, and to mislike of their vndisputed proceedings: they confessing and acknowledging that cesse hath bene alwaies vsed to be taken, and they thought him not to be a dutifull subject, who would denie or impugn the same: although they wished and did praye, that the poore inhabitants in times of scarcitie might be eased of some part of the burthen which they now presentlie did beare. When the lords of the counsell had proceeded herein so farre as they could, they deliuered by their opinions to hir maiestie, aduertising that concerning the first article they could say nothing; but that they supposed that the doings of hir highnesse deputie was not so strict as was complained: because he had written otherwise.

The answers
of the counsell
to the articles
of the complainers.

To the second their opinion was, that it touched hir maiesties prerogative, so much to be denied of that imposition, which hath bene vsed, allowed, and continued for manie yeares, and in times of hir sundrie predecesors; that now it might not be suffered to be impeached, vnlesse hir highnesse would lose and forgo hir title, right, and interest to the crowne of Ireland, or else support the whole burthen and charge to defend the same of hir owne purse: neither which extremities could or might in anie wise be tolerated.

To the third, that the cesse was intollerable, and not able to be borne, they thought that to be true, if ten pounds and twelue pounds should be demanded out of euerie plough land, as they complained: but they vnderstood by credible informations from the deputie and counsell the contrarie, & that they were offered at five marks the plough land: which was supposed to be verie easie and reasonable.

To the fourth article their opinion was, that if anie such abuses were done, it were good the same were set downe and knowne, and a redress thereof

to be ordered.

When hir highnesse had read and thoroughlie considered their opinions and resolutions, and finding hir selfe vndutifullie to be handled by hir subjects, commanded by the aduise of hir counsell the said agents which followed their sute, to be committed to the Fleet, and forthwith wrote hir letters to the said hir deputie and counsell, finding hir selfe grieved with the said hir subjects of the pale, that the releasing of hir armie with vittels by waie of cesse, should be auouched to be a matter against law, and ancient custome: and yet the same both in hir time and in the times of hir progenitors, hath vsuallie bene imposed, and now impugned by some such as in times past had subscribed therevnto, in prejudice of hir prerogative, and hinderance of hir seruice. And therfore she did not onelie mislike, & was greatly offended with these their presumptuous and vndutifull manner of proceeding; but also found fault with the said deputie and hir counsell there, that they would and did suffer hir prerogative in contempt of hir highnesse and authoritie to be so impugned, & the parties not committed & punished: by which meanes the matter at the first and in the beginning might haue bene remedied. And therfore as hir highnesse had alreadye giuen order for committing them to the Fleet, for the punishment of the agents which were sent ouer with the complaints and letters, for such their insuffieng and mainteining the imposition of the said cesse to be against the lawes and customes of that hir realme, and therefore seeking to impeach hir prerogative and roiall authoritie: but also willed and commanded him and all hir whole counsell to send for those lords and gentlemen, which subscribed the letters sent vnto hir highnesse, who if they will stand to mainteine their assertions, and auoid the imposition of the cesse to be against the lawes and customes of the realme, and not warrantable by hir prerogative, that then hir pleasure was, that these persisting and auoiding to be likewise committed.

And concerning the abuses perpetrated in the manner of the leueng the said cesse, hir commandement and order was, that whosoever were culpable therein, he should be punished with all severity. And herewith also she was contented, and had giuen order for some qualification to be yielded vnto, as by the said hir deputie and counsell should be thought meet: considering the scarcitie and the dearth which was then in the said English pale. And in case the said lords and gentlemen vpon better consideration will be contented to acknowledge their offenses, and submit themselves simple, and vnder their hand, writings: that then they to receiue fauour. And as for those and such hir learned men, as were present at the debating of the matter, and did forbear (contrarie to their dutie & knowledge) to stand in maintenance against the said prerogative, to be displayed and discharged out of hir fauour, and their places to be supplied by such others as by the deputies shall be thought meet. Immediatlie vpon the receipt of hir maiesties letters, and the like from the counsell, the lord deputie and counsell by their letters sent not onelie for those malcontents, which had before subscribed to the letters sent to hir highnesse and counsell; but also in discretion for such others who for their disguised and cunning manner of dealings were speciallie noted to be counsellors, ringlers, and procurers of these letters to hir maiestie and the lords of hir counsell: who when they were come, and then being dealt withall, touching their claime of freedome from cesse: their answers were arrogant and wilfull, and repining against hir maiesties prerogative, and affirming boldlie in plaine speeches and without anie sticking, that no cesse

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celle could be imposed but by parlement or a grand counsell; and whatsoeuer was otherwise set downe, was against the law: and so stubbornlie they were bent therein, that they would not yeld to anie consent: whereupon they were all committed to the castell of Dublin, notwithstanding some of them (after they had better aduised themselves) yeldd a submission and praied mercie.

Which doings when the lord deputie and counsell had forthwith aduertised to hir highnesse & the council in England; they nothing liking these arrogant and disloyall parts of these impaled malecontents, sent for their agents; and hauing the like conference with them, found them of like disposition, being as a fit couer to the pot, verie forward, arrogant, and wilfull: whereupon they were removed from the Fleet to the Tower: a place appointed for the offenders in capitall causes, and for such (being impugnors of hir prerogative) as be supposed to offend in the next degree to the highest. These things when they were notified unto the lords and gentlemen in Ireland, they were maruellouslie grieved; but not the one nor the other would giue ouer, untill their arrogancies and insolencies were by apparant matter and good records fullie conuicted, and condemned: for which the lord chancelor of verie purpose was sent ouer into England, who so fullie, effectually, and discretly did resolve hir maiestie and counsell in euerie point, which the parties agents could not denie.

Now in the end they considered better of themselves, and sent their humble submission in writing vnder their hands to the said lords of hir maiesties priuie counsell, confessing that they had disloyallie and insolentlie, both in words and writings offended most greivously; protesting yet that their intent was neuer to denie hir roiall prerogative, to vse the same as occasion should serue, but onelie to redresse certaine abuses; and therefore most humbly praied they might find some mercie, and that the hard and painfull imprisonment which they had sustained, might be a sufficient punishment for the same. Whereupon they were released, putting in bonds of one thousand pounds, that within five daies they should depart homewards into Ireland; and after their transportation & arrivall thither, should make their immediat repaire, without staie or lingering, to the lord deputie and counsell, and there to giue their attendance, untill by them they should be licensed to depart. At their comming home they performed the conditions of their obligations, and most humbly in like order submitted themselves to the lord deputie and counsell, and then (according to an order thought good by the lords of the counsell in England, and referred to the liking of the lord deputie and counsell in Ireland) the same was after long trauesse ended and determined. But here to set downe what practises, informations, & deuises were made against the said deputie, by the said malecontents, and some (by their means) of no small calling had informed that he had alienated the hearts of the subjects from total obedience, that he had farmed all the whole reime, that he had waisted hir maiesties treasures and reuenues, that he wanted policie in his gouernement, that he should for this dealing with hir subjects be reuoked, that he did all things by his owne mind without the aduise of others, contrarie to the course of other deputies before him, that he did grant manie pardons, to the imboldening of manie which offended the more.

These and manie such other like vntruths they spred. But truth, which is the daughter of time, did manifest it to the whole world, that their ouerthrow was his credit, and his prouaile was to their reproch

and shame. And albeit manie were the pangs and inward griefes, which for a time by the means of their false suggestions he sustained, and with great paines he couered: yet in the end it turned to his great joy and comfort. And here by the way, if a man without offense should fall into the consideration of his their resistance, and repining against the celle, which was then enterprised and taken in hand; when the whole land stood in a broken and doubtfull state, and the time verie dangerous; when the earle of Desmond forwardly kicked at the like, and all the lords in Hounster had contrarie to their owne orders and promises, denied, and commanded their tenants to denie after the manner of the English pale, to pale anie celle; when James Fitzmoris being furnished with men, monie, and munition, by the pope and king of Spaine, was daily looked for to come and innade the land; and when the great ones hauing hollow harts, and addicted to papistrie, did daily gape and expect for the same; when the disloyall Irishie in Hounster and Connaugh were combined and ioined in these conspiracies; when Roze Og, Dmore, Connoe Mac Cormacke, Dconnoe & others, animated by the foresaid conspiracies, were by in open rebellion, and vsed most execrable outrages; when some of the best townes in Leinster did aid, comfort, and mainteine these rebels, and besides manie other circumstances concurring hèrewith: might it not be well presumed (and as it was so doubted) that the cause being like, they should also be combined and linked alike? And might not the whole world iudge that neither barrell was the better hering? And yet notwithstanding it fell in the end to a better effect, for the lords and inhabitants in the English pale, since the time of the conquest by king Henrie the second, and since their first arrivall into this land, it hath not bene lightlie knowne that they had broken their faith and their allegiance, and not to rebell in anie warres against the crowne of England, and the kings of the same; sauing as now in respect to saue their purses, rather than meaning anie breach of dutie, had ouer shot themselves: which vpon a further consideration of the truth they repented, and vpon their submission were pardoned, in hope and vpon their promise that they would neuer thenceforth offend, nor be found faultie with the like. During the trauesse about the celle, manie things hapened in the land worthis to be reprehended (as great and sundrie were the aduertisements from out of France by such Englishmen as were there imploied) of an intention of James Fitzmoris to inuade Ireland, who had bene at Rome with the pope, and there was he princelie interteined, and returned from thence with a good masse of treasure, making his returne through Spaine, and by the king thereof was furnished with men, munitions, & treasures, and all things necessarie. Which things were by letters from him signified unto the chæf of all Hounster his secret confederats, and the being papists both in bodie & soule, & desirous of change of gouernement, and to be vnder a prince of their owne superstition, did daily languish and expect his comming. Wherefore hir maiestie and counsell, hauing the like intelligences, did also prepare monie, munitions, vittels, and men, and all other things necessarie for the withstanding of him.

Roze Og, Dmore, and Connoe Mac Cormacke, Dconnoe, and their coparteners, contrarie to their othes, submissions, and promises, hoping for aid out of Connaugh, began anet to gather their friends and confederats out of seuerall places, to the number of a hundred swordes, which with his owne made aboue seatienscore; and being animated by Shane Burke to continue a rebell, he burned diuerse mens

Dy.

haggards,

The shew of the English pale to the crowne.

The burning
of the Paas
by Rozie Dg.

haggards, poze mens houses, and sundrie villages, and committed manie outrages: and being not resisted, he took such encouragement of his successe, that leaving poze villages, he went to great towne, as to the Paas, distant from Dublin about ten miles. The verie same daie of the said towne, commonlie called the church holie daie, which daie after the maner of that countrie, and not much unlike the festiuall daies which the Ethniks and Pagans were wont to celebrate to their idoll gods of Bacchus and Menus, they spent in gluttonie, drunkenness, and surfetting. And after they had so filled their panches, and the daie was gone, they somewhat late in the night went to their beds, hauing forgotten to make fast their towne gates, or put anie watch to ward them. Which thing Rozie Dg when he knew, and hauing intelligence that euerie man was in his bed asleepe, then he in the dead night came to the towne with all his companie, who like vnto a sort of furies and diuels new come out of hell, carried vpon the ends of their poles flanks of fier, and did set as they went the low thatched houses on fier. And the wind being then somewhat great and vehement, one house took fier of another, and so in a trise and moment the whole towne was burned; and yet in the towne supposed to be five hundred persons in outward appearance, able to haue resisted them: but they being in their dead slees, suddentlie awaked, were so amazed, that they wist not what to do, for the fier was round about them and past quenching, and to pursue the enimie they were altogether vnfurnished, and durst not to do it, neither if they would they could tell which way to follow him. For he tarried verie little in the towne, sauing that he sat a little while vpon the crosse in the market place, and beheld how the fire round about him was in euerie house kindled, and whereat he made great ioy and triumph, that he had done and exploited so diuclish an act. And then after a short space he arose and departed with great triumph according to his accustomed vsage in all his euill actions, but yet contrarie to his vsage, he killed no one person in the towne. As he returned he cried and spoiled the countrie, and ranging to and fro, as his wauering head carried him, he came verie shortly vnto the towne at Leighlin bridge, and there burned part of the towne.

Rozie Dg
burneth the
towne at
Leighlin
bridge.

George Carew with
twelue persons
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The castell
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But George Carew brother vnto Peter Carew, then constable of the said towne and fort, hauing then but a small ward to defend the violence of the enimie, and yet thinking it should be too great a dishonour vnto him to be bearded with a traitor, and to let him depart vnfought withall: he issued out vpon him, hauing with him onelie seuen horsemen and five shot, and gaue the charge vpon the said rebels, being two hundred and fortie, with such a courage and ballantnesse (and they affonied because it was so sudden and in the night time) that he killed some of them: and then they with the losse of those men began to flee. But at last when they perceived his force to be but small, and too weak to resist their great number, they returned and chased him to the verie walles of the castell, where if he and his small companie had not like ballant and good souldiers acquitted themselves, the rebels had entred into the house; for they were within the gate and there fought, but driven out and the gate shut. At this bickering they lost sixtene men, and one of their chiefe capteines named Piers Poinagh, who died verie shortly after of his hurt. Capteine Carew lost but two men and one horse, but euerie one of the rest of his companie was hurt.

The enimie, nothing triumphing nor liking this intertainment, presently retired and departed, by

which meanes the one halfe of the towne was saued. After their returne from hence, they spoiled sundrie townes and villages vpon the confines & borders of the English pale. And albeit they were verie eagerlie followed and pursued, and oftentimes with losse of his companie, yet he was so mainteined, and his watch and spall was so good, that partlie by the helpe of his acquaintance, and partlie by meanes of the water bogs and fastenelle in euerie place, he was in safegard and safetie. In this pursuit made vpon him, it happened that a parlie was appointed betwene capteine Harington and him: vnto whom Rozie Dg swoze and promised most faithfullie to yeld himselfe to some conformitie and order. The capteine nothing mistrusting him, gaue too much credit to his subtill promises, and did so open himselfe vnto him, that through his owne follie Rozie took advantage, and perforce took him and Alexander Colbie, who was with him in hand, both which he handfasted together, and carried them along with him as his water spaniels, thorough woods and bogs, threatening them still to kill them. This thing being knowne, great sorrow and greafe was conceived of the lord deputie, and of all good Englishmen, and dailie practises were deuised for their deliueries; and at length by treatie of friends an agreement was in a manner concluded. But before the same was fullie perfected, a draught was made by Robert Harepole constable of Catherlough, to intrap and to make a draught vpon Rozie: for he knowing where the said Rozie was wont to hunt, and by good espials learning where his coch and cabine was, he being accompanied with Barker lieutenant to capteine Furse and fittie of his band, earelie in the morning, about two houres before daie, he went and marched to the verie place where Rozie late, and beset the same. Rozie hearing an vntwonted noise, and suspecting the worst, he came suddentlie vpon Harington and Colbie, thinking to haue slaine them, and getting in the darke to the place where they late, gaue him diuerse wounds, but none deadlie; the greatest was the losse of the little finger on his left hand. Robert Harepole when he had broken open the doze of the cabin, he took as manie as were within prisoners: but Rozie himselfe and one other priuillie in the darke stole awate and crept among the bushes, so that he could not be found. The souldiers in the meane time, making spoile of all such goods as they found, killed all the men who were there, but saued capteine Harington and Colbie.

Rozie Dg albe it he was glad that he was so escaped, yet in a great grieffe for the losse of his prisoners, and minding to be reuenged, priuillie with all the companies which he could get, besides them which Shane Burke had sent vnto him out of Connagh, he went to Catherlough earelie in the morning, and burned a few haggards of corne and a few houses, and so retired. Robert Harepole hearing hereof, forthwith followeth them with ten or twelue horses which he had in a readinesse, and at a ford not far off he ouertooke them, and killed sixtene or seuen. Some of his best men, and Rozie himselfe escaped verie narrowlie; and so continued still in his former outrages, vntill he was intraped and taken by a deuisse of his owne to intrap others, which was in this manner. Vpon the nine and twentieth of Aprill 1578, he set forth of purpose an espiall, whom he had cunninglie framed, and made apt for the purpose to go to sir Barnard Fitzpatrick lord of Upper Osserie, and to tell him by the waie of great friendship and in secrecie, that Rozie Dg had bene of late in the countie of Kilkennie, and there had taken a great preie and spoile of pots, pans, and other household stuffe, which he might easilie take if he would adventure

The countie
to driven to
retire and
furnace.

Rozie Dg by
flight and de-
script taketh
capteine Harington
prisoner.

A draught
made vpon
Rozie Dg by
Harepole.

Capteine Harington is
hurt.

Rozie Dg
escapeth.

Capteine Harington is
deliuered.

Rozie Dg
burneth Catherlough.

A hartland
the lord of Upper
Osserie.

Rozie Dg is
slaine.

The lord deputie
maketh
a iourne by
Rozie Dg.

The countie of
Down sent
for to come to
the lord deputie
to the Kilkennie
mire.

The countie of
Down and
the lord deputie
sent of Down
are recon-
ciled.

The countie of
Down
writeth to
the lord deputie.

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ture the matter; and if he did wiselie handle it, he might also take Kozie himselfe and all his companie, which as he said (but vntrulie) that they were but few in number. The lord of Upper Osserie, neither beleueing nor yet mistrusting this newes, and yet forcailling the worst, did put himselfe in readinesse to follow the occasion that was offered, and taking with him a good companie of horsemen and footmen, went towards the place where the bait was laied; and being come nere vnto it made staie, or else he had bene intrapped, and sent thirtie of his men into the woods to serch for Kozie. But the baron himselfe with certeine of his horsemen and footmen staied in the plaines, to attend the issue of the matter. The companie were no sooner entered into the woods, but Kozie the rebell shewed himselfe with a thirtie persons, the rest lieng in ambush; and he was of the opinion that his fame and estimation was so great, and of such value among the Irishie, that no man durst to aduenture vpon him if he once saw his presence. But he was deceiued. For at the first sight and view of him, the lord of Osseries Kerne gaue the charge vpon him, and at their encounter one of them lighted vpon him, and with his sword presentlie thrust him through the bodie: which was no sooner done, but two or thre hacked vpon him, & gaue him such deablie wounds that he fell downe and died, the same being the last daie of June before said; and so this bloudie cattife, deliting all in blood, perished and died in his owne blood.

But before Kozie was thus brought to destruction, the lord deputie made a iourne to the borders of Ossallie and Ler, to haue met with the fore said Kozie & his companions the Oconnors for the suppressing of their insolencie, who were growen into such a pride by taking of capteine Harington, and their strength so increased, that with most vndutifull termes they breathed out slanderous speeches against hir maiestie, as which were not to be indured. Wherefore he beset the whole countrie & confines as he thought best, to stop their passage and to annioie them, & so he went to Kilkennie, and there by sundrie examinations found people of all degrees in that towne to haue relieued the said Kozie with vittels and all other necessaries, for his feeding and defense, with whome he took order according to their deserts. At his being there he sent for the earle of Desmond to come vnto him, because he had refused to come to the lord president when he sent for him sundrie times, and for which cause the said lord president was there to complaine vpon him, as also that he had of his owne authoritie, without any warrant, gathered together a rabble of lewde and vntrulie followers, which harried by and downe the countrie, eating and spending vpon the same, contrary to all good orders, and which was not to be suffered.

Which earle forthwith, vpon the receipt of the said letters, came to Kilkennie to the lord deputie, and there being examined of those his vnseemelie parts, confessed some part: and for excuse he alledged and much mistrusted and doubted the president, least he would haue staied him, and haue used him hardlie, for which he was blamed and reprimanded by the lord deputie. But in the end, when they came together, they were reconciled and made good friends, and then he promised vpon his returne home to disperse abroad his companions, and to obeye the president as hir maiesties principall officer of that prouince, and to come vnto him at all commandements, and which things he performed. For not long after he offered and beliaied to the said lord president the practices of James Fitzmoris, who by the arrivall of certeine Frenchmen and Irishmen vnto Sligo, in a ship of

saint Maloues, did what he could to stirre & make a rebellion in Downe and Connaugh, whereby a plot was laied for the slaie of those Frenchmen, and the apprehension of the Irishmen. These were good demonstrations to the utter shew of the obedience and loialtie of the said earle, but in truth more dissimulation, as afterwards it appeared.

Connaugh was in some part troubled, by means of Dwarke capteine of his surname; in whose countrie there were certeine corners of monie, and maintained by him. The cozoneill vnderstanding hereof, he sent vnto Dwarke for them, and also deniied to deliuer any of them: wherefore to correct that his pride, disobedience, and insolencie, he sent a priuat band of footmen, who distressed Dwarke, slue his men, took his castell, and put all the ward to the sword. Whereupon he came with all humilitie, and submitted himselfe, and craued pardon. All the residue of Connaugh was verie quiet, and increased hir maiesties revenues to the yearelie summe of eightene hundred pounds by the yeare, with good contentation. And now when it was thought that all things were quiet throughout all Ireland; behold sudden aduertisements were giuen both vnto hir maiestie and counsell in England, and to the lord deputie in Ireland, that Thomas Stukelcie was arrived out of Italie vnto Cadis in Spaine, with certeine men, ships, and munitions assigned vnto him by the pope. And being accompanied with certeine strangers attending vpon him, he was come to the seas, to land vpon some part of the realme of Ireland, in traitorous maner to inuade the same, and to prouoke the people to ioine with him in rebellion. All things, as well men, munitions, monie, vittels, and all other things necessarie were prouided and prepared for the preventing of them, as well by sea as by land: but in the end, aduertisement was giuen from out of Portugall, that his enterprise was diuerted another waie, and to another purpose, and so all things were quiet. Neuerthelesse, it appeared that he was in great fauour with the pope, and was appointed to some speciall seruice against hir maiestie, if opportunitie would haue serued, & all other things had fallen out as it was deuised. And for the incouraging of him, the pope besides great treasures liberallie bestowed vpon him, he gaue him sundrie titles of honour, and made him knight, baron of Kosse and Jozon, vicount of the Drough & Kenschlagh, and earle of Wexford and Catherlough, and marquisse of Leinster, and generall to the most holie father Gregorie the seventh Pontifici maximo.

In the middle of these boiles, the vicount Baltinglasse, one of the chiefe impugnors and malecontents against the cesse, wrote his letters to the earle of Desmond, then attendant at the court of England, and complaineth of great iniuries and spoiles to the value of two hundred pounds in monie, besides numbers of sheepe and kine, done vpon him and his tenants by the English souldiers, vnder sir Nicholas Baginoll knight marshall, when they were lodged one night in his house at Baltinglasse, in the time that they serued vpon the rebell Kozie & D. Which letter was by the said earle shewed to hir maiestie, and to the lords of hir most honourable priue counsell. Vpon which complaint, because it seemed somewhat pitious and lamentable, and hir maiestie partlie persuaded (as a matter verie likelie to be true) that such greivous extorsions suffered vnto that nation, than did any of the Irish exactions: letters were sent to the lord deputie, to take care with all diligence, that the poore oppressed might be satisfied, and the offenders also be punished, according to the quantities and qualities of their offenses.

lord president James Fitzmoris his practices.

Corners in Connaugh,

Dwarke refusing to deliuer corners his castell is taken, and he submitted himselfe.

Tho. Stukelcie here suspected to come into Ireland.

Great preparation made against Stukelcie.

The pope his fauour to Stukelcie.

Stukelcie his honour and titles.

The vicount Baltinglasse complaineth to the earle of Desmond against sir Nicholas Baginoll

The earle of Desmond aduerteth the complaint of the vicount to hir maiestie and counsell. Hir maiestie sendeth letters in the behalfe of the vicount Baltinglasse.

D. ij.

The

The earle of Desmond is driven to retire and flee away.

Kozie & his company taken by the lord deputie.

Kozie & his company taken by the lord deputie.

Capteine Harington made vpon Kozie & his company.

Capteine Harington is hurt.

Kozie & his company taken by the lord deputie.

Capteine Harington is delivered.

Kozie & his company taken by the lord deputie.

1578

A bait laid for the lord of Upper Osserie.

eat old men

The earle of Desmond and the lord president of Connaugh are reconciled.

The earle of Desmond is driven to flee.

The vicount Baltinglasse complaineth to the lord deputie against sir Nicholas Wagnoll.

The lord deputie, before the receipt of these letters, was complained unto by the said vicount, and sir Nicholas Wagnoll was called to answer such hurts as were objected against him. And upon the replication of the vicount, sir Lucas Dillon and sir Thomas Fitzwilliams knights were appointed to examine all such witnesses, as were brought forth for proofe of the surmises, which in the end fell out to none effect, for nothing could be proved to any purpose. But it appeared manifest of the contrarie, by the report and testimonie of sundrie gentlemen of verie good credit, and how that the said marshall at his first coming to that towne, had given great charge to everie capitaine, to foresee that no iniurie should be offered, no spoiles committed, nor any thing to be taken by any souldier or other person without present painment, professing and proclaiming execution according to marshall law, upon such as should do the contrarie.

Likewise at his departure from thence, he made the like proclamation, that if there were any which had any cause of complaint for any wrong or iniurie done, or that any thing were taken and not paid for, he should come and be heard, and be satisfied. And by this it doth appeare, that the surmises were made rather to aggravate his greafe conceived against the imposition of the cesse, than for any good matter in truth. Wherefore as he and his complices preyailed little in the one, no more had he successe or credit in the other. For the matter was fully certified unto the lords of the councell, and a request therewith made verie earnestlie, that the said vicount might be reprovued, and also terrified to profer or practise any such untrue and indirect dealings. By these and other the like practises of the said vicount, that because he did not brybe nor like of the cesse, he thought by waie of exclames to aggravate his owne case, that thereby the lord deputie might fall into the dislike of his maiestie, and be out of favour, but the contrarie in the end fell out to his owne reproche and discredit.

The whole land in peace

When the lord deputie had ended and finished all his businesse, and had set the whole realme in order and peace, being now delivred from inward and civil warre, and from the feare of Strakeleies invasion, he prepared (according to his maiesties former letters of the sixteenth of March last past) to take his passage for England, and to make his repaire to his highnesse. And so when all things were accordingly prepared, and the wind & weather serving, he delivred up the sword according to his maiesties commandement, the sixteenth of Maye 1578, unto sir William Dzurie, then lord president of Spounser. And then being conducted by the said now lord justice and councell, and all the nobilitie, citizens & people to the waters side, he imbarked himselfe, taking his leave in most honourable, loving, and courteous manner of everie man. And at his verie entering into the ship for his farewell unto that whole land and nation, he recited the words of the 114 psalme, *In exitu Israel de Aegypto, & domus Iacob de populo barbaro*: alluding thereby to the troublesome state of Spoues in the land of Aegypt, and of his departure from out of the same: who notwithstanding he had in great wisdom, care, and policie governed the stiffnecked people of Israell, had done many miracles and wondrous works to their comfort, had delivred them from many great perils and dangers, had preserved and also kept them in peace and safetie, had in the end through the mightie hand of God brought them out of the hands of Pharaon, and from out of the land of Aegypt, and had given them the sight of the land of promise: yet he found them alwaies a froward and peruerse genera-

tion, a stiffnecked and an ungratefull people: even no lesse as this noble man, and most worthy governor hath found of the people of this most cursed nation. Who notwithstanding he was a verie painfull traveller both by day and night, in foule and in faire weathers, in stormes and in tempests, in troubles and in dangers, in scarcitie and in penurie, in danger of the enimie and perill of his life: and yet continuallie studieng, devising, travelling, toiling, and labouring to do them good (as he did full many and often times) which so long as they felt the ease & comfort, so long were they contented and quiet: but otherwise most ungratefull and unthankfull. And offering unto him the like reward as Licurgus received of the most unthankfull Lacedemonians, who when he had recovered that savage nation to a civil life, and a politike government, and in the end reduced them to that order and maner, as they became to be feared of all their neighbors, they in recompense evill intreated him in verie bad speeches, and strake out one of Licurgus his eyes. But these men for thousands and infinit commodities, would not one lie have bereft his lordship of both his eyes, but also done him a further inconvenience (if successe had happened) according to their malice.

And now here by the waie, let it not be offensive to set downe somewhat of much concerning this worthy and noble man for the course of his life. He was borne and descended of a noble house and parentage, his father named sir William Sidneie, a knight of great reputation and credit in the countie of Kent, and in great favour with king Henrie the eight, in whose time, and with his great good liking, he and others lustie young gentlemen of the court travelled into Spaine and other nations, to visit and to see the maner of the emperours and other princes courts: his mother descended of the house of Charles Brandon duke of Suffolke, unto whom he was verie nere allied. This young gentleman, his father being deceased, and he of verie tender and young yeeres, was brought up in the court under the same maister as was king Edward the first, and profited verie well, both in the Latine and French tongues, for he had a verie good wit, and was verie forward in all good actions, and whereof was conceived some good things would come of him: his countenance was verie amiable, and his behavoure verie gentle and courteous, in whom king Henrie the eight (being his godfather) had a verie great liking, and made him be attendant and plaisefellow with prince Edward.

This prince fell in such a good familiaritie and good liking of him, that he used him not onelie as a companion; but many times as a bedfellow, and so delighted in his companie, that for the most part they would never be asunder, neither in health, nor in sicknesse, untill the dieng date of the prince: who then departed his life in this gentlemen's armes. Somewhat before his death, the king gave the order of knight hood to this gentleman, for a memorie and a recompense of his good will and love: upon which date also he did the like unto sir William Cecil, now lord Burghlie and lord high treasurer of all England: by meanes of which their contained advancement, there entered a verie fervent affection and good will betwene them, with a reciproche answering of benenolence each one to the other, untill their dieng dates. This noble gentleman for his forwardnesse in all good actions, was as it were the paragon of the court, by reason of the many good gifts which God had bestowed upon him everie person and well besene; he was comelie and of a good countenance, he was so courteous and

The painfull travels of the lord deputie not confounde

The ingratitude of the Lacedemonians to Licurgus.

The parentage of sir Henrie Sidneie.

Sir Henrie Sidneie brought up in the court.

Sir Henrie Sidneie the king his companion and bedfellow.

The king bred in sir Henrie Sidneie's armes.

The king dubbeth sir Henrie Sidneie and sir William Cecil knights in one date.

Edm. More.

Sir Henrie Sidneie an ambassador unto the king.

Sir Henrie Sidneie lord president of Wales and knight of the garter.

Sir Henrie Sidneie lord treasurer at armes. He was lord justice four times. The plot of sir Henrie Sidneie's government.

Religion.

Spaine borne in Ireland never christened.

Shene Sidneie's name.

1578 The sword is delivered to sir William Dzurie as lord justice.

The departure of sir Henrie Sidneie, and of his last sayings.

The notable works of Spoues, & yet he not accepted.

of so good behauiour, he was so wise and so modest, so vertuous and so godlie, so discret and so sober, as he was another Scipio; being but young in years, and old in behauiour, and finallie so rare a man, as that age had not afforded manie better. This man for his excellent god gifts, he was made ambassadoz into France, being but about one and twentie yeares of age; and twice in one yeare after that in to Scotland: and by quene Marie joined in commission with others to attend king Philip his coming into England, for the marriage betwene their maiesties. And now in this hir maiesties reigne, he was sent ambassadoz into France, to treat a peace or pacification betwene the prince of Condie and the duke of Guise.

In the beginning and about the second or third yeare of hir maiesties reigne, he was made knight of the garter, and lord president of Wales; and after one of hir maiesties most honozable priuie counsell. But before this, immediatlie upon his returne from out of Spaine, he accompanied the lord Thomas lord Fitzwaters his brother in law into Ireland: where he was made treasurer at the wars, one of the principall offices in the land: and in course of time & yeares for his excellencie in knowledge and experiance in that land, he was made lord iustice four times, and was lord deputie thre times. In which offices, how he did most honozable acquite himselfe, his acts doe declare, and the summarie recitall shall partlie discouer and set downe. He was no sooner placed in gouernement, but first and forthwith he laid downe his plot, whereupon he would ground & laie the foundation of his gouernement, and according to it would he frame and direct all his actions: which plot and deuise consisteth in these points; religion towards God, obedience to the prince, the peace of the people, and the well gouernement in all things concerning the commonwealth, either in causes ciuill or martiall.

Concerning religion, he was no more carefull in his owne person, but the like also in his priuat familie, where he had dallie exercises of praiers, both earlie and late, morning & evening, neither would he haue ante to serue him, who was not affected to religion, and of an honest conuersation. Atheists and papists he detested, dyonhards and adulterers he abhorred, blasphemous and dissolute persons he could not abide. And at his first being in authoritie in Ireland, & finding the whole land generallie (a few priuat places excepted) to be either of no religion, or of papistieall religion; and being openlie by a preacher out of a pulpit aduertised, that in the remote places of that land, manie a soule was borne which neuer receiued baptisme, nor knewe anie churshening; great was his græfe, and much was he vniquieted, untill he had found the redresse thereof. Wherefore he aduertised hir maiestie, & most earnestlie sued & prayed for redresse & reformation, which in the end was granted, & a commission sent to him for the same: which forthwith he committed to the archbishops & bishops to execute, with whom he joined, furthered and holpe them accordinglie to the uttermost. But yet it toke not that god effect as he wished and willed it might. And as for ecclesiasticall liuings which were of his gift and disposition, he would neuer bestow, but upon such, as of whome he conceiued a good opinion, both for his religion and honestie.

The prince, who was scarce knowne in manie places in that land, he brought both to knowledge and obedience. The wild he tamed, the froward he reformed, the disobedient he punished, the traitors he persecuted, the rebels he chastised, the proud he made to stoop, and that arrogant and most insolent Shane O'Neill, who could abide no equall, nor acknowledge

a superiour, by a brought was brought to his deserved confusion: & whose head for a trophie, & for the example of Gods iustice laied vpon him, was set vpon a pole vpon the gate of the castell of Dublin. The whole prouince of Ulster, with all the mightie personages of the same, he brought to the quenes peace & obedience. The earle of Clanricard he took and imprisoned, and his vntamed springals he drate to submission, and to sweare dutie and obedience. The vniconstant earle of Desmond and all his Girdines and followers, and the proud and ingrateful earle of Clancar, and all the Irishie of his adherents, he made them perforce to submit themselves, and to craue pardon. The Caenaghs, the Odoles, the Odirnes, the Ocomozes, the Omozos, and a rable of other like septs, together with Korie Og, Theon Mac Hely, and other their leaders and guides in Leinster he tamed, and perforce compelled to sweare loialtie and subiedion. Lastlie, the malecontents against hir maiesties prerogatiue for the cels in the end cried *Peccati*, and conformed themselves in all dutifullnesse. And when he had travelled long in these affaires, which he saw could not haue continuance, vnlesse they by some other means might be kept vnder gouernement: he by pithe persuations, found arguments, great reasons, and continuall sutes to hir maiestie and counsell, obtained to haue rulers and gouernors to be placed in the remote prouinces and found, learned, and by right iust lawiers out of England to be sent ouer, for the direction of the gouernement, according to the lawes of England: which in the end hir maiestie most gratioullie granted, and he most ioisfullie obtained.

In Hounster therefore first he placed a coronell to breake the ise; namelye sir Humfrete Gilbert, a valiant, a worthie, and a notable man, both for his martiall seruice, and his ciuill gouernement: after him followed the like and worthie gentleman sir John Perot knight: and lastlie the valiant and prudent sir William Dzurle, which both were lord presidents. This man was afterwards lord iustice, and the other at these presents is lord deputie of that land. In Connagh sir Edward Fitton knight, a berie wise and a modest gentleman, late treasurer at armes, was lord president: and after him was sir Nicholas Malbie knight a valiant and expert man in martiall matters, and berie wise and of god knowledge in publike and ciuill causes: who could verie eractlie handle the sword, and vse the pen, he (I saie) was made coronell of all Connagh. And how well the foresaid rulers and gouernors did rule by the sword, with the assistance of their capteins, and how byrightlie they ministred law and iustice by the aduise of the counsellors in their feuerall prouinces, the records and registers of their doings doe at large witnesse and set forth. The like order he toke also at Dublin, which being the metropole and chiefe citie of the whole land, and where are hir maiesties principall and high courts, to answer the law to all sutors throughout the whole realme: and he considering that a great defect was in the administration of iustice in those courts, by reason of kindred, affinitie, and priuat affections among the chiefe iudges and officers of that countrie birth: he by his like earnest sutes to hir maiestie, procured them to be remoued, and their romes to be supplied with such wise, graue and learned Englishmen, as were sent from out of England to be chiefe iustices, atturneie, and sollicitors. And further also, whereas there were manie god lawes & statutes established in the realme, which hitherto were laid by and shrouded in filth and cobwebs, and vterlie vnkowne to the most part of the whole land, and euerie man ignorant

All Ulster brought to obedience.

The earle of Clanricard imprisoned. The mightie earles in Hounster brought to submission.

The rebels in Leinster tamed.

The malecontents against the cels reformed.

Sir Humfrete Gilbert coronell in Hounster. Sir John Perot, Sir William Dzurle lord presidents in Hounster.

Sir Edward Fitton and sir Nicholas Malbie gouernors in Connagh.

English lawes placed to be iustices in the courts.

The statutes to be rebewed and printed.

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is of the
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Sir Henrie
Dunne an
ambassadoz
into France.

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of the
edemont-
to the
gus.

Sir Henrie
Dunne lord
president of
Wales and
high of the
garter.

Sir Henrie
Dunne lord
treasurer at
the wars.
He was lord
iustice four
times.
The plot of
Sir Henrie
Dunne's go-
uernment.

parent-
e of the
erie
advice.

Beligion.

Sir Henrie
Dunne was
brought by in
the court.

Sir Henrie
Dunne the
king his com-
panion and
bedfellow.

The king
dwelt in
the king's
armies.

The king
dubberly
the king's
and the
William &
the king's
one day.

Edm. Mol-
incuz.

Shane O-
Neill.

The Chronicles of Ireland.

noizant in the lawes of his owne native countrie, he caused a through view, and a rebiew to be made, and then a choise of all such statutes as were most necessarie to be put in vze and execution: which being done, he caused to be put in print, to the great benefit of that whole nation.

The records searched and set vp in places convenient.

The castell chamber built kept.

Edm. Mollineux.

The Irish grounds reduced into counties and shires.

The castell of Dublin repaired.

The towne of Carigfergus fortified.

A gaole at Dolengar builded.

The towne of Athenrie re-edified.

The bridge of Athlon new builded.

And likewise for the records, which were verie well kept, not fenced or defended from raine and foule weather, but laie all in a chaos and a confused heape, without anie regard; he caused to be viewed 10 and sorted, and then prepared more rooms, presses, and places for the keeping of them in safetie, and did appoint a speciall officer with a yearelie fee for the keeping of them: and for all such matters as were to be heard and determined in the castell chamber, before the lords, as it is in the starchamber in England; he would be for the most part present at euerie court, and alwaies would haue the assistants and persons of his maiesties learned counsellors. Nevertheless, he himselfe had a marvellous head to conceive, a deepe iudgement to vnderstand, and a most eloquent tongue to utter whatsoeuer was requisite to be spoken, either in that place, or in anie other assemble, which he would deliuer in such an eloquent phrase, and so pleasantlie it would flow from him, with such pithie reasons, sound arguments, and effectuall discourses, as that the lesse learned he was, the more strange it was that such great good things could come out of his mouth. And such was his amiable countenance, his comelie behauior, his commendable personage, that he would and did conquer their hearts, and gaine the loue of euerie man; and the people of all sorts would and did fall in loue with him for his vprightnesse, indifferencie, and iustice, in determining of euerie mans cause. And he knowing the nature and disposition of that people, who could not abide anie long suites in law, he was so affable and courteous, that euerie sutor should haue access vnto him, and forthwith he would heare his cause, and with such expedition would cause the same to be determined, that he purchased to himselfe the vniuersall loue of all the Irish, who thought themselves the more happie, if their causes might be once brought to his hearing, & the more willing to leaue their vbiain law, & to embrace the course of the English lawes. Whereupon he deuised, and consequentlie with great policie and wisdom executed the diuision and distribution of the wild, sauage, and Irish grounds into shire grounds and counties, appointing in euerie of them shiriffes, constables, and all such kind of officers as are vsed to be in all other counties: by which meanes his maiesties wit had passage amongst them, and they brought to the order of the English lawes & gouernement, which neuer before was heard or knowne among them.

When he had done all such things as are before recited, for and concerning the due course of gouernement by order of law: then also he bethought himselfe vpon such other things as were necessarie in sundrie respects to be done, as the castell and house of Dublin, which before his comming was ruinous, foule, filthy, and greatlie decayed. This he repaired, and reedified, and made a verie faire house for the lord deputie or the chiefe gouernor to reside & dwell in. The towne of Carigfergus, being open to the northerne rebelles, he began to inclose with a wall and to fortifie, which for shortnesse of time he could not finish. A gaole at Dolengar he builded, a verie necessarie thing in those parties, for restraining and safe keeping of malefactors. The towne of Athenrie in Connagh he caused to be reedified, & the faire bridge of Athlon vpon the deepe and great riuer of the Shenin he builded with masonrie and free stone, and raised by the walles & battlements verie faire.

By building of which bridge a passage (neuer before had) was made open & free betwene the English pale and Connagh, which more danted, appalled, and kept the rebelles in awe and obedience than any thing before had done. Sundrie like common workes he made and did, and more would, if his residing there had continued. All which his forsaide doings, no doubt, were verie chargeable to his maiestie. And for easing thereof he (as it became him) & in verie deed had also promised and deuised how and by what means these charges might be answered, and his highnesse be relieved of the great and intollerable charges which the saidie was at in that land, he did by good means enlarge and increase his reuenues and yearelie receipts to about eleuen thousand pounds by the yeare more than he found it, and much more would he haue done, if he had staied there but a short time longer than he did.

Thus much bylesie of his generall actions, and concerning his priuat dealings and conuersation. 20 He was godlie disposed, & a zelous promoter of the true religion, a notable orator, & out of whose mouth flowed such eloquent speeches, such pithie sentences, such perswasorie reasons, as it was verie strange, that he by a naturall course should performe that which manie by learning could not reach nor attaine vnto. He had some sight in good letters and in histories and armories, and would discourse verie well in all things; he was affable and courteous to all men, verie familiar with most men, and strange to none; verie temperat and modest, seldom or neuer in anie discomposed or extraordinarie choler, vpright in iustice, free from corruption, and liberal to euerie deserving person, a bounteous housekeeper, and of great hospitalitie, and had all officers in verie honorable order, according to his estate & honor; a thing much allowed and liked in that nation: verie familiar, and a louer of all such as were learned and were men of vnderstanding, whom he would honor and esteeme verie much; gratefull to all men, and a most loving master to all such as serued him, whom he loved full dearelie. And albeit he were a man of a great reach and iudgement, yet he would not do anie thing without aduise & counsell, for which purpose he made a speciall choise of two singular men, who were psonie to all or most part of his actions; sir Lucas Dillon knight, and Francis Agard esquier: the one a lawier, and yet not ignorant in anie thing pertaining either to the marshall affaires, or to the ciuill gouernement: the other a verie wise man, and of a deepe iudgement and experience in all matters of policies. And so true and trustie these were, that he named the one *Mens fidelis Lucas*; and the other *Mens fidus Achates*. And notwithstanding in sundrie and almost infinit respects, as partlie by the course of this historie it doth appeare, he hath deserued most hartie thanks, and a gratefull remembrance for ever amongst them: yet most vnnaturallie and vngreatfullie they haue requited and recompensed him. Not 50 much vnlke the viper, who when he hath done the act of generation with his female, which (as the writers of naturallies saie) it is done by the mouth, the immediatlie biteth off his head, and so destroyeth him; and likewise the yong, conceived with the death of their sire or father, and nourished in the wombe of their mother, and readie now to be borne & brought forth; they not abiding their due time, most vnnaturallie doe gnaw out his wombe and belie to his confusion; and so they are conceived with the destruction of their father, and borne with the confusion of their mother. This vngreatfull people (I saie) notwithstanding the innumerable benefits bestowed vpon them and that whole commonwealth, yea and the saidie purchasing of their wealth, preservation, and safetie,

The quene great charges to be raised.

His maiesties reuenues increased.

The godlietie and disposition of sir Henrie Sidney.

His able.

Temperat. A liberal housekeeper.

Some more of this sir Henrie Sidneys the English chomelies, in Dom. 1586, noted by Edm. Mollineux.

The ingratitude of Ireland.

The nature of the viper.

This is a scabious parliament.

The cells impugned.

The corrupt and vngreatfull nature of the Irishmen.

The fatall death vpon all gouernors in Ireland.

The death of sir Henrie Sidney.

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The French
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Ireland.

James Fitz-
morris seeketh
to king Philip
and to the
pope.

James Fitz-
morris his
promise to
king Philip
and the
pope.

The pope is
glad of
James Fitz-
morris offer.

James Fitz-
morris falleth
acquainted
with doctor
Sanders and
doctor Allen.

James Fitz-
morris is fur-
nished with
ships and all
necessaries.

James Fitz-
morris landeth
at Saint
Marie weke
in Ireland
with foure
score Spa-
nards.

James Fitz-
morris ships
are taken as
warre by one
Thomas
Courtneie a
gentleman of
Devon.

Sir James
and Sir John
of Desmond
the earles
brethren come
to James
Fitzmorris.

nance towards him : he forsake France, and made a iourne into Spaine vnto king Philip. The king who had receiued the gift of Ireland of the pope by meanes of the bishop of Cathell, being not wil- ling to deale therein, without his assistance & aduise; James Fitzmorris made his iourneie from thence to the pope, vnto whom he declared that he had bene with king Philip, as doth appeare by his letters of credit to his holinesse; and that he would deliuer and cause to be deliuered the kingdome of Ireland by in- to their hands, and reduce the same againe to the ho- lie church of Rome, if he might haue men, monie, and such furniture of munitions, & other necessaries as should be requisite in that seruice. The pope was verie glad of this sute, and liked it verie well, and did accept this offer, as also gaue him good countenance and interteinement. And in the end vpon sundrie conferences betwene the pope and king Philip, it was agreed betwene them, that Fitzmorris should be furnished with men, monie, and all things neces- sarie for this seruice. James Fitzmorris during his being in Rome, he fell acquainted with doctor San- ders an English Jesuit, & doctor Allen an Irish Je- suit, and both traitors to his maiestie and crowne; and these two men being glad of such a sute, & they in great fauor with the pope, solowed the sute verie earnestlie, and promised to follow it to the bittermost in their owne persons.

Now then all things were concluded betwene the pope and king Philip, doctor Sanders, doctor Al- len, and James Fitzmorris made their last repaire to the pope, who forthwith made Sanders his legat, & gaue him the holie ghost, with authoritie to blesse and curse at his will and pleasure; and to him and the others he gaue then also his blessing; and there- with his letters of commendation to king Philip, who according to the conclusion made betwene them both, he was furnished with all things meet and necessarie for them. Whereupon when time ser- ued they imbarked themselves, and their companie in three ships well appointed for the purpose, and ar- rived at Smereweke, alias saint Marie weke, in the beginning of Iulie 1579, nere the Dingle a cuth in Kerrie in Ireland: where he landed, and all his com- panie, being about the number of foure score Spa- nards, besides a few Englishmen and Irishmen, and there builded a fort in the west side of the bate for their safetie: and drew their ships close under the said fort.

The two doctors, when they had halloved the place after their popish maner, promising all safeties, and that no enimie should dare to come vpon them, and trouble them: neuertheless they were beguiled. For at that instant, there was in Kentale a Devonshire gentleman and a man of warre, named Thomas Courtneie, and he hearing of the landing of this James Fitzmorris, and of the popes traitorous le- gats, was contented, and by the persuation of Hen- rie Dauels, being then in those parts; and hauing a good wind, did come about and doubled the point, came into the bate of Saint Marie weke or Smer- weke; and finding the three ships of James Fitzmor- ris at anchor, was so bold in the waie of god speed to take them. And after that he had staied there a while in that seruice, he tooke them all along with him: whereby James Fitzmorris and his companie lost a peece of the popes blessing, for they were also gither destituted of anie ship, to ease and releue themselves by the seas, what sooner should hap- pen. As soon as they were thus landed, newes was sent and carried abroad forthwith to James & John brethren to the earle of Desmond, and so consequen- tie to the whole countrie. These two brethren, who had long looked for the arrivall of this their cousine,

and archtraitor, assembled all their tenants, selev- ers, and friends; and out of hand made their present repaire vnto him: whose comings and companies he accepted verie thankfullie, sauing that he had not a thorough and a full liking of his cousine Sir John of Desmond. Which when Sir John perceiued, he censured how he would salue that soe, as most wic- kedlie afterwards he did.

The earle of Desmond at this time was in reedi- fieng of a castell, which he had in the confines of Brenne Agoneffis countrie, who as soon as he heard of the arrivall of his cousine James Fitzmorris, he forthwith did discharge and dismitte his whole com- panie of workemen and labourers, pretending in outward shew that he neuer meant, that he was to withstand and resist his cousine and all his compa- nite, and forthwith maketh his repaire into Kerrie, and there assembleth all his followers and force, as though he would do great things and worke mira- cles. And forthwith likewise he sent his letters to Mac Artie Moore earle of Clancar, & willett him in all hast to assemble all the force he could make, and to make his speedie repaire to him, for vanquishing (if they could) of the enimies now landed at S. Ma- rie weke. The earle of Desmond in the meane time had receiued a peece of the popes blessing, and his heat was abated. But the erle of Clancar returned his answer, that he would come vnto him with all speed, and lie in campe with him where he would, as nere to the Dingle as he might: and accordingly he came to the place appointed. Which Desmond se- med to like well though it were against the spleene, neuertheless when he saw the forwardnes of Clancar, albeit he would not, nor yet well could in open termes fall out with him, yet he deuiseeth matters whereupon he might haue some occasion to dislike with him, & to make him wearie of his companie. Which when Clancar perceiued, and saw the unwill- ingnesse of Desmond to doe anie seruice against the rebels, but rather inclined towards them, he tooke the best opportunitie he could, and departed awate from him, and dismissed his companie.

The lord iustice, who was at Dublin, as soon as he was aduertised of James Fitzmorris landing, he maketh all the preparation he can, & marcheth with all the queenes force towards Pounder, dispatch- ing also a messenger to his maiestie of these toward broiles and rebellion. But before he could prepare all things, as to such a great action did appertene, he sent Henrie Dauels an English gentleman before him, that he being verie well acquainted with the earle of Desmond and his brethren, should practise with them to prepare themselves to be in a readi- nesse to assist his lordship, for the resisting against those enimies. Who being accompanied with one Arthur Carter pronoist marshall of Pounder, made his speedie repaire to the earle of Desmond & his bre- thren being in Kerrie, and aduertised vnto them the lord iustices pleasure, as also as much as in him late did persuaue them to the like, who as then had all his force and souldiers about him. From thence he departed to the fort, whereof when he had taken the view, & saw the force as yet not so great but might be easilie as yet overthrowne; he returned backe to the earle, and gaue him aduise to draw all his force and companie towards the fort, persuaading him to assaile it while it was but weake, of small force, and easie to be taken, and that in so doing it should be greatlie to his honor. But the earle being not of so good a mind, or bent to do so good a peece of seruice, answered; that he would not adventure to take so great an enterprize in hand with so small a compa- nite as he then had. When Dauels went to Sir James and to Sir John of Desmonds the earles brethren, and

The erle be-
ring of the
land ing of
James Fitz-
morris gaue
ouer his bud-
dings.

The erle of
Desmond
pretending
some seruice
against the
rebels sendeth
to the earle of
Clancar to
come with
him.

The erle of
Clancar as-
tendeth the
earle of De-
mond.

Desmond
hath not
Clancars
readinesse.

Clancar de-
parteth from
Desmond.

The lord iu-
stice prepareth
to march into
Agoneffis.

Henrie Da-
uels sent to
the earle of
Desmond.

Henrie Da-
uels persua-
deth Des-
mond to serue
against the
rebels.

Desmond
refuseth to
giue over
vpon James
Fitzmorris.

The earle re-
sisteth to doe
anie seruice.

Henrie Da-
uels depart-
eth from
Desmond.

Sir John of
Desmond fol-
loweth Da-
uels and con-
spireth the
paper.

Henrie Da-
uels most
cruelle mur-
dered.

The faithfull-
nesse of a boie
to his master.

Henrie Da-
uels what he
was, and of
his conditions.

and perswaded them to aduise their brother the earle, either to do that seruice which would be to his great honour and commendation, or else that they would take it in hand; which if they would also refuse it, that then the earle would spare to him a companie of his Gallowglasses, and about thre score of his shot, and he would ioint with capteine Courtneie who laie then within the baie with his mariners, & he would giue the assault by land, and the other should do the like by sea.

But the earle, being moued hereof, would not yeeld to this motion, but answered that his shot was more meet to shoot at foule than fit to aduenture such a peece of seruice, and his Gallowglasses were good men to incounter with Gallowglasses, and not to answer old souldiers. Whereupon when he saw the bent and disposition of the earle, that he minded not to annoie, but rather to ioint, aid, and helpe the traitors: he together with the prouost marshall toke their leaue of the earle, and minded to returne backe vnto the lord iustice, to giue his lordship to vnderstand how all things stood, & what successe he had had in his message. And by the waie they laie that night at Traleigh, which is about fīue miles from castell Spaine, and laie that night in one Kices house, who kept a bittelling house and a wine tauerne, the house being both strong and defensible, but so little that their companies and seruants were dispersed, and laie abroad in other places where they might haue lodging. But sir John of Desmond, whose hart was imbued with a bloudie intent, followed him, but somewhat late, and came to the towne of Traleigh, and immediatlie set spies vpon Dauels, as also had corrupted the man of the house which kept the gate, that he should leaue the doores open. Henrie Dauels mistrusting no hurt, and least doubting of that tragedie which was so neere at hand, especiallie to be done by him, whom of all the men bozne in that land he least doubted, & best trusted, gat him to his bed; & Arthur Carter the prouost marshall with him. Now about the dead of the night, when they were in their deepe sleepes, sir John according to his wicked deuise came to the house, the castell doze being left open for the purpose, with all his companie, euerie one being armed and their swords drawne, and went forthwith vpon into the chamber where Dauels & his companie were in their beds fast asleepe, but with the noise they were suddenlie awaked. When Dauels saw sir John of Desmond armed and his sword drawne, he was somewhat affronted at that sight, and rising vp in his bed said vnto him (as he was euer wont to saie verie familiarlie) What sonne! what is the matter? But he answered him; No more sonne, no more father, but make thy selfe readie, for die thou shalt. And forthwith he & his companie strake at him & his companion, both naked in their shirts, and most cruellie murdered them both. Then they searched the whole house & spared none, but put all to the sword, sauing a boie named Smolkin, who laie in the chamber, and had bene a continuall messenger betwene Dauels and this John Desmond. This boie seeing his maister to be thus murdered ran vpon John of Desmond, and held him by the armes as well as he could, crieng; What wilt thou kill my maister? But he answered; Go thy waies Smolkin, thou shalt haue no harme. But the boie seeing blowes still to be giuen, cast himselfe downe vpon his maister, crieng; If thou wilt kill him, then kill me also. And so saued him as well, and so long as he could. But it auailed not, for saue and most cruellie he was there murdered.

This Henrie Dauels was a gentleman, bozne in Deuon, and descended of a verie ancient and a wealthy full house, and being but a yonger brother, and

hauing but a verie small portion left vnto him, when he came to some yeares and knowledge, he gaue himselfe to serue in the warres. And king Henrie the eight, hauing then warres against the French king, he entred into France to seeke his aduenture; and there he had verie good intertainment, and proued to be a verie good souldiour. After whose warres he serued in Scotland, and was in garrison at Warwike: and from thence he was reioined into Ireland, where he serued vnder sir Nicholas Herne knight constable of Leighlin, and senehall of Merford; and so well he behaued himselfe there, that he was commended for his good seruice towards the prince, well beloued of his countriemen, and in maruelous fauour of the Irish people; for no seruice was too hard for him in the kings causes: and so well he was acquainted with the countrie, as no man better knew and had the skill to serue than he could there. As for his countriemen, he was so deere and louing towards them, as he was more like a father than a friend, and more like a friend than an vnacquainted countrieman: for he was an host and a harborer to euerie one of them, of what estate and condition so euer he were of. For were he rich or poore, a gentleman or a begger, he was frendlie to euerie one; and no man did or could lacke that intertainment, that he was by anie manner of waie able to giue and afford: which a number of Englishmen tried and found to their great comfort, and to his euermore fame.

And as for the Irishmen, the longer he liued the better beloued among them: for as he would not intarie them, no more would he suffer them to be oppressed or injured: a great housekeeper amongst them, which they maruelouslie esteemed. When he was in office among them, he was vpriht and iudged righteously; if out of office, louing & frendlie to euerie man, and by that means so well (as no man better) beloued and trusted. For what he had once said and promised, that would he surelie keepe and performe, and thereof it came into a bie-word in the countrie where he dwelled, that if anie of them had spoken the word, which was assuredlie looked to be performed, they would saie; Dauels hath said it: as who saith, it shall be performed. For the nature of the Irishman is, that albeit he keepeth faith for the most part with no bodie, yet will he haue no man to breake with him. But Henrie Dauels, he was so carefull of his word, that if he once promised, he would not breake it for anie mans pleasure; and by that means he was so well beloued, that his verie horseboies had free passage euen through the enemies, if he were knowne to be Dauels man. And that which is more, as the writer hereof speaketh vpon occasion to trauell in that countrie thoroughout Leinster or Mounster, if he had but a horseboie of his, he should not onelie passe freele thorough the countries without impeachment, but should haue also verie good and frendlie intertainment. Among the noblemen he was greatlie esteemed, and was in great fauour with the earles of Desmond and Desmond: who although they were for the most part at farres and contentions, yet Henrie Dauels was in such fauour, as he could and did passe to and fro in the greatest matters of importance betwene them: wherein he bare so indifferent a hand, as both parties embraced him for his vprihtnesse and indifference. The earle of Desmond himselfe loued him so well, as no Englishman better; and all his brethren found such a friend of him, and such intertainment with him and especiallie sir Edmund Butler, that at all needs and in all distresses they were sure to haue him to their friend; and manie times it stood them

The loue of Dauels to his countriemen.

The credit of Dauels word.

them in good freed.

And as for the earle of Desmond, though he were a verie uncerteine and a mutable man, yet Henrie Dauels could preuaile with him; and were his furie neuer so hot, and he neuer so hattie, yet could he appease and quiet him. And as for sir John of Desmond the earles brother, such was his profession and outward affection towards him, of a most firme frendship; that it was thought to be impossible, that the loue and goodwill betwene them could by any meanes be dissolved. For in what distresse so euer sir John of Desmond was (as he was in manie) Henrie Dauels did alwaies helpe him, and at sundrie times redeemed him out of prison, yea out of the castle of Dublin, when he was committed for capital crimes, and became suertie for him in great sums of monie, and became pledge bodie for bodie for him; Dauels putte was at his commandement, his house at his deuotion, and what he had at his disposition. And so farre this goodwill grew betwene them, that John of Desmond, as one knowledging himselfe most bounden to him, did call him father; even as the other called him sonne. And now see, when treason and treacherie was entred into him, how contrarie to all faith, frendship, and humanitie, the sonne most unnaturallie bereft the father of his life, and most cruellie murdered him. Who worth to so wicked a villaine, that so bereft the prince of so faithfull a subiect, the gouernours of so trustie a seruant, the commonwealth of so good a member, of a man most dutifull to his superiours, bright in iustice, trustie in seruice, expert in the warres, faithfull vnto his frend, louing to his countrie, fauoured of all men, hurtfull to no man, of great hospitalitie to all good men, good to all men, a father vnto the distressed, and a succourer of the oppressed; finally such a rare man of his degree and calling, as few like haue bene found in that land; and yet against all pittie and mercie, most cruellie murdered by a traitor to God and his prince, even to the greife of the traitors of his owne blood. But here it falleth out that is of old said; Saue a murderer or a theefe from the gallowes, and he shall be the first that shall cut thy throte.

When this bloudie murderer had executed this crueltie vpon his good frend, he forthwith made his repaire to James Fitzmoris, and to his doctors and companie in great bzauerie, recompting vnto them that a noble act and a valiant seruice he had done in murdering of an honest, faithfull, & friendlie gentleman, saying; I haue now killed an English churle (for so maliciouslie the Irishmen terme all Englishmen) & said to his cousine James; Now thou maist be assured of me and trust me, for now that I haue begun to dip my hand in blood, I will now stand to the matter with thee to my vttermost. James Fitzmoris when he had heard him at full, although both he and his doctors, and the whole companie of the Spaniards did reioise and were glad of his death, yet James did blame and abhorre the maner of his death, blaming and reproofing him verie much, that he should murder him in his bed, being naked and scarce awaked out of his sleepe, which he said was too cruell, because he might otherwise haue had advantage vpon him either by the high waies or otherwise to his commendation. Holubett, doctor Sanders terming his bloudie murder to be a sweet sacrifice before God did both allow it, and gaue him plenarie remission of all his sinnes. The earle himselfe likewise, when he heard hereof, he was maruelouslie grieved and offended with his brother, and gaue him such sharpe speeches and reproofes, as it was thought they would not so soon haue bene frends againe; but wicked doings amongst the wicked establish

and confirme them in their wickednesse. At this present time, there was with the earle (as verie often he had bene) one Appelleie an English captive, who could do verie much with him, and vpon the hearing of the death of his good friend Henrie Dauels, he began to doubt and mistrust of himselfe and of his owne assurance. Wherefore he goeth to the earle, and dissembling his griefe, persuadeth him to draw his companie together, and to remoue from thence to his house of Ashkettin, which is about fourtene miles from Limerike, and there to abide the coming of the lord iustice, and to ioint with him in this seruice against the enimie. The earle, who minded nothing lesse than so to serue, dissembled the matter, and followed this counsell, and remoued from thence to Ashkettin, where he late close and did nothing, but still seemed in speeches and outward shewes to milke with James Fitzmoris and all his companie; and yet daile his best followers and soldiers flocked and repaired to James Fitzmoris, manie of them for zeale to the popish religion, wherein they were as devout as the popes legates and the Spaniards: but manie of them knowing the earles intent, did it for feare and auoiding of his displeasure. The Spaniards, who had continued there in the fort and elsewhere, and not finding the repaire of the souldiers, nor yet any other thing answerable to that seruice as it was promised them, began to milke it; and distrustful of any good successe, did repent and were sorie, wishing themselves at home againe: but such was their case, that they could not shift for themselves to escape neither by sea nor by land; and therefore necessitie so compelling, they resolved themselves to abide the hurt.

James Fitzmoris, perceiuing their discontented minds, had conference with them, & persuaaded them to be of a good comfort, for they should verie shortly haue a greater supplie and companie which he daile looked for, and all things should be had according to their owne minds: aduertising them that in the meane time he was to take a iournie to a place of three or foure daies iournie from thence, called the holie rood or croffe in Tipperarie, and there to performe a vow which he had before made when he was in Spaine, praiering their patience. But in verie truth his intent was to trauell into Connagh and into Ulster, and in both his waies, his nearest waie was through Tipperarie, and there to flooke and draw vnto him all and so manie of the rebels as he could waie to ioint with him, whereof he made no doubt, but assured himselfe to find as manie readie to go as he willing to haue. And so taking his iournie with three or foure horsemen, and a dozen hernes, he passed through the countie of Limerike, & came into the countie of sir William Burke his verie nere cousine and kinsman, and who before in the last rebellion did ioint with him, to the great danger of his life and losse of all his goods.

And when he came so farre in his iournie, being now about three score miles from S. Marie weke, his carriage horses (which they terme garons) were so faint, and could not trauell any further: wherefore he commanded some of his men to go before, & looke what garons they first found in the fields, they should take them and bring them vnto him. And as it fell out they espyed a plow of garons plowing in the field, which they forthwith toke perforce from the poore husband men two of them, and caried them away. Wherevpon according to the custome of the countie, the hobub or the hue and crie was raised. Some of the people followed the tract, & some went to their lords house, which was sir William Burke being nere at hand to aduertise the matter, who having three or foure of his sonnes and verie tall gentlemen

Henrie Dauels alwaies a fast frend to sir John of Desmond.

The brags of John Desmond for killing of Dauels.

His crueltie disliked.

The popes doctors do allow and commend the murder.

The earle of Desmond cometh to Ashkettin.

The earle chiefe men turne to the enimie.

The Spaniards aduertise their coming.

James Fitzmoris perceiue both the Spaniards to patience.

James Fitzmoris praiering their patience.

The condition of James Fitzmoris.

James Fitzmoris draweth garons.

James Fitzmoris his quarters set vnder the gates of Kilmallocke.

James Fitzmoris made by the lord president.

James Fitzmoris made by the lord president.

James Fitzmoris made by the lord president.

James Fitzmoris made by the lord president.

James Fitzmoris made by the lord president.

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James Fitzmoris made by the lord president.

James Fitzmoris made by the lord president.

them in at home with him, they take their horses and a few harnes and two shot with them, and followed the tract, and overtook them at a fastness fast by the woods side, where they found James Fitzmorris, whom before they knew not to be come into, those parties, to make head to answer them. But when he saw that it was his cousin Theobald Burke and his brother and his companie, who had bene his companions in the late rebellion when sir John Perot was lord president of Mounster, he spake over unto them, and said; Cousine Theobald, who was the eldest son to his father, two carriage horses shall be no breach betwene vs two; and I hope that you which do know the cause that I have now in hand, you will take my part therein, and do as I and others will do: and so continuing some speeches, did what he could to draw him and all his companie to be partakers in this rebellion. But he answered that he and his father had already dealt too much that waite with him, and that he will neuer do the like againe: for his father, he, and all his brethren, had sware to be true, obedient, and faithfull to the quenes maiestie, and which oth they would neuer breake: cursing the date and time that euer they joined with him in so bad a cause against hir maiestie, and therefore required to haue his garrons againe, or else he would come by them aswell as he could.

James Fitzmorris standing vpon his reputation; thought it too much dishonorable vnto him to depart with that which he had in hand; and therefore vterlie denied the deliuerie, and therevpon each partie set spurre to the horses and encountered the one the other. The skirmish was verie hot and cruell, and Theobald Burke & one of his yonger brethren were slaine, & some of their men. James Fitzmorris likewise and his companie had the like successe, for he himselfe was first hurt and wounded, and then with a shot stricken thorough the head, and so was slaine, with hundrie of his companions: wherein he found that the popes blessings and warrant, his *Agnus Dei*; and his graines had not those vertues to save him, as an Irish saie of a bullet had to kill him. Thus was hir highnesse most happy, and that whole land most happiest, that they were deliuered from so wicked and bloudie a traitour, and that the great & benemous hydra was thus shortened of one of his heads. For other wise it was to be doubted that if he had liued, he would haue bin the cause of much bloodshed, and all the rebels in that land would haue joined with him. For he was of verie good credit & estimation throught the whole land, he was of a verie good gouernement, and of a great reach; but a deepe dissembler, passing subtil, and able to compasse anie matter which he tooke in hand, familiar to all men, and verie courteous, valiant, and verie expert in martiall affaires, but so addicted to poperie and that baggage religion, that he became a most horrible traitour to hir maiestie, and a mortall enimie to euerie good man: and so far he was imbued herein, that a man might saie that he was borne to the same end, euen to be a traitor and a rebel to God, to his prince, and to the whole commonwealth.

After that he was thus dead, and the same made knowne to the lord iustice, he gaue order that he should be hanged in the open market of Kilmallocke, & be beheaded & quartered, & the quarters to be set vpon the towne gates of Kilmallocke, for a perpetuall memorie to his reproch for his treasons and perjuries, contrarie to his soleimne oth taken in that error. His maiestie, when she was aduertised of this peece of good service of sir William Burke and the losse of his eldest sonne, she wrote hir letters of the good acceptation of his service, comforted him

for the losse of his son, and in recompense did create him baron of the castell of Connell by hir letters patents dated the fourth of Maie, the twentieth yeare of hir reigne, & gaue him the yearelie pension of a hundred marks, to be paid at hir maiesties exchequer yearelie during his life, wherof he tooke so sudden toy that he sowned, and sented to be dead.

When newes of the death of James Fitzmorris was brought to the fort at S. Marie wake, great sorrow was amongst them all, they being all amazed and wist not what to do, especially the Spaniards who depart could not, and to submit themselves they would not, and yet they were of the mind to giue ouer and to intreat for a licence to depart. Which purpose they would haue followed, if that sir John of Desmond had not taken the matter in hand: for he hauing imbued himselfe so vnnaturallie in blood, and doubting the same would neuer be pardoned, did follow the matter. The lord iustice (as is afore said) immediatlie vpon the newes of the arrivall of these Spaniards, and of the death of Henrie Dauels, made his preparation of all the forces which hir maiestie had in that land, which was but foure hundred footmen and two hundred horsemen, a verie small companie for so great service towards: yet considering that the victorie consisteth not in the arme of man, nor in horse or mule, but onelie in the good gift of God; he marcheth forth in his iourne, hauing in his companie of Englishmen sir Nicholas Wagnoll knight marshall, sir Nicholas Malbie coronell of Connagh, Jaques Wingfield master of the ordinance, and Edward Fittion, Thomas O'Kerson, and others. And of the Irish lords he was accompanied with the earle of Kildare, sir Lucas Dillon chiefe baron, the vicount Mountgarret, the baron of Upper Osserie, and the baron of Dunboine, who had of themselves two hundred horsemen, besides footmen and harnes: and so they marched forward by iourneis untill they came to Kilmallocke, where not farre from the towne they all incamped: & then he sent from thence a messenger to the earle of Desmond, and so likewise to all the principall gentlemen of the best accompt in those parties, to come vnto him.

The earle in outward apperance seemed verie willing to come, but untill he had receiued some promise of fauour from the lord iustice, he still lingered and trifled the time and came not. But in the end his lordship being verie well accompanied with horsemen and footmen, he went to the campe, and presented himselfe before the lord iustice, and made a shew of all dutifullnesse, obedience, & fidelitie, where as indeed no such thing was ment. For though his bodie were there, his mind was elsewhere; for whiles he was in the campe, sundrie trecheries were practised by him; yet they were not so secretlie done but they came to light, & were discovered to the lord iustice. Wherevpon he was committed to the custodie of the knight marshall. Whiles he was in his ward, and fearing least some greater matters would be revealed against him, he praied access to the lord iustice; and then he humbled himselfe verie much, and promised and sware vpon his honour & allegiance, that he would faithfullie and to the vttermost of his power serue hir highnesse against the rebels. Whose humblenesse and promise the lord iustice by the aduise of the counsell did accept, and so enlarged him: which was in the end the vtter confusion of the earle himselfe and all his familie, and in the meane time great troubles, causes of much bloodshed, and vndwinding of all Mounster.

While the lord iustice laie thus in campe about Kilmallocke, newes was brought vnto him, that sir

Sir William Burke being made a baron for a shortlie after died.

The Spaniards were amazed with the death of Fitzmorris.

Sir John of Desmond suppleth James Fitzmorris name.

Sir William Daurie lord iustice made a iourne into Mounster.

The lord iustice incamped nere to Kilmallocke.

The earle of Desmond cometh to the lord iustice to the campe.

The earle of Desmond is committed to ward.

The earle of Desmond both humble himselfe and sweaich to seruetulie.

The earle of Desmond made the lord iustice.

James Fitzmorris made the lord iustice.

James Fitzmorris made the lord iustice.

The earle of Desmond made the lord iustice.

The Spaniards made the lord iustice.

James Fitzmorris made the lord iustice.

James Fitzmorris made the lord iustice.

The countie of James Fitzmorris.

James Fitzmorris made the lord iustice.

James Fitzmorris made the lord iustice.

The earle of Desmond made the lord iustice.

John of Desmond
incamped at
Slew-lougher.

John of Desmond was incamped with a great companie of the rebels vpon the borders of Slew-lougher. Whereupon his lordship remoued and marched thitherwards, the earle then promising that he would in person incounter and fight hand to hand with his brother. Now when they were come to the place of seruice, the earle being best acquainted with the countrey, gaue aduise to the lord iustice, that he should diuide the armie into two parts, and the lord iustice should take one waie, and he the earle would take another waie: which aduise was followed. But because that place of the present seruice is adjoining to a great wood, and wherein were manie fastnesse, the lord iustice did diuide the rest of his companie into two other parts, and so euerie of these three companie took waie into the wood & serched it through out, but there they found no bodie. For sir John had some secret knowledge of the lord iustices comming, and so was gone before.

The daie being spent to small purpose, & the night drawne towards, he incamped that night in the same places where the rebels had lien before, & there he remained somewhat longer than he thought: because he would spend and wastt the forrage of that countrey, which was one of the chiefe places of reliefe that the enimies had. And from thence he went backe againe towards Kilmallocke, where he incamped himselfe at a place called Gibbons towne, which lieth in the plaines betwene Limerike and Kilmallocke towards Cmeleie and Harlo; & there he continued about nine weekes in continuall toiling and traouelling to and fro, in all such seruices as was daile offered to be done vpon the enimie, from which he had no rest neither day nor night. Whereupon for the better seruice he diuided his bands, and took out of the Irish companie one hundred, and deliuered them to the guiding of capteine John Herbert, a man of verie good seruice, and one other hundred to capteine Wisse.

These two capteins had made spiall vpon certeine rebels, which they would themselves in the great wood called the blacke wood, vpon whom they made a sallie, and did verie good seruice vpon them. But as they were to returne to the campe, which laie beside Cotenbre castell, the said John of Desmond, who laie in ambush for them, met and incountered them, where was a sharpe fight betwixt them, and the two capteins with the most part of their companie slaine: & John of Desmond himselfe was there hurt in the nose. The losse of those two capteins and their men was a great weakening to the lord iustice his armie; his crinites being strong and manie: and his companie weake and few, sauing at that instant the souldiers sent out of Deuon and Cornuall arrived at Waterford to the number of six hundred men, vnder the leading of capteine George Bouchier, capteine Peter Carew, capteine George Carew his brother, and capteine Dowdale, whose comming at so present a distresse was both sofall and also glad some.

And nere about this time, it was aduertised vnto the lord iustice, that John of Desmond was at Connell, which was about sixtene miles from the campe; and his lordship being well furnished & prepared, and he minding to do some peece of seruice vpon him, made verie secretlie a iourneie thither: but Desmond wanting not his god espials, had an inkling and a knowledge thereof, and so thifted himselfe awaie, whereupon the lord iustice returned to his campe. The queens maiestie and counsell, being alwaies mindfull of hir Ireland, and by reason of the newes that the enimies were daile stronger and stronger, the sent over sir John Perot late president of Poundster, with six ships well furnished and ap-

pointed, whereof he was admerall; and William Gorge master portor of the towler and a pensioner, viceadmerall: and all these arrived vnto the citie of Cozke. Whereof the lord iustice being aduertised, was verie glad, and did appoint one hundred vnto sir William Stanleie, who before was capteine of certeine hoysmen, and one other hundred he assigned vnto capteine Hind. And seeing now some good seruice towards, and to incourage certeine gentlemen to be the more willing to follow the same, called before him George Bouchier, William Stanleie, Peter Carew, and Edward Poze, and vsing vnto them verie good speeches, to incourage and persuade them to do hir maiestie god seruice in these hir affaires, and in hope they would perfoyme the same, he dubbed them knights: who accordingle did acquit themselves, and some of them with the losse of their liues ended their daies in this seruice.

And he further also for his owne part, the more he bethought himselfe of the great seruice and charge laid vpon him, the more careful he was to do what the same required: where, in his owne person he so toiled and trauelled, and so ouercame himselfe with studying, watching, labouring and traouelling, that he ouerthrew his owne health, and was no longer able to indure the same: but being overcome by sicknesse, and diuient to yeeld therevnto, was determined to haue dissolved his campe, and so to haue returned to Waterford, and there to staie for a time. But the capteins seeing the necessitie of the present seruice, persuaded him not to dissolve the armie, but to take some order herein for his highnesse seruice, and he to sequester himselfe for a time for his health. Vpon whose aduises he prepared himselfe to trauell towards Waterford, and for the continuance of the seruice did commit the gouernement to sir Nicholas Dalbie, who was then gouernour by the name of coronell of Connagh; and then by easie iourneies he came to Waterford, and there he found himselfe enerie daie more weaker than other, and in the end did distrust his owne recoverie.

And yet mindfull of his maiesties seruice, he to incourage other therein, sent & called before him William Pelham esquier, William Gorge esquier viceadmerall of the six ships, Thomas Perot sonne and heire to sir John Perot, and Patrike Welsh maior of the citie of Waterford, and gaue vnto them the order of knighthood, vsing the like persuasions as heretofore he had done vnto others in the like case. And albeit he were of a good heart and courage, yet that was no sufficient physicke to recouer his helth of bodie, but that still decayed. And douting verie much of his reconerie, he sent to Dublin to the lord chancellor, and to the ladie Thame his wife, for their speedie comming vnto him, who accordingle satisfied his request. But he inioied their companie a verie short time: for he died within two daies after their comming, being the last of September 1579, and after his death his bodie was caried vnto Dublin, where it was buried.

But here by the waie (which should before haue bene said) as he came towards Waterford through Tipperarie, the countesse of Desmond met with him, and brought with hir hir onelie sonne and heire to the earle; and being a sutor in the behalfe of hir husband, presented him to the lord iustice to be a pledge for the truth and fidelitie of the earle hir husband. For after the time that he was set at libertie in the campe nere Kilmallocke, he neuer repaired any more to the lord iustice, but stood vpon his owne keeping; notwithstanding by his letters he professed all loialtie and obedience, which he neuer meant. For in verie truth he was (notwithstanding his dissimbling) a verie ranke traitor, as in open fact and action did verie

Knights
bed in
of sea

Sir William
Dunne les
liche & gong
to waterford

Sir Philip
las Dalbie
made gouernour
of the countrey

Knights
bed in
of waterford

Sir William
Dunne les
iustice durst

The countesse
of Desmond
gave hir sonne
to be a pledge
for his father

The countesse
of Desmond
gave hir sonne
to be a pledge
for his father

The gouernour
sent for
the countesse
of Desmond

The earle
sent for
the countesse
of Desmond

The gouernour
sent for
the countesse
of Desmond

The gouernour
sent for
the countesse
of Desmond

Sir John of
Desmond lieth
in an ambush
for the Eng-
lish capteins
and discomf-
teth them.

The Deuon-
shire souldiers
arrive at wa-
terford.

Sir John
Perot sent to
serue on sea.

Hostile ap-
But
mediatle
rie vnto
laid vpon
perfoyme
great exp
seruitor
nations;
knowledg
dent in ge
nations,
uerall go
travell
and stie
commant
nice then
teine Do
mallocke
hoysmen,
met for
coueted
waie, the
of the oth
rie of L
time to r
Durin
god by h
of Desm
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uise for
The earl
gane bet
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miles fr
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der,
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sam
with

Hostie appeare, to his owne deserued confusion.

But to returne to sir Nicholas Malbie, who immediately vpon the departure of sir William Daurie vnto Waterford, according to the office & charge laid vpon him, he set in hand forthwith to followe and performe the same. For he was able to do it being of great experience in martiall affaires, hauing bene seruitor that waite vnder sundrie kings, & in strange nations; as also was verie wise, lerned, and of great knowledge in matters of policie, hauing bene a student in good letters, and a great trauelier in sundrie nations, and therein did obserue the maner of the seuerall governments in euerie such place as where he travelled. He had vnder him in the whole an hundred and fiftie horsemen, and nine hundred footmen, to command; and diuiding them according to the seruice then in hand, he sent sir George Bourchier, capitaine then in hand, he sent sir George Bourchier, capitaine Dowdall, and capitaine Sentleger, vnto Kilmallocke with three hundred footmen, and with fiftie horsemen, there to lie in garrison, and a speciall place met for the same, & which the enimie most speciallie coveted to possesse. But the more his care was that waite, the like was their diligence, vigilancie, & care of the other waite to keepe the same. Then with the residue of the companie he marched himselfe to the citie of Limericke, where he staid and remained for a time to refresh his souldiours.

During his abode and being there, it was thought good by him and his capitaine, to send vnto the earle of Desmond for his repaire vnto him, and to haue conference with him, to vnderstand his bent and aduise for his maiesties seruice against the enimies. The earle hauing receiued the gouernours letters, gaue verie good wordes, & promised much, but performed nothing. Wherefore he was againe and againe sent for from time to time, but he came not, but laie still at his house of Asketten, which is about fourtene miles from Limericke. For albeit as yet he was not in ante actual rebellion, yet it was not vnknowne but that he was secretlie combined with his two brethren, which as open traitors were in open rebellion and in armes against his maiestie. Which the earle, suspecting the same might be laid vnto his charge, would not aduenture himselfe to come in person to the gouernor; but still sed him with faire wordes and frivolous answers. Wherefore the gouernor thought good to spend no more time in vaine to looke for him, but left Limericke, and went into the fields, where he incamped himselfe, and so set forthwards to doe some seruice vpon the enimie, hauing then in his companie sir hundred footmen vnder the ensignes of sir William Stanleie, capitaine George Carew, capitaine Fisher, capitaine Furse, capitaine Piers, & capitaine Wind; and he himselfe and capitaine Apellie reserved one hundred horsemen betwene them. Now being aduertised that a great companie of the rebels were incamped in Connello vnder their capitaine John of Desmond, he marched towards them. And being come nere to an abbete or monastrie called Donaster Peunagh, seven miles from Limericke, there appeared a great companie in a plaine field both of horsemen and footmen, in estimation two thousand or thereabouts, marching in battell arate, and had cast out their wings of shot, and placed euerie thing verie well and orderlie.

When the gouernor perceiued and beheld this, being verie glad that some peece of seruice was towards, he likewise confereth with his capitaine, and by their aduises setteth his companie in like good order, and brought them into a quadzant proportion, setting out his flankers in severall places according to the seruices, & appointed verie good leaders for the same; but his carriages he placed in the reereward, with shot sufficient for their safeguard. Now when all

things were thus ordered, he marched forthwards to the enimies. John of Desmond, when he saw that he must fight or flie, and that bzags would not beare out the matter, by the counsell of doctor Allen, who had the holie ghost at commandement, to giue them the victorie, caused the popes banner to be displayed; and then marching forthwards in verie good order, he took a plaine ditch in the open field; and minding to abide the fight, disposeth his horsemen, footmen, Calonglasses, and his shot for his best strength and advantage.

The gouernor setteth on wards, & giueth the onset vpon them with his shot, who valiantlie resisted the first & second volles, & answered the fight verie well, euen to the couching of the pikes, that the matter stood verie doubtfull. But the Englishmen so fiercely & desperatlie set vpon them afresh with the third volle, that they were discomfited and had the ouerthrow giuen them, and fled. John of Desmond, as a worthy Perres, who (as the historiographers write of him) was *Primus in fuga, postremus in bello*, sat vpon his horse all this while and gaue the looking: who sooner turned first, he was the first that was gone: for he put spur to the horse & fled awaie as fast as he could, shewing a faire paire of heeles, which was better to him than two paire of hands. In this fight were manie slaine, of which doctor Allen was one, and three score others of good account. And in the chafe, there were slaine and hurt, which died Hostie after, about two hundred men. This doctor Allen was an Irish man borne, and the chiefest cause of this fight. For he trusting to the Spaniards, whom he knew to be verie skillfull, and also dreaming the victorie by his incantments to be at his commandement, encouraged John of Desmond forthwards: and in the campe in the waite of god spied would needs saie masse, and as the prophets of Baal in the time of king Achab, he offered to his God Pazim, and cried out for his aid, but none would come; for his God was asleepe and could not heare. Notwithstanding, he stood so much vpon the credit of his offerings and sacrifices, that he assured them of a victorie, and that he himselfe would be the first that should that day giue the first blow; but whether he so did or not, there was he slaine: where he had the iust reward of a traitor, who most wickedlie and disloyallie forsoke the dutie and allegiance, which by the word of God he did owe vnto his highnesse, and deuoted himselfe a professed Jesuit to the Romish antichrist, and an open traitor vnto his lawfull prince. The earle of Desmond himselfe was not present in this fight, but he and the dissembling baron of Lerne stood in the view & sight of it, vpon a little hill in a wood about a quarter of a mile from thence: but the whole companies were there, and had part of the breakesake.

This baron of Lerne was eldest sonne, named Patrick, was seruant to his maiestie and squire, and serued in the court; but had leaue of his maiestie to come into Ireland to see his father: but he was no sooner come, and entred into his fathers house and home, but he forsoke his faith and oth to his highnesse, and became a wicked rebel, and most traitorouslie bare armes against his lord, and so continued a ranke traitor to the verie end. Wherein appeareth the nature of himselfe, and of the breed of that cursed generation, among whom there is neither faith, nor truth. And therefore they maie be verie well resembled to an ape, which (as the common proverbe is) an ape is but an ape, albeit he be clothed in purple and beluet: euen so this wicked imps. For notwithstanding he was trained vp in the court of England, squire seruant vnto his maiestie, in good fauour and countenance in the court, and appareled

The popes banner displayed.

The battell betwene the gouernor and sir John of Desmond.

The Irish lost the field.

Doctor Allen is slaine.

Doctor Allen encouraged the campe to fight.

The earle of Desmond was in view of the fight.

The baron of Lerne was son, seruant to the quene and squire, beareth armes against his lord.

No faith nor regard of an oth among the Irish.

Jupiters cat.

led according to his degree, and dailie nurtured and brought up in all civillitie: he was no sooner come home, but a waite with his English attires, and on with his bzoogs, his shirt, and other Irish rags, being become as verie a traistor as the veriest knave of them all, & so for the most part they are all, as dailie experience teacheth, dissemble they neuer so much to the contrarie. For like as Jupiters cat, let hir be transformed to neuer so faire a ladie, and let hir be neuer so well attired and accompanied with the best ladies, let hir be neuer so well esteemed and honored: yet if the mouse come once in hir sight, she will be a cat and shew hir kind: but to the hystorie.

The earle of Desmond dissembling, & his counsell.

When the battell was ended, & the retreat sounded, the gouernor incamiped himselfe fast by the river side of the monasterie aforesaid, and there late that night. About midnight, when all things were quiet, & euerie man was at his rest: euen then the often named earle of Desmond sendeth a messenger with letters of congratulation vnto the gouernor, bearing him in hand that he was verie glad and toisfull of his god successe and victorie: and like an hypocrite pretending verie good will to hir maiestie, gaue him aduise that for the auoiding of hir great charges, he should dislodge himselfe from that place; which as he thought was not best for an armie to lie in. The gouernor answered his letters with the like, and requested him to come vnto him, that they might haue conference together, and soine in this hir maiesties seruice, and wherein he would be glad to follow his aduise in anie thing that might further hir highnesse seruice: but to withdraue himselfe and his companie from thence, vnlesse he could giue him a good reason, he would not yeld to his motion, nor take his warrant for anie warrantie. And therefore he remained thenselforth in the same place thre or foure daies, expecting still the earles comming: but he so little meant anie such thing, that henselforth he became a rebell in open action, and in armes against the gouernor, finding nothing in the earle but dissembling, and to vse delaies and faire speeches to gaine time to serue his turne, removed from thence to a towne of the earles named Keshell, and there incamiped himselfe. They were no sooner settled, but the scoutmaster, hauing bene abroad, declareth to the gouernor that he had discovered a great companie of horsemen and footmen which were within a mile of the campe, & therewith was the alarm made, & sundrie horsemen & foot according to the direction of the gouernor issued out, & met with the enemies, and skirmished with them, of whom they killed manie, and toke some prisoners.

The earle of Desmond in open rebellion.

The earle of Desmond secretlie in the night stealeth to the gouernors campe to the trapit.

A garison placed at Keshell.

These men, being examined, declared that the earle was now in the fields and in armes, and so had bene euer since the last ouerthrow of his brother John of Desmond; and likewise declareth the whole bent of the earle and his brother. This pcece of seruice being done, and the night drawing nere, the watch was charged, and euerie man toke his rest. But the earle and his brother minding to do some mischief, they watched, and in the dead of the night then following, taking aduantage of the time, when men were wearie and in their sleepes, came with all their companies, and meant to haue set vpon the whole campe. But they came too short and missed of their purpose: for the campe was too well warded for them to take anie aduantage. The gouernor considering the intent of the enemies was to do what they could to remove him from that place, which could not be kept but to the great damage of the enemies sundrie waies, and that the same was a verie necessarie place for a garison and a ward, whereby to stop the continuall intercourse of the enemies, which by the means of a bridge ouer that water,

they had a continuall recourse to & fro that waite: he before his departure from thence did plant & place a ward in the castell adioining to the bridge, which did from that time annoy the enemies verie much: and then from thence he marched towards the earles house of Asketten, and by the waite he met with sundrie of the earles companie, and skirmished and fought with them to the losse of manie of them.

This house of Asketten is a verie strong castell, standing vpon a rocke in the verie midst of the river, and the chiefest house of the earles, wherein he had a strong ward: but he himselfe at this present time and his brother John were assembled vpon a little hill on the further side of the river, standing there vpon their whole force. The gouernor hoping of some good seruice towards, drew all his companie into the abbets house of Asketten, not far from the castell house; and there conferring with the captains what were best to be done, it was agreed and thought good, that a letter or two more should be written to the earle, and to persuade him to submission. The gouernor, who was a verie good secretarie, and could pen a letter verie excellentlie well, did draw a letter, vising manie god wordes, termes, and reasons to persuade him to conformance and obedience to hir maiestie: & that he should not be the occasion of the utter fall & end of so noble a house, which descended from Koesius the great prince of South Wales by his mother Iessa, daughter vnto the said Koesius, as Giraldus one of the same familie writeth. And herewith by the waite of a parenthesis, it doth not appeare by anie sufficient authoritie, vnlesse a sonet and a deuise of a noble man be a sufficient authoritie, that the Geraldines came out of Britanie; but perhaps out of Normandie: and the first of them placed in England had some interteinement and liuing at Windesore, and thereof was called Giraldus de Windesore: and he gaue not the armes of Richard Strangbowe earle of Chepstow, as some haue written: but as he was a gentleman of himselfe, gaue the armes incident to his owne house, which is argent a salter gules.

For certeine it is, he was and is a verie ancient gentleman, whose ancestors were planted and placed in that land by king Henrie the second, and haue euer since continued in this land in much honor, wishing, aduising, and persuading, that if there were anie feare of God, obedience to the prince, or regard of himselfe, and of his name and familie; that he would reclaime himselfe vnto dutie and obedience: and that the honor of his ancestors might not be buried in his treacheries and follies. These letters being well penned were sent vnto him. But notwithstanding the most pithie, true, and effectual reasons and arguments were sufficient to haue persuaded anie honest or reasonable man: yet was his Pharaos heart so hardened and indurated in disobedience, rebellion, and treacherie, that nothing could make him to yeld and relent: but leaving his former and wonted dissimulations, returneth the messenger with a flat deniall that he will not yeld anie further obedience to hir highnesse. And forthwith to confirme the same, he fortifieth his strongest and best houses and castels: as namelie Asketten with his chosen followers and men of best trust; the castels of Carigofille and Strangicallie with Spaniards and some Irishmen. The gouernor, vpon the receipt of the earles answer, and minding to frame his seruice accordingly; news was brought him that sir William Dzurie lord iustice was dead, who deceased at Waterford vpon the third of October 1579, which was a dolefull hearing to all good Englishmen, and a great hinderance vnto hir highnesse seruice.

This

The conditi-
ons and man-
ners of the
William
Dzurie.His seruice at
Bullongne.He is taken
prisoner.He serueth at
sea.The house of
Desmond.His seruice at
the commoti-
on in Devon.His seruice at
Wexford.
He is prouost
marshall.
He is dubbed
knight.The earle of
Desmond
will not be
persuaded.He is genera-
l of the armie,
and doth a
good piece of
seruice in
Scotland.The earle of
Desmond
tiffeth his
cousins.He begetteth
and taketh
Denzboy
castell.Sir William
Dzurie death.Sir William
Dzurie sent
into Ireland
to be lord
president of
Mountr.

This **ſir William Duriſe** was verie ballant, wiſe, and a gentleman of great experience, deſcended of a verie ancient and a worſhipfull houſe, being a younger brother, but the birthright excepted, nothing inferior to his elder brother ante kind of waite in the gifts of wiſedome, ballantneſſe, knowledge, and experience of matters politike or martiall. In his youth he was a page, and ſerued in the court; and as in yeares, ſo in knowledge of all courtlie ſeruites he did grow and increaſe, and became to be as gallant a courtier as none lightlie excelled him. He was verie deuout, and a follower vnto the then lord **Ruſſell** lord priuite ſeale, and after earle of **Bedford**, who gaue him good countenance and intertainment: ſo vnder him he ſerued in France at **Spottrell** and **Bullongnais**, and after the warres ended, he went to **Calis**, and oftentimes being there he iſſued out, and did manie good ſeruites about **Cambzate** and in **Artois**. And in the end about **Burelles** he was taken priſoner. Not long after he was redeemed and ransomed, and then he would needs ſerue at the ſeas, and hauing gotten a ſhip well appointed for the purpoſe, he aduentureth that ſeruite. The beginning of it was ſo hard, that in nine daies he was in a continuall ſtoyme, and in great deſpaire for euer to recover: neuertheleſſe, whom the ſwozd could not make afraid, the ſeas could not diſmaie; but was euer one and the ſame man, of a good mind and great cozage: and the ſtoyme being paſt, he followed the ſeruite which he had taken in hand, and became to be an excellent maſtimall man, and verie expert in all ſeruites at the ſeas. When the time of this his ſeruite was expired, he returned into England; attending vpon the earle of **Bedford**, he accompanied him in the ſeruite againſt the rebels of **Deuon**, at the commotion or rebellion in the third yeare of the reigne of king **Edward** the firſt one thouſand ſine hundred fortye and nine, and did there verie good ſeruite. After which in courſe of time, he went to ſerue at **Berwick**, where his valor and behauior was ſuch, that he was made prouoſt marſhall vnder the earle of **Suſſer** being lord lieutenant, and for his ſundrie notable good ſeruites he rewarded him with the degree of knightſhod.

Not long after that, there was a peece of neceſſarie ſeruite to be done in Scotland by the ſaid earle vpon the queenes commandement; but he was verie ſicke, and at that time he could not performe the ſame: wherefore he deputed in his place this worſhipfull knight, whome he then made generall of the armie: and with ſuch forces as were thought meete he entred into the ſeruites appointed vnto him, being accompanied with the earle of **Lennox**, **ſir Thomas Spanners**, **ſir George Carew**, and **ſir Robert Conſtable**, with ſundrie other capteins, to the number of twelue hundred ſoldiers. And his commiſſion being to ſerue at **Edenborough**, which then by the reaſon of the diuiſion among the noblemen, about the murdering of the earle of **Spurre**, he took, ſpoiled, and burned ſundrie forts and caſtles: and in the end be ſieged and took the towne and caſtell of **Edenborough**, and deliuered the ſame, according as he was commanded, to the uſe of the king: and ſo he returned againe to his old charge, with great praife and commendation, as in the chronicles of England and Scotland is at large recorded.

In verie ſhort time after, his maieſtie hauing good experience of the valor of this knight euerie waie, alwell for his ballantnes in martiall affaires, as for his wiſedome in ciuill gouernement, he called him and ordeined him from his office and charge at **Berwick**, and remoueth him into Ireland, there to be imployed in the office of a lord preſident, and ſigneth vnto him the gouernement of the whole pro-

vince of **ſpounſter**, where he ſhall haue ſufficient matter and occaſion to uſe both the ſwozd & the law, iudgement and mercie. And hauing receiued his highnes commandement in this behalfe, he maketh his voiage & repaire into Ireland: & being now ſetled in his roome and office by the right honorable **ſir Henrie Sidneie** lord deputie, he acquitteth himſelfe verie well euerie waie, being as ſeuere a iudge and earneſt perſecutor of the wicked and rebellious, as a zealous defender of the dutifull and obedient, to the great good liking of his maieſtie, the terror of the wicked, the comfort of the good, and the benefit of the commonwealth. After ſome time of his triall in this office, and **ſir Henrie Sidneie** lord deputie being reuoked into England, he who had ſerued well in part, is called now to ſerue in all: and from a particular preſident is called to be a generall gouernor: and is in place of the departed deputie made lord iuſtice. He was no ſoner entred into the office, but forthwith the rebellion and warres of the **Deſmonds** began in **ſpounſter** vnder **James Fitzmorris**, and the **Italians** latelie come from the pope, and vnder the earle of **Deſmond** and his brethren, who had long breathed and looked for this time. For the paciſſing, or rather ſubduing of this wicked rebellion, he took ſuch continuall trauels and troubles, & ſo bzured his bodie, that being not able to hold out any longer, he fell ſicke & died (as is beforeſaid) in the citie of **Waterford**, and from thence his corps was remoued to **Dublin**, and there buried; his bodie reſting in peace, his ſoule in euerlaſting bliſſe, and his fame in this world for euer immortall.

Sir Nicholas Malbie, who was cheefe gouernor of **ſpounſter**, now that his commiſſion by the death of **ſir William Duriſe** was expired and ended, gaue ouer to followe ante actuall warres or ciuill adminiſtration in **ſpounſter**; but remoued himſelfe and the whole campe vnto **Lougher**, and there diſperſed them abrode in towne and villages to lie in gariſon, and vpon their owne garbs, vntill it were knowne who ſhould haue the ſwozd, and be the principall officer. Amongeſt the capteins thus diſperſed into ſeueral places, **ſir William Stanleie**, and capteine **George Carew** were assigned to lie at **Adare**. The traitors & rebels, hearing of the death of the worſhipfull knight, of whoſe prouweſſe and ballantneſſe by the ſwozd, & of whoſe wiſedome & brightnes in gouernement, they had good triall; yet not abiding to be alienated from their old leauened and wicked vſage, they were not a little glad that he was dead, euen as the other were moſt ſorrowfull for the loſſe & lacke of him. Wherefore now they pull by their ſpirits, & confer together how they may in this inter-reigne win the ſpurs, and be bitterlie deliuered from the Engliſh gouernement. Wherefore it is agreed among them, that vpon euery ſeueral gariſon of the moſt principall capteins, they would ſet ſeuerall companies to watch & keepe them in their holds, that they ſhould not iſſue out, but to their perill. Some therefore are appointed at **Killmalocke**, ſome at **Carigofſe**, ſome at **Aſketten**, and ſome at one place, and ſome at another. And at **Adare**, where theſe two gentlemen **ſir William Stanleie** & **George Carew** late, **ſir James of Deſmond** brother to the earle with foure hundred **Irish** and ſittie horſes was appointed to ſerue and watch; which he did ſo carefullie & narrowly, that none durſt to peepe nor looke out but in danger of ſome perill. But when bitells waied ſhort within doores, the ſouldiers, who could not would be pined, gaue the aduenture to fetch that which was without doores: and as want of bitells did increaſe, ſo did their illdings out vpon the enemies grow and increaſe. And ſo often were their ſallies and incountings with the enemies, that in the end they finding & feeling the con-

Sir William Duriſe made lord iuſtice of all Ireland.

The rebellion of the **Deſmonds** began in **ſpounſter**.

The death of **ſir William Duriſe**.

The campe is diſſolued and diſperſed into gariſons.

Sir William Stanleie and capteine **George Carew** are assigned to **Adare**.

The gariſons are beſieged and muſtironed by the **Irish**.

Sir James of Deſmond beſiegeth **Adare**.

The **Irish** men leaue to muſtiron the gariſon.

16. 17. rage

rage of the Englishmen, they had alwaies the worst side; and at euerie bickering euer lost some of the company. Whereupon they raised their siege, gaue place to the garrisons, and returned to the earle of Desmond. For albeit as yet they wanted a general gouernor to rule aboue all, yet the captens were not to seeke, nor yet failed to do the seruice which vnto them did apperteyne, either for seruice or safetie. And among all the rest sir William Stanleie and capteine George Carew (as is before said) lieng in garrison at Adare, and vpon an occasion minding to do a peece of seruice, verie earlie, and before the breake of the daie, they toke a bote or a cote trough, which could not hold aboue eight or ten persons at a time, and passed ouer their soldiors vnto the other side of the riuier, which lieth betwene Adare and the Berrie, minding to haue burned & wasted all the lands and countrie belonging & apperteyning to the knight of the balliete, who then was in actuall rebellion against hir maiestie, with the earle of Desmond and his brethren, where they then laie at a castell named Ballilloghan, the chiefest & strongest place which the enimie had in that place and countrie, and this was furnished with a strong ward of the Spaniards. After that these two capteins had burned and spoiled the countrie, and put to the sword whomsoever they thought good: in their returne before they could recover the riuier, sir James of Desmond, the knight of the balliete, and the foresaid Spaniards with all their forces, to the number of foure hundred footmen and thirtie horsemen, gaue the charge vpon these two enignes verie fiercelie, they hauing not in their companie aboue sir score persons to the vttermost. These two capteins answered the charge, and most valiantly skirmished with them at the push of the pike without intermission aboue eight hours, and killed of them aboue fiftie shot and hernes; and sir James himselfe with others greuouslie hurt and wounded, without the losse of anie one of their owne men, sauing sundrie were shrewdly hurt and wounded. At length these two capteins recovered their bote, and caused all the souldiors to be transported; they themselves being the verie last that passed ouer, and the enimies doubting of the safetie, stood afterwards vpon a better force.

The lords of the counsell at Dublin in the meane time, considering the distressed state of the whole land for want of a principall officer, did assemble themselves, and toke aduise for the choise of some one wise man, meet and fit for the gouernement. And in the end they resolved vpon sir William Delham, whom they chose to be lord iustice. And vpon fundate being the eleuenth of October 1579, he receiued the sword and toke his oth in Christs church of Dublin: there being present the lord chancelor, the archbishop of Dublin, the earles of Desmond and Kildare, and the whole counsell: besides a great number of barons, knights, and gentlemen. The sermon being ended, he returned to the castell, before whome sir Nicholas Bagnoll knight, marshall of Ireland, by his office did beare the sword before him, & the whole companie there did attend him: being come to the castell, he was receiued with the shot of all the great artillerie. As soone as he was entered into the chamber of presence, and the sword there deliuered, he called the lord chancelor before him: and in consideration of his good seruices in causes of counsell, and of his maiesties good acceptation of the same, he rewarded & honoured him with the degree of knighthood, by the name of sir William Gerard.

Likewise, he called Edward Fitton the sonne and heire of sir Edward Fitton, late treasurer of Ireland, and dubbed him knight. After dinner the counsell sat, consulting vpon causes of the estate:

and for quieting of the realme, letters were sent vnto all the noblemen and gentlemen of arie countenance and calling, perswading them to the continuance of their loialties and dutifull obedience. And for the gouernement of the prouince of Mounster, in absence of the lord iustice, a patent was sealed and deliuered to the earle of Desmond: who hauing the keeping and custodie of the young lord Gerald some and heire to the erle of Desmond, was by a warrant willed to deliuer him to capteine Hacketworth, and he to bring or conueie him to the castell of Dublin. Likewise, a warrant vnder the brode seale was sent to sir Warham Denteleger, to be knight or pfect marshall of all Mounster. These and other things done concerning the keeping of the English pale in quiet: the lord iustice, who had a speciall cie to the troublesome state of Mounster, prepareth to make presentlie a tourne into Mounster. But first it was concluded and agreed, that the lord chancelor should passe ouer into England, with letters of aduertisement to hir maiestie and counsell of the present state of Ireland, and of his lordships tourne toward, against the rebels: who had also in commission to vtter by speech what was to be aduertised & answered vpon hir maiesties demands and counsels. When all things were prepared for his tourne, he appointed the erle of Kildare to defend the borders northwards and his lordship marched southward toward Mounster, taking with him the three bands lately come from Berwik, vnder the leading of capteine Malher, capteine Case, and capteine Plkeman: with so manie others as he thought meet and necessarie for that seruice. And when he came in his waie to Kilkennie, being the nineteenth of October, there he remained two daies and kept sessions, whereat he sat in person, and determined manie matters, and did cause Edmund Mac Pella a notable traitor, & sundrie other malefactors, to be executed to death: and also he made a peace and reconciliation betwene the earle of Desmond and sir Barnabie Fitzpatrick, baron of vpper Ossorie: betwixt whome was a most tall hatred. And bonds were taken betwene them for restoring ech one to the other the prizes, which either of their men had taken. During his abode and being in Kilkennie, the earle gaue his lordship verie honourable and good intertainment.

From this towne he departed the two and twentieth of October, and by fournes he came to Cashell, where the earle of Desmond with a band of two hundred and thirtie men came and met him. And here the lord iustice sent his letters of the foure and twentieth of October to the earle of Desmond, for his repaire vnto him, for the appeasing of the quarrell and controuersie betwene him & sir Nicholas Malbie, referring vnto him to come either to Cashell or to Limerike. And from this towne he rode to Limerike, and about a mile before he came to the citie, sir Nicholas Malbie and sundrie other capteins & gentlemen met his lordship; and for his welcome gaue him a braue volie of shot: and so brought him to the citie, where the maior in all dutifull manner receiued him, and presented him with a thousand well weaponed and appointed men of the same citie. The next daie he departed thence, and went to a towne named Fanings, where sir Nicholas Malbie presented vnto his lordship a letter, which he receiued from Mlike Burke: the same being the letter of doctor Sanders sent vnto the said Mlike, and with most pestilent reasons perswading him to rebellion. And to this towne came the countesse of Desmond from hir husband, with letters of hir husband to the lord iustice, in excusing his not comming vnto him.

The lord iustice seeing the earle to be but delates, toke aduise of the counsell which was with him, what

The knight of the balliete his countrie spoiled.

The knight of the balliete a rebell.

Sir William Stanleie and capteine George Carew seruice at Adare.

Sir William Delham chosen to be lord iustice.

1579

Sir William Delham having taken the sword, dubbed the lord chancelor knight.

The earle of Desmond made general of Mounster.

Sir Warham Denteleger made proud marshall of Mounster.

The lord iustice made his tourne into Mounster. The lord chancelor sent into England.

The lord iustice kept sessions at Kilkennie.

The earle of Desmond and the quarrell betwene vpper Ossorie reconciled and made friends.

The earle of Desmond sent for to come to the lord iustice.

The lord iustice honoureably receiued into Limerike.

Doctor Sanders letters to Mlike Burke.

The earle of Desmond is required to deliuer doctor Sanders and the Spaniards. The earle to deliuer one of his castles.

The earle to submit himselfe.

That he prosecute his brethren and rebels.

The earle sendeth letters but commeth not.

The second letter sent to the earle of Desmond for his comming in.

The earle of Desmonds buter taken and daime.

what was best to doe. And in the end it was concluded, that the earle of Desmond should go vnto him, and to conferre with him vpon such articles as were deliuered, and now sent by him vnto the said Desmond, and to require his resolute answer.

The said articles were in summe as followeth.

I First, that he should deliuer vnto the said lord iustice, doctor Sanders, and certeinne strangers of diuerse nations, now remaining in the said earles countries, and maintained by such traitors and in such castles, as be at his deuotion and commandement.

That he shall deliuer vp into his maiesties hands one of his castles of Carigofosse or Asketten, for the pledge of his good behauiour: which vpon sundrie and diuerse reasons is suspicious, and he for his dissolatie greatlie suspected.

That he doe forthwith come and simplie submit himselfe vnto his maiestie, and to referre his cause to the iudgement of his maiestie and counsell in England, or vnto him the lord iustice and counsell in Ireland.

That he doe forthwith repaire to the lord iustice, and ioine with his lordship with all his forces, to prosecute his brethren and other traitors, and to assist and aid the earle of Desmond, lord generall in this seruice.

Which conditions if he will hold, then he shall be reputed as a nobleman, and be receiued into fauour notwithstanding his errors past: but if he refuse, that then let him know, that immediatlie by open proclamation he shall be published a traitor.

The earle of Desmond, according to the order, went to the said Desmond, and deliuered vnto him both the letters and the said articles, and required his resolution and answer. Which when he had ouer read and considered, he returned his answer by a letter dated at Cogh the thirtieth of October 1579, vsing therein nothing but triflings and delays, requiring restitution for old wrongs and injuries, and iustifying himselfe to be a good subiect, though he doe not peld to the foresaid articles. During the time of this parley, the lord iustice was removed to Crome, where he expected the returne of the earle of Desmond and to that place sir William Stanleie & capteine George Carew came vnto his lordship with their two hundred footmen.

The earle of Desmond being returned, & hauing little preuailed with Desmond, notwithstanding his sundrie persuasions, there were other letters sent vnto him to induce him to the consideration of himselfe and his estate: but when no reason, no persuasion, nor counsell could preuaile; then it was thought good by the lord iustice & counsell to proceed to their former determination, and to proclame him a traitor. The lord iustice removed from Crome to Rathkill, and he was no longer incamped, but alarm by the traitors was raised: which was answered forthwith by the lord iustice and the earle of Desmond: & in that skirmish thre or foure of the traitors were slaine, of which the earle of Desmonds butler was one, the earle himselfe being then incamped within a mile of his brothers: and notwithstanding his iustification to be a good subiect, he daile accompanied and conferred with them. The lord iustice seeing that neither counsell nor delaye of time could auaille with the earle of Desmond, then by the generall consent of the nobilitie, the counsell, gentlemen, and the whole armie, a proclamation was openlie published against the said earle and all his confederats, in

the highest degree of treason at Rathkill the second of Nouember 1579. The effect of which treasons and proclamation was as here vnder followeth.

The earle of Desmonds treasons articulated.

That the erle of Desmond hath praactised most vnnaturallic the subuersion of the whole state.

2 That he practised to bring in strangers, and praactised with foren princes to bring and allure in strangers to invade this land.

3 That he fostered and maintained doctor Sanders, James Fitzmorris, and others beyond the seas to worke these feats.

4 That albeit to the utter shew of the world, he seemed at the first to dislike with them at their landing: yet were they secretlie interteined by the said earles permission, throughout all his countie of palantine in Kerrie.

5 That when his brethren most traitorously had murdered Henrie Dauels and others at Traleigh, he did let his said brethren slip, without reproofing or blaming of them, and had also commended speciallie the daughter of Edmund Duffe an Englishman, who at the said murdering laie in the next bed vnto Dauels.

6 That when the strangers at Smertweeke had no waie to escape by sea, at the coming of sir William Durye, he gaue place vnto them for their escape by land, and gaue his tenants and followers libertie, to aid, helpe, and mainteine them.

7 That contrarie to the commandement giuen vnto him, by the lord iustice, he returned into Kerrie, and caused the strangers to leaue the fort, and to repaire to the towne of the Dingle and to other places which were at his deuotion, & had there interteinements.

8 That he distributed the ordinances and artillery of the forts vnto the rebels, as doth appeere by a note found in the port mantien of doctor Allen lately slaine in the encounter executed by sir Nicholas Malbie.

9 That he hath set at libertie such strangers as he kept colourable as prisoners, and hath appointed them to gard his houses and castles.

10 That he hanged most abhominable Richard Cusface, Simon Bytan, and others the quenes subjects, for whome he undertooke to the late lord iustice to be safelie brought vnto him.

11 That he sent sundrie of his principall men, seruitors, and followers, and his household seruants, as also his chiefe capteins, which vnder the popes banner displayed most traitorously in the fields, did assaulte sir Nicholas Malbie knight his maiesties lieutenant of all Mounster, at Mounster Cuagh, and which banner Nicholas Williams the earles butler did that daie carie.

12 That he hath vtterlie refused manie persuasions, friendlie counsels, sundrie messages, and all the good means used and wrought to reduce and to bring him to obedience.

13 That he hath not onelie refused to deliuer by doctor Sanders and the Spaniards, which doe daile accompanie him; but hath broken downe his castles, burned his townes, and desolated his countries aforehand, to the intent his maiesties forces and subiects shall not be succoured nor refreshed.

14 That he daile looketh for a further aid and a new supplie of foreners, & daile solliciteth the chiefe men of the Irish countries to ioine with him in this his most erecreable and rebellious enterprize.

15 That he openlie protested & sent a message to

The Earle of Desmond and the gentles of Mounster.

The Earle of Desmond and the gentles of Mounster.

The lord iustice maketh a iourne into Mounster. The lord chancelor went into England.

The earle of Desmond is required to deliuer doctor Sanders and the Spaniards.

The earle of Desmond is required to deliuer one of his castles.

That he prosecute his brethren and other traitors.

The lord iustice keepeth sessions at Kilkennie.

The earle of Desmond and the garron of vpper Mounster reconciled and made friends.

The earle of Desmond is required to deliuer his brethren and other traitors.

The earle of Desmond is sent for to come to the lord iustice.

The second letter sent to the earle of Desmond for his coming.

The lord iustice hono- rable receiued into James- rike.

The earle of Desmond is sent for to come to the lord iustice.

Doctor Sanders wicked letters to Sir- like Burke.

the lord iustice that he would disturbe the whole state of Ireland. Wherefore they did pronounce, proclame, and publish him to be a most notorious, detestable, and execrable traitor, and all his adherents, against his maiesties crowne and dignitie, unlesse within twentie daies after this proclamation he did come in, and submit himselfe. Unto which proclamation there subscribed the earle of Desmond, the baron of Dunboine, the bishop of Waterford, the vicount Mountgarret, sir Nicholas Spalbie, sir Edmund Butler, Edward Waterhouse, Theobald Butler, Edward Butler, and Piers Butler.

The proclamation against Desmond is sent to all the cities in Ireland.

This proclamation was forthwith sent and dispersed to Dublin, Waterford, Corke, Limericke, and other principall towne to be in like order proclaimed. Immediately and within an houre after this proclamation, the countesse of Desmond came to the campe; but the campe was before dislodged from the towne, and all his countrie forthwith consumed with fire, and nothing was spared which fire & sword could consume. From this place the lord iustice removed to People Brian, whereupon the third of November he took a generall muster of the whole armie: and then he deliuered to the earle of Desmond two hundred and fiftie horsemen, and also eight ensignes of footmen, of the which companie George Bourchier went to Kilmallocke, and sir William Stanleie and capteine George Carew to Abare. And then he removed and took his iourne into Limericke, being accompanied with the earle of Desmond, who the next daie left the lord iustice and returned to his charge. After which departure of the lord iustice, the proclaimed traitor of Desmond and his brothers, not able any longer to shew his treacheries, went with all his forces to the towne of Poughall, where against his comming the gates of the towne were shut, but yet it was thought but colourable: for verie shortly after, without deniall or resistance, the earle and all his troope of rebels entered the towne and took it, and there remained about five daies, rifling and carieng a waie the goods and household stuffe to the castell of Strangicallie and Liffinen, the which then were kept by the Spaniards.

The towne of Poughall taken & spoiled.

A barke well appointed at Waterford is sent to Poughall.

The ordinarces recovered from the rebels.

White, capteine of the barke is slain.

The earle of Desmond maketh a rode into Connill, & killeth a number of the rebels.

The earle of Desmond, as soon as he was aduertised hereof, he caused a barke well appointed to be dispatched from Waterford, & to come to Poughall: the capteine of which barke was named White, a man of that countrie birth, verie valiant and of a stout stomach. As soon as he was come to the walls of the towne, and had anchored his ship, he recovered from the rebels certaine ordinarces of the said towne; and being put to understand that the seneschall of Imokellie was comming towards the towne, he set all his men on land; and setting his men in good order, he entered into the towne at the watergate, and marched in good order through the towne, till he came where the rebels were together, and then more rashly than consideratie, gaue the charge and onfet upon them: but the number of them being great, and his but a handfull to them, he was in verie short time inclosed and overlaid, and there slaine, and with much adoe did a few of his companie recover their ship againe. The lord generall and gouernour in the meane time, not slackning his businesse, did assemble and muster all his companie, & being accompanied with sir George Bourchier, sir William Stanleie, capteine Dowdall, capteine Furle, and others, made a iourne into Connill, which was then the cheefest place of trust that the earle had, both for safetie and strength, and for bittels and forage, and there his greatest force and strength of his souldiours were seized in the towne and villa-

ges. And they then little thinking and lesse looking for any such guests, were vnawares and vpon a sudden intrapped and taken napping, and the most part of them taken and slaine, and the villages for the most part burned and spoiled. The earle of Desmond at this present time was there, but not knowing in his castell called the New castell, and escaped verie narrowly. This peece of seruice being done, the lord gouernour marched towards Spac Willies countrie, and being to go through a certeine passe, he met with the seneschall, vpon whom he gaue the charge, who answered the same verie valiantly, and the skirmish was verie hot, in which the seneschalls brothers and sundrie of his men were slaine; and the like also befell vpon the lord gouernours men, though not so manie, amongst whom capteine Zouche's trumpet was one; which so grieved the lord generall, that he commanded all the houses, townes, and villages in that countrie and about Liffinen, which in ante waie did belong to the earle of Desmond, or of any of his friends and followers, to be burned and spoiled.

The earle of Desmond is taken.

From this he took his iourne towards Corke, and in his waie at Munfening he took a peece of one thousand five hundred kine or cowes, which were all byuen and sent into Corke, at which citie as soon as his lordship was come, and had rested a small time, then by the aduise of the captains he diuided and bestowed his companie into sundrie garrisons and places conuenient, as which might best answer the seruices. And his lordship being accompanied with capteine Dowdall and capteine Furle, he went to Castell, and by the waie he took the maiour of Poughall, whom forthwith he examined, and for his treasons and treacheries, in that he would yeelde by the towne into Desmond, and had before refused a band of Englishmen, which was appointed to lie in garrison in that towne, for the defense thereof, and had promised that he would keepe and defend the same against all men; he carried him along with him into Poughall, and there before his owne doore hanged him. The lord gouernour when he came into the towne, found it all desolate, rifled and spoiled, and no one man, woman or child therein, saving one sister, whom he spared, because he had fetched the corpes of Henrie Dauels from Traleigh, and had carted it to Waterford, where it was buried in the chancel of the cathedrall church. And his lordship much pittie the desolate estate of the towne, did take order for the rebuilding of the walls and gates, and placed therein a garrison of three hundred footmen vnder capteine Morgan and capteine Piers, who did verie good seruice in the countrie, and by good means drew home the people and old inhabitants, and impleopled the towne againe. And the lord gouernour departed thence, and followed his seruice, as time, place, and oportunitie did serue; and taking aduise with the captains for some speciall seruice, and remembering that the Spaniards had hitherto lien in rest and quietnesse, in garrison at Strangicallie, and hitherto nothing done or said unto them; it was agreed betwene his lordship and the captains, to do some seruice vpon them, and to trie their valour: whereupon they marched thither and laid siege thereto.

60

The Spaniards, who kept all waies good watch, and had also verie good espials abroad, they were forthwith aduertised that a companie of souldiers were drawing and marching towards the said castell, and when they themselves saw it to be true, and had discovered them, they began to distrust themselves, and to doubt of their abilitie how to withstand them. Wherefore abandoning & forsaking the castell, they passed over the water, thinking to recover the woods and

The earle of Desmond is taken in an ant-bull.

The diligent seruice of the earle of Desmond.

3 sicknesse in the campe.

The manner of Poughall being gotten before the owne doore.

The town of Poughall all desolate.

The inhabitants were forced to dwell in the towne.

Sir William Winter got victory.

The Spaniards being in Strangicallie, forsooke their fort and fled into the sea.

Sir William Winter kept victory the seas.

and so to liam & captain pantes the end of gouern Adare, was ab uice vpon some tr was bu late in a vpon an and gar the gar the most their su stand t that th was d? The late at Dowd of the sons, v ward; but wa the for monett himself house o was a sickness the head hund; as dea but pe for the came i ation. lordly deth h himse he app they parts went the all th thous gotes out n whole were bittel

of to them adme quer ued a their der h sties that they the n ple Spa atten his b sert

and so to escape that present danger. But sir William Stanleie, capteine Zouch, capteine Dowdall, capteine Piers, capteine Roberts, and all their companies did so egerlie follow and pursue them, that in the end they overtake them, and slue all oꝝ the most part of them, and so take the castell, wherein the lord governour placed a ward. Likewise when he laie at Adare, and understanding that the erle of Desmond was abrode, the garrison minding to do some service upon him, they issued out. Whereof he hauing some intelligence, notwithstanding his companie was but small in comparison of the others: yet he laie in an ambush to meet them in their returne; and upon an aduantage he gaue the onset upon them, and gaue a verie hot charge, in which the souldiers of the garrison were so hardlie assailed, that they brake the most part of their pikes, and were enforced with their swords and with the stumps of their staves to stand to their defenses; which they did so valiantlie, that the earle in the end with the losse of his men was driuen to giue ouer and to flee.

The like seruice did sir Henrie Mallop, who then laie at Limerike, sir George Bourchier, capteine Dowdall, capteine Holingworth, and all the residue of the capteins in their seuerall charges and garrisons, who though of themselves they were verie forward; yet the lord governour neuer slept his time, but was alwaies in readinesse, being the first with the foremost, and the last with the hindermost. In the moneth of August 1580, he remoued and dislodged himselfe from Adare, and marched to Botenaut a house of the lord Barries, where a peece of seruice was appointed them to be done: but suddenlie such a sickness came among the souldiers which toke them in the head, that at one instant there were aboute thre hundred of them sicke, and for thre daies they laie as dead stockes, looking still when they should die, but yet such was the good will of God, that few died; for they all recovered. This sickness was not long after came into England, & was called the gentle correction. Now the companie being thus recovered, his lordship minding to follow a peece of seruice, diuided his companie into two parts, the one he toke himselfe, and toke the waie by the Island; & the other he appointed to go directlie vnto Traligh, and there they met and diuided their companies into thre parts, & so marched to Dingle a cuss. And as they went they drave the whole countrie before them vnto the Wentrice, & by that means they preyed and toke all the castell in the countrie to the number of eight thousand kine, besides horses, garçons, sheepe, and gotes, and all such people as they met they did with out mercie put to the sword. By these means the whole countrie hauing no cattell nor kine left, they were driuen to such extremities, that for want of vittels they were either to die and perish for famine, or to die vnder the sword. Neuertheless, manie of them vnderstanding that sir William Winter vice-admirall of England was newlie arrived with the quenes ships at the Wentrice, and that he had receiued a commission to vse marshall law, they made their repaire vnto him, and obtained protections vnder him. Which the souldiers did verie much mislike, the same to be somewhat preiudiciall to his maiesties seruice: because they perswaded themselves, that if they had followed the course which they began, they should either haue taken or slaine them all.

Sir William, vice-admirall of England, vpon the newes reported to his maiestie that a new supplie was prepared to come into Ireland from out of Spaine, was commanded to keepe the seas and to attend their comming, and as occasion serued to do his best seruice vpon them. Who when he had so done certaine moneths, his vittels wared scant; and see-

ing no such matter, and also that the winter was drawing on wards, thinking nothing lesse than that the Spaniards would so late in the yeare arrive thither, he hoised his sailes and returned into England. But he was mistaken & deceived: for not long after they came and landed at Smerwicke, as hereafter shall be at full declared. And now leauing the souldiers in their garrisons, let vs returne to the lord iustice, who when he departed from Limerike the first of Nouember 1579, being accompanied with the Berwicke bands, he went into Thomond, where the earle and his sonne with two bad horsemen met his lordship; and from thence he travelled by iournies vnto Gallewaie, where he was verie honorable receiued. And to the end to encourage them to persist and continue in dutifull obedience, he confirmed vnto the corporation certaine branches and articles, whereof some before this were granted vnto them in the time of sir Henrie lord deputie, and some now newlie set downe and granted, which in effect were these as followeth.

The lord iustice with the Berwicke bands cometh into Thomond.

The lord iustice is verie honorable receiued into Gallewaie.

The charter of Gallewaie with new liberties confirmed.



First, that no writ of *Sub poena* shall be awarded out of the chancerie against anie inhabitant in Gallewaie, until the partie which sueth out the writ, haue put in good and sufficient suerties before the lord chancellor, or the maior of Gallewaie to prosecute the same with effect.

That no new office nor officer be erected in the towne of Gallewaie by anie deputie or gouernour, otherwise than as they in times past haue vsed to do.

That the maior by the aduise of foure aldermen, and other foure discreet men of the towne vpon good considerations may grant safe conduct and protection to English rebels and Irish enemies.

That the merchants of the towne which shall buie anie wares or merchandize of strange merchants, shall put in good and sufficient bands before the maior that he will well and trulie make payment vnto the said merchant stranger for his debt and dutie.

That if anie inhabitant in the towne do vse anie vndecent & irreuerent speech to the maior, that he shall be punished according to the qualitie of the fault and offense.

That the maior, bailiffes, and inhabitants shall enjoy, vse, and exercise all their ancient liberties, vsages, and customes.

That in all actions tried before the maior, the partie condemned shall paie reasonable costs, and the said maior shall not take anie fee for anie sentence, called *Wleigethe*.

That no dead bodie shall be interred or buried within the towne and walles of Gallewaie.

That when anie strange merchants come to their port and haue, that the same be serched and viewed for weapons and munitions, and that none about the number of ten persons of the said ship shall come into the said towne.

That no stranger be suffered to take the view of the strength of the towne, nor to walke on the wals.

That the maior from time to time do take the muster and view of all the able men, and of their furniture and armour.

That all vnserviceable people in time of seruice be sent out of the towne.

That sufficient vittels from time to time be prepared to serue the towne for ten moneths at the least before hand.

That a storehouse be provided alwaies in the towne for a staple of vittels to be kept there at all times.

From

William Po-
rta newlie
come out of
England
merely the
lord iustice.

Captaine
Piers sent
come at the
pewie.

Sir Henrie
Harrington is
made sene-
shall of the
Obrines.

The proud
letters of the
earle of Des-
mond.

The lord ius-
tice entred a
new tourneie
into Poun-
sler.

The lord ius-
tice keepeth
sessions at
Waterford.

The lord ius-
tice received
honourable
into water-
ford.

From thence his lordship by sundrie tournies came to Athlon and so to Dublin; where about thre miles before he came to the cite, William Pors newlie arrived out of England, and accompanied with certeine gentlemen, met him with a hundred and fiftie horsemen, well furnished and well horsed with English geldings, euerie man wearing a red cote with a yellow lace, who attende his lordship into the cite, and from thence he was assigned and sent unto the pewie, where he died verie thortlie after vpon the five and twentieth of December 1579. His hart was consumed, his spleene corrupted, and his bzaire mixt with filthie matter. His bands were diuided and deliuered to either capteins. And immediatlie vpon his entrance into the cite, he sent for Jaques Wingfield master of the ordinance, and by order he was commanded as prisoner to keepe his chamber for his contempt, because he did not attend the lord iustice into pounslar as he was commanded; but vpon his submission after foure daies he was released. And vpon the death of Francis Agard esquier, sir Henrie Harrington, who had married one of his daughters and heires, was by vertue of certeine letters from out of England, appointed to be sene-
shall of the Obrines, as his father in law before was. The earle of Desmond and his two brethren sent a proud and an arrogant letter vnder their hands, dated the nine and twentieth of November 1579, to the lord iustice, aduertising, that they were all entered into the defense of the catholike faith, with great authoritie both from the popes holinesse and king Philip, who haue undertaken to defend and mainteine them, and therefore perswaded the lord iustice to ioine with them.

The lord iustice, hauing set the pale in some order, & hauing committed the same to the gouernment of the erle of Kildare, he made a new tourneie into pounslar, and departed out of Dublin the eightenth of Ianuarie 1579, with such companies and forces as he thought good for that seruice, and toke his tourneies along by the sea coasts; and being come to Waterford, there he kept sessions, & sat in person at the same. And from thence taking Linneterne in his waie he came to Waterford, the five and twentieth of Ianuarie 1579, by water from Ballshacke in certeine botes verie well appointed by the maiors of the cite. And before he came thither, sir William Stanleie, sir Peter Carew, and capteine George Carew, and capteine Piers, issued out of the cite with their foure bands, and nere to the thore in the view of his lordship, they presented him with a iollie skirnish, and so retired themselves, to make ward against his landing. The bulworks, gates, and curtains of the cite were beautified with ensignes and shot in warlike maner, and then all the shot of the ships in the haven, and a great ranke of chambers vpon the keie, together with the shot of the souldiers, were discharged, and gaue his lordship a lustie and a great thundering peale.

At his landing the maiors and aldermen araid in their scarlet gowones met him, and presented vnto his lordship the sword and the keies of the gates, which forthwith he redeliuered vnto them againe, and the sword the maiors bare and caried before his lordship. He went first to the church, and by the waie vpon two seuerall stages made for the purpose, there were two orations made vnto him in Latine; and at his returne from the church, he had the third in English at the doore of his lodging. And to this cite the earle of Desmond came vnto him, and they being together, letters were sent from sir William Porgan of aduertisement, that the traitors were come downe about Dungarnon and Boghall. Wherevpon one hundred horsemen vnder capteine Zouch, and

Sentleger, and foure hundred footmen vnder sir William Stanleie, sir Peter Carew, capteine George Carew, & capteine Piers were dispatched to serue against them.

The lord iustice from Waterford, vpon notice of the trouble daile increasing, sent a commission of the eleuenth of Februarie, to sir Warham Sentleger to be prouost marshall, authorising him to proceed according to the course of marshall law against all offenders, as the nature of his or their offenses did merit and deserue; so that the partie offender be not able to dispend fortie shillings by the yeare in land, or annuities, or be not worth ten pounds in goods; also that vpon good causes he maie parlee and talke with anie rebell, and grant him a protection for ten daies: that he shall banish all idlers & surdie beggers: that he shall apprehend aiders of outlawes and theues, and execute all idle persons taken by night: that he shall giue in the name and names of such as shall refuse to aid and assist him: that in doing of his seruice, he shall take horse-meat and mans-meat where he list, in anie mans house for one night: that euerie gentleman and noble man do deliuer him a booke of all the names of their seruants and followers: that he shall put in execution all statutes against merchants and other penall lawes, and the same to see to be read and published in euerie church by the parson and curat of the same: and that he do euerie moneth certifie the lord iustice how manie persons, and of their offenses and qualities, that he shall execute and put to death: with sundrie other articles, which generallie are comprised in euerie commission for the marshall law.

The lord iustice, after that he had rested about thre weekes at Waterford, he remoured and went to Clonmell, where the earle of Desmond met him, being the sixteenth of Februarie 1579, and from thence he went by tourneies vnto Limerike, where the chancelor of Limerike vpon suspicion of treason was committed to prison, and his lodging being searched, manie masse booke and other popish trash, together with an instrument of the earle of Desmonds libertie palantine of Kerrie was found. He was after indicted, arraigned, and found guiltie, but in the end pardoned. And the bishop likewise was vpon some suspicion committed prisoner vnto his owne house.

And out of Limerike he marched the tenth of March to Rathkell, where within one houre the erle of Desmond came vnto him, and there consulted for the manner of the persecution of the enimie. Which when they had agreed vpon, they passed the next morning over the bidge of Adare, and by the waie they burned and spoiled the countrie, and went to Rathkell. Now when they had amended the bidge which the rebels had destroyed, and made passable, they passed over the same into Connello, where the lord iustice and the earle of Desmond diuided their companies, and as they marched they burned and destroyed the countrie, and they both that night incamped within one mile at Kilkoman. And there it was aduertised, that Nicholas Parker lieutenant vnto capteine Fenton, coming from Limerike with five horsemen, and thre shot, which were of the garison at Adare, he was set vpon at Rathkell by a hundred traitors, which did discharge fiftene or eightene shot at him, and sundrie darts, before he espied them: but he and James Fenton the capteins both ther, and Gildon, so bestirred themselves, that they gaue the enimie the repulse, and slue their leader, with five or six others, and so came safe to the campe, but with the hurt of one of their horses.

The souldiers likewise in the campe were so hot vpon the spurre, & so eger vpon the vile rebels, that

The articles
of a commission
for the mar-
shall law.

The baron of
Desmond sub-
mitted him
selfe.

The castle of
Carigofole
is belinged.

The chiefe
top of Limer-
ike sent
sword for
treason.

The lord ius-
tice and cap-
taine Carew
take the view
of the castle.

The castle
belinged.

The bishop
committed
prisoner to his
owne house.

The proud
bags of the
Spaniard.

Nicholas
Parker burnt
ballantine
scuriously
selfe.

The castle
is battered
with shot.

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that day they spared neither man, woman, nor child, but all was committed to the sword. The same daie, a souldier of the marshalls incountered with two lussie kernes, the one of them he slue, and the other he compelled to carrie his fellows head with him to the campe: which when he had done, his head also was cut off and laid by his fellows. The next daie following, being the twelfe of March, the lord iustice and the earle diuided their armie into two severall companies by two ensignes and three together, the lord iustice taking the one side, and the other taking the other side of Slewlougher, and so they searched the woods, burned the towne, and killed that daie about foure hundred men, and returned the same night with all the cattell which they found that daie.

And the said lords, being not satisfied with this daies service, they did likewise the next daie diuide themselves, spoiled and consumed the whole countrie untill it was night. And being then incamped nere together, the baron of Lerneu came to the earle of Desmond, whome the earle in the next morning brought before the lord deputie, where he in most humble maner yielded, and submitted himselfe to his lordships deuotion, promising and presenting his service with all dutifullnesse. And then, when after great trauels they had maruellouslie wasted and spoiled the countrie, they appointed to march to Carigofille, and to late siege to the same: for in it late the greatest force of the Desmonds, and which was garded and kept by the Spaniards. This castell standeth in the riuer, and at euerie full sea both it and the bannes about it are inuolued with the said floods and flowing waters. As soon as they were incamped, the lord iustice approached the castell so nere as he could, to take the view thereof, that accordinglie he might consider the most fittest places for the laying of the shot for the batterie: and then he commanded capteine George Carew to take out certeine shot, and to go with him in this service. Now the Spaniards hauing espied them, spent manie shot vpon them, and where the lord iustice verie hardlie escaped with his life, and from being slaine with a musket shot. When his lordship vpon this view had determined what he would do, he caused the canon shot to be planted in the place most fit for the batterie, for otherwise the fort was not to be assaulted.

In the same were sixtene Spaniards and fiftie others vnder one Iulio an Italian, who at the request of the countesse of Desmond undertooke the keeping of it, and who reported himselfe to be a verie notable engineer: standing vpon his reputation, he plied the campe with continuall shot, putting out an ensigne and railing with manie bad speeches against his maiestie: declaring also that they kept it for the king of Spaine and so still would, untill further aid were sent from him: and which in verie deed was daile looked for. Before the canons and other battering peeces could be vnladen, they spent the time, occupieng the one the other with such deuises as they thought good for the seruices. And the Spaniards, hauing the aduantage, did by their often shot hurt and kill some Englishmen, namely a souldier of sir George Bourchiers, one of sir Henrie Mallops, & one of capteine Zouches: and sir William Stanleie comming with his companie to the trenches to take the ward of capteine George Carew, which kept the watch that night past, was hurt with a musket shot out of the castell in the necke. As soon as the ordinance was vnladen and planted, they began forthwith to batter the fort with three canons, a culuering, and a demie culuering; and in short time they so beat it, that the house fell and filled the ditches: by meanes whereof the same became to be assaultable.

Capteine Macworth, who had the ward of that daie, entred into the utter barme by a doore that the souldiers had broken, and was master of it presently. The Spaniards therupon retired to a turret that was vpon the wall of the barbican, & some sought other places to hide and to saue themselves, but that part of the castell was beaten downe: and then capteine Macworth recovered the possession of the whole, and did put fittie to the sword, of which nineteene were found to be Spaniards; and six others he took, whereof one was a woman, which were executed in the campe. None were saued that daie but onelie the capteine Iulio, whome the lord iustice kept for certeine considerations two or three daies: but in the end he was hanged as the rest were before him. The next daie, being the first of Aprill one thousand five hundred and fourescore, the ordinances were remoued and caried to the ship, which with all such souldiers as were sicke and hurt were sent to Limerike, to be relieved and cured. This castell, one of the principallest and chiefest forts thus recovered, there resteth onelie the house and castell of Asketten: and the lord iustice, and the earle of Desmond thought nothing more necessarie, than euen forthwith to march to Asketten, and to incampe there and to besiege it, euen as they had done to this fort of Carigofille. Where when they came, the two lords diuided themselves, the one taking the one side, and the other taking the other side of the water: and vpon the third of Aprill they incamped at the said castell, the lord iustice lieng in the abbey, and the earle of Desmond vpon the further side of the riuer.

The lord iustice viewed the place, and found no waie possible to place anie watch or ward nere to the castell, by reason of the great disadvantage of the rockes which late altogether vpon the castell. While the campe laie there, sir William Stanleie, capteine George Carew, and capteine Walker went to giue siege vnto the castell of Ballisloghan, a strong house of the Desmonds, and which was guarded untill this time against his maiestie. The ward had no sooner the sight and view of these three ensignes, but that they fired the house and fled: but they were so narrowlie pursued, that the leader of them and some of his companie were overtaken and slaine. Whilest the siege laie at Asketten, sir Henrie Mallop treasurer at warres came from Limerike to the campe the fourth of Aprill 1580: and the verie same night following, being a verie darke and close night, the warders of the castell fearing the example of the execution done at Carigofille, and doubting the sequelle of the lord iustice preparation made for the batterie to be laid against it, did abandon and forsake the castell verie secretlie about midnight, leauing a traine of powder to set it on fire, which consumed & burned a great part of the same: but the principall towers remained vntouched. The warders by fauor of the darke night escaped into the woods.

This castell thus recovered, the earle of Desmond had neuer a castell in all pounster which was guarded against his maiestie: but all were now at his deuotion. The lord iustice being possessed of Asketten, he appointed a strong garrison to reside there, and placed sir Peter Carew, and sir Henrie Mallops companie in the castell; and capteine George Carew, and capteine Hollingworth to be in the abbey, and so vpon the first of Aprill he dislodged with both the rest of the armie, and went vnto Limerike: commanding the captains to cut down the woods on both sides of the riuer, that the botes might passe freely to and fro. At his coming to Limerike, all things now seeming to be at peace, the earle of Desmond returned home to Kilkennie, & certeine of the countie

Capteine Macworth first entred the castell.

The castell of Carigofille is taken.

The bragging Spaniard is taken and hanged.

1580

The castell of Asketten appointed to be besieged.

Sir William Stanleie and capteine George Carew besiege the castell of Ballisloghan.

The warders forsake the castell.

The warders of Asketten forsake the castell, and by a traine set it on fire.

The castell of Asketten is taken.

A ward placed at Asketten.

The armie is dispersed, and the garrison cell

The articles of a commission of the marches and law.

The baron of Lerneu submitted himselfe to his lordships deuotion.

The castell of Carigofille was besieged.

The lord iustice sent to ward for treason.

The chamberlaine of Limerike sent to ward for treason.

The bishop committed prisoner to his owne house.

The pound was of the Desmond.

Nicholas Barker verie valiantlie defended himselfe.

The castell was battered with shot.

are sent to
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appointed.

cell which had followed in this sournie rode to Dublin: and sir Nicholas Malbie departed into Connagh. And notwithstanding that the most part of the armie was now dispersed into garrisons: yet the seruices of euerie of them neuer abated. For alwaies as the time of seruice required, the Irishmen were issued out vpon, and most commonlie had the worst side. And the lord iustice himselfe taking an occasion to visit the ward at Adare, he passed by water, and capteine Case went by land, and after a time spent in searching the woods, they returned with a pzeie of one thousand and two hundred kine, and good verie store of sheepe, besides the slaughter of manie traitors.

At his being and during his abode in Limerike, vpon the fifteenth of Maie, he receiued hir maiesties commission vnder the broad seale of England to be lord iustice (where before he held the same by the election and order of the counsell) and therewith also one other commission, for creating of sir William Burke baron of castell Connall, with a yearelie pension of one hundred markes during his life. And from this time, the lord iustice spent this summer in Mounster, travelling to and fro through out the whole prouince: he himselfe and euerie other capteine in his severall garrison doing such seruice vpon the rebels as occasion by was offered. The lord iustice vpon the fifteenth of June, after that he had marched a few miles in Mac Aulles countrie, spoiling, defacing, and burning the same, he passed through the boggye mountaine of Slewlongher into Kerrie, and there he discovered a great pzeie of the countrie; and pursuing the same, by the vaward of his horsemen, and he himselfe in person toke about two thousand kine, besides store of sheepe and garcons, with part of the traitors masking apparell.

The earle of Desmond and his wife and doctor Sanders in perill to be taken.

A mutinie among the soldiers for lacke of vittells;

Sir Cormac Mac Ceige with a peece of seruice vpon sir James of Desmond.

Sir James of Desmond in taking of a pzeie taken prisoner and executed.

The earle of Desmond, the countesse his wife, and doctor Sanders little thinking of this matter, escaped verie hardlie; and their pzeie for haile was faine to leaue his golwne behind. The like seruice he did the next daie, being the five and twentieth of June at Castelmange. But at this time, a great mutinie began amongst the soldiers vnder sir George Bouchier, capteine Macworth, and capteine Dowdall, by reason of their wants: but his lordship with such lenitie and courtesie handled the matter, that they departed from him well satisfied. Likewise sir Cormac Mac Ceige shriffe of the countie of Corke did notable seruice vpon sir James of Desmond; which sir James vpon the fourth of August made a roade into Muskroe, and toke a great pzeie from the foresaid sir Cormac. Wherevpon his brother Donnell assembleth his brothers tenants and countrie and followed the pzeie, and recovered the same: sir James, who thought it to be too great a dishonor and reproch to depart with anie thing which he had in hand, withstanding the matter.

Wherevpon they fell at hand-fight. In which conflict and fight the said Donnell behaued himselfe so valiantlie, and his companie so lustilie stucke to the matter, that the pzeie was recovered, and sir James himselfe mortallie wounded and taken prisoner, and all his force, being aboue a hundred and fiftie persons, were slaine and ouerthrowne. He that toke him was a smith, and seruant to sir Cormac, who forthwith handfasted him: and for auoiding of certeine inconveniencies, he kept him close, and secretlie hid him in a certeine bush in the fastnesse there, and bound him so fast and sure, that he could not escape nor run awaie. And when all the companie was gone, then he toke him and carried him to sir Cormac his maister, who kept him in safe custodie, vntill, by letters of commandement from the lord iustice and counsell, he did deliuer him vnto sir Mar-

ham Sentleger then prouost marshall, and to capteine Raleigh; who (according to a commission in like order to them addrested) was examined, indicted, arreigned, and then vpon iudgement drawen, hanged and quartered: and his bodie being quartered, it was together with the head set on the towne gates of the citie of Corke, and made the pzeie of the foules. And thus the pestilent hydra hath lost another of his heads.

This seruice of this knight was maruellouslie well accepted, and first from the lord iustice and counsell, and then from hir maiestie he receiued verie frendlie and faithfull letters. This man was a ponger house vnto Mac Artie Keough, and they both a ponger house vnto Mac Artie Moe now earle of Clancar, and whose ancestors (as is said) were kings before the conquest of Mounster. They are all men of great power, and greatlie esteemed in those parties. But this sir Cormac, in dutie and obedience to hir maiestie and hir lawes, and for his affection to all Englishmen, surpasseth all his owne sept & familie, as also all the Irishie in thatland. For al beit a more Irish gentleman can hardly digest anie Englishman or English government, and whatsoener his outward appearance be, his inward affection is corrupt and naught, being not vnlike to Jupiters cat, whome though he had transformed into a beautifull ladie, and made hir a noble princeesse; yet when she saw the mouse, she could not forbear to snatch at him: and as the ape, though he be neuer so richlie attired in purple, yet he will still be an ape: this knight, after he did once yeld himselfe to hir maiesties obedience, and had professed his loialtie, he neuer desired to ioine himselfe vnto the companie of the Englishmen, and became in time a faithfull and frendlie man vnto them, liued according to hir maiesties lawes, and did so good seruice at all times when it was requist and required, as none of that nation did euer the like. And if at anie time he were had in suspicion, he would by some kind of seruice purge & acquitte himselfe, euen as he did in this present seruice in taking of sir James of Desmond, to his great praise & commendation, and to his acquittall against the reprochfull reports of his aduersaries. And sir William Fitzwilliams in the time of his deputiship, hauing had a verie good triall of his fidelitie, truth, and good seruice, did giue vnto him the order of knighthood, and made him shriffe of the countie of Corke: euen as the lord iustice now did commend this his seruice vnto hir maiestie by his letters of the twelue of August, a thousand five hundred and eightie, and praising that the same might be so acceptable receiued, as that the enobling of him might be both an ornament to his house, an incouraging vnto others to do the like, and a testimonie against others of his sort, who haue neglected a number of occasions (at greater aduantages) to haue done the like seruices.

The death of James of Desmond, and the quartering of his bodie did maruellouslie dismaye the earle himselfe, sir John his other brother, and doctor Sanders, and all their confederats. And by reason of the continuall persecuting of the rebels, who could haue no breath nor rest to relieue themselves, but were alwaies by one garrison or other hurt and pursued, and by reason the haruest was taken from them, their cattels in great numbers pzeied from them, and the whole countrie spoiled and pzeied; the poore people, who lined onelie vpon their labors, and fed by their milch cowes, were so distressed, that they would follow after the goods which were thus taken from them, and offer themselves, their wiues, and children, rather to be slaine by the armie, than to suffer

Sir James of Desmond sent to sir William Raleigh, and was executed to death.

The date of the countesse of Desmond.

Sir John of Desmond and his wife were in danger to be taken.

James of Desmond.

The lordie of sir Cormac Mac Ceige.

Sir Cormac Mac Ceige made knight.

Sir George Bouchier captain of Mounster.

This force is both of the princes paie, and of the lord of the prouince.

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the famine therewith they were now pinched. And this great calamitie made also a diuision betwene the earle of Desmond and his brother sir John, either of them excusing that there of they were both guiltie. The earle himselfe (without rest) fleeth from place to place, and findeth small comfort, and seeing no other remedie, sent his ladie and wife vnto the lord iustice, who in great abundance of teares bewailed the miserable estate of his husband, his selfe, and their followers, making (with most lamentable requests) sute, that his husband might be taken to submission.

Sir John of Desmond, being in the like distresse, he together with doctor Sanders gaue the aduenture, to passe for their refuge to the bicont of Baltinglasse, then being in the countie of Kildare. The garrison which laie at Kilmallocke, making an issue out by night to doe some seruice, by chance met the said John and Sanders in the darke night: and not knowing them did set vpon them, and of foure of them they take two, the one being a siter named James Haie and standardbearer to the late James Fitzmoris, who vpon his examination confessed that the earle of Desmond was author of all these warres, and the other was Sanders man, who was slaine; and the siter was released, but sir John and the doctor by the benefite of the darknesse verie hardlie escaped, & cut off from their iourneie. The lord iustice being at Newcastell, and being aduertised that the earle of Desmond and Sanders were in Kerrie, he forthwith sent for the garrisons of Adare and Alketten to come to him, and for the garrison of Kilmallocke to meet him at the place, daie, and time appointed, for a speciall peece of seruice then to be done. Whose commandement being done and obeyed, they take their waie into Kerrie, and there they had taken the earle, and his countesse, and doctor Sanders, had not a false brother betrayed the matter, and yet for haile they left their breakfast behind them halfe dressed. Neuertheless, they take two priests, the one of sixtene and the other of eigheteene kine; and the next daie they take another peece of two hundred kine, due diuerse traitors, and take two friers, whose gownes were too long for them to follow the earle and the popes muntio, they being poore bare footed friers, and he a lustie hopman: and then his lordship returned to Alketten, where he left master Parker constable of the place; and from thence he went to Limerike, where he receiued news by master Zouch, and after by letters from the lord Greie lord deputie, of his arrivall to Dublin. And then his lordship minding to make his speedy repaire to Dublin, did set the countie in some good order, and by the aduise of the counsell at Limerike, he appointed sir George Bourcher colonell of all Downster, and instructions were deliuered vnto him, both for certeine speciall seruices to be done, & also for the generall gouernement of the whole prouince; & had left vnto him the charge (vnder his gouernement) of the whole forces in Downster; which of footmen were two thousand eight hundred & twentie; and of horsemen three hundred fourescore and fiftene: the whole, three thousand two hundred and fiftene men. Likewise he had sent the like instructions to sir Warham Sentleger, and the earle of Clancar. And these & other like things done, he took his iourneie through Conangh for the like establishing of the countie, & came to Dublin the first daie of September, one thousand five hundred fourescore and one; and the next daie he deliuered by the sword to the lord Greie, as to the lord deputie of Ireland, in saint Patrikes church in presence of the conncell, noble men, and gentlemen, which were for the same purpose there assembled.

And within six daies after the lord Greie his arrivall, it was giuen his lordship to vnderstand, that the bicont of Baltinglasse, and Theon mache Hugh, the chiefe of his sex of the Obzins, were lieng in the Obzins countie, and were now of great force and strength, by meanes of the companie of capteine Fitzgiralde, kinsman to the earle of Kildare, who had a band of footmen committed vnto him in the beginning of this rebellon, for the defense of the countie of Kildare, which bordereth fast by the Obzins. And he nothing regarding now, either the dutie of a subject, or his owne credit, most traitorously reuoltereth from his lawfull prince, and conioincth himselfe with traitors and rebels. And with these he practiseth and perswadeth to resist and make head against his maiesties forces; because they could not (as he said) withstand or preuaile against them: who without anie reward promised, were easilie perswaded, because they would be perswaded, and were most willing to exercise anie maner of outrage. All these thus combined, drew one string, & incamped themselves in the fastnes of the Glinnes, about 20 miles from Dublin, where they kept all their goods & cattell. This fastnesse was by nature so strong as possible might be: for in it is a vallie or a combe lieng in the middle of the wood, of a great length, betwene two hills, & no other waie is there to passe through. Under foot it is boggie and soft, and full of great stones and asperie rocks, verie hard and enill to passe through; the sides are full of great & mightie trees vpon the sides of the hills, & full of bushes and vnderwoods.

The lord deputie, being not yet acquainted with the custome of the countie, nor with the Irish seruices, and thinking himselfe in honor to be touched, and the whole armie to be discredited, if a companie of traitors should lie so nere vnto him, and not be touched nor fought withall, resolved himselfe to haue a peece of seruice to be done vpon them. Wherefore he with all his whole armie marcheth vnto the said Glinnes, & giveth order to sir William Stanley, sir Peter Carew, sir Henrie Bagnoll, capteine Atwelle, and to John Parker, lieutenant to capteine Furze with all their footmen, and to Francis Cobble capteine of the kerrie, and George Wore an old veteran of Berwolke, colonell of all the footmen, to take this seruice vpon them. But Cobble, who had bene a long seruitor, and knew what to that kind of seruice did belong, did foresee the danger which would follow hereof, and so declared it to his companie: notwithstanding to auoid the reproches which might be laied to his charge, followed the said seruice, and vpon the next daie, being the five & twentieth of August, they entered the Glinnes.

The lord deputie being accompanied with the earle of Kildare, Jaques Mingeisfield, capteine George Carew, capteine Denie, and others on horsebacke staied vpon the mounteine side hard by the wood. The archtraitor Fitzgiralde, hauing some secret intelligence of the seruice towards, he beset with and placeth all his men with their pikes amongst the trees, and there couered themselves, vntill the Englishmen were entered and passed into the fastnesse, about halfe a mile or more, and could not easilie returne: and he hauing them at aduantage vpon euerie side of the hill, with great furie assailed them with his shot, and in verie short time did kill the most part of the vaward, both capteins and souldiours. The residue which followed, being in despair to recouer what was lost, and distrusting themselves, fled at all hands, and ran backe as fast as they could in so bad a waie. And yet such was the nimblenesse of the traitors, and their skill of seruice in such places, that they were like to haue bene

D. J. killed;

The bicont of Baltinglasse lieth in the Glinnes with the rebels.

The strength of the fastnesse in the Glinnes

A seruice appointed to be done against the Obzins.

The lord deputie staied vpon the mounteine.

Sir James of Desmond sent to sir Warham Sentleger to captaine Raleigh, and was executed to death.

The state of the countie of Desmond.

Sir John of Desmond and doctor Sanders went to the bicont of Baltinglasse.

Sir John of Desmond and doctor Sanders were in Kerrie, when in danger to be taken.

Jupiter cap.

The fastnesse of sir George Carew at the Glinnes.

The earle and doctor Sanders were in danger to be taken.

Sir George Carew made knight.

Sir George Bourcher colonell of Downster.

The force of the countie of Desmond.

The miserie of the people.

killed; if the lord deputie, and the horsemen had not rescued them: upon whose coming they retired into their fastnesse.

In this conflict, George Poze, capteine Audleie, Francis Colbie, and sir Peter Carew cozonnell, were then murdered and slaughtered; which sir Peter was verie well armed, and with running in his armor, which he could not put off, he was halfe smothered, and inforced to lie downe: whome when the rebels had taken, they disarmed him, & the most part of them would haue saved him, and made request for him, they thinking that more profit would grow among them by his life than benefit by his death. Notwithstanding, one villaine most butcherlie, as soon as he was disarmed, with his sword slaughtered and killed him; who in time after was also killed. Before the entrie into this seruice, Jaques Wingfield being acquainted with this kind of bold and rash hardinesse, and foreseeing the euill successe which was feared would insue, perswadeth with his two nephues, sir Peter and capteine George Carew, to staie and to forbear to aduenture into the woods. But sir Peter could not listen thereunto, nor be perswaded; but would needs go in. His brother would haue done the like, but his vnkle perforce kept him, saying; If I lose one, yet I will keepe the other: and so by that meanes he was by Gods goodnesse saved and preferred.

This blacke date was a dolefull and a grieuous date to the lord deputie and all his companie: notwithstanding, hoping of a hard beginning would follow a better ending toke the matter as patiently as he could, and made his returne vnto Dublin, abiding the coming of the lord iustice; who as soon as he was returned, then the lord Greie was appointed, and had the sword deliuered vnto him. The earle of Desmond in this meane time, being verie desirous to do some seruice vpon the Spaniards, being nothing afraid of their force and multitude, marcheth towards the fort, and incamped at Traleigh, where the scout the same night espied a light in the enemies campe, and by reason of the darke night, the companie of them seemed to be the greater: which caused the gouernor to be more watchfull and circumspect. Wherefore in the morning, like a wise and a politike capteine, setteth all his companies in battell arae, & to marcheth forwards in his strength & verie good order ouer the strand of Traleigh towards the fort, euerie man being at a full resolution to do his best seruice that day against the enimie. When these strangers had knowledge of the approaching of the lord gouernor, and his companie, albeit their fort was verie strong, both by nature and by art; yet they distrustted themselves, and forsake the fort, and by the guiding of the Irishrie, they remoued themselves from thence to Glanmire, whome the gouernor pursued, & overtooke some of them, vpon whome he gaue the onset, and skirmished with them: diuerse of them he slue, and manie he toke, whome he caried along with him: the residue of them fled into the fastnesse of Glanmire, which is a verie strong place and couert, by reason of the great woods and of the mounteines adioining. Whereupon the date being spent, and no seruice for that time to be done anie further, the lord gouernor incamped there that night, fast to their enemies nose, to trie him what he would, or durst do.

As soon as he was incamped, he calleth the prisoners (who were taken) before him, and they confessed that they were in number, not about seven hundred men: but had brought with them pikes, caluiers, munitions, and all kinds of artillerie, sufficient for five thousand men: because they knew

that the Irishmen were of bodie sufficient, but that they lacked furniture and training; & in these two things they minded to furnish them: and further also they said, that they had sent backe two of their ships into Spaine, to aduertise that they were safe: he arrived, and how that they were interteined: requesting that the supplie appointed before their coming from home, might with all speed be sent awaie, and for which they did daile loke: because it was throughly concluded betwene the pope and king Philip, to make a through conquest of all Ireland; and so consequentlie as time should serue, to do the like with England. And moreover, that they had brought with them a great masse and store of monie and treasure, which according to their commission they had deliuered to the earle of Desmond, sir John his brother, & to doctor Sanders the popes nuntio; and more is promised to be sent.

After these things thus done, it was giuen to the said gouernor to vnderstand, that the same night there were three hundred souldiours of the enemies companie returned & gone backe to the fort. Whereupon he returned also, and followed them the next morning, and came to Dingle, where he incamped as nere to the fort as he could; and there choosing to himselfe capteine Dowdall, capteine Peters, and certeine shot, he drew so nere to the fort as he had the whole discouerie and sight of the fort and companie therein, which seemed to be easie to be gotten, if he had anie shot and munitions for the same. But as neither the scholer without his booke, nor the artificer without his toles, can do anie thing in his profession: no more can the souldiour fight without his meate weapons, nor serue without his necessaries; and therefore for want of things necessarie for this batterie, the lord gouernor was obliged to returne, and to leaue the fort.

The Spaniards perceiving this, or mistrusting some other matter, made a sallie of threescore men; and the gouernor seeing their advantage, thought to follow the aduise of his captains, and not to haue dealed at all with them. But one Andrew Martin more hastie than aduised, and more rash than wise, procured a skirmish with them, in which he was slaine; and the lord gouernor compelled of force to answer the skirmish. But it was not long, but that he sounded the retract; and being not able to annoie the enimie, nor perswade at the fort, he returned backe againe, and by tourneies he came to Keshill: where he met the lord deputie, vnto whom he yielded vp all his companie, and his commission, and then made prouision of his men, and for victuals, to follow the said lord deputie. The lord deputie had now in his companie about eight hundred men, horsemen and footmen, vnder the leadings of capteine Zouch, capteine Walter Raleigh, capteine Denie, who had also capteine George Carews companie vnder his ensigne, capteine Pactonoth, capteine Achin, and others: and then he marched towards the fort where the Spaniards and Romans were settled.

Capteine Raleigh, notwithstanding that the lord deputie had raised his campe at Keshill, and was gone towards the fort, yet he taried and staied behind, minding to practise some exploit. For it was not vnknowne vnto him, that it was a manner among the Irish kerns, that whensoever anie English campe was dislodged and remoued, they would after their departures come to those camps to take what they there found to be left. Thus therefore lieng, and keeping himselfe verie close, taried and abode the coming of the said kerns; who suspecting no such trap to be laid for them, came after their manners and old vsages to the said place, and there

The English men slaine in the Gunnes.

Sir Peter Carew slaine.

Jaques Wingfield his wife to wards his nephues.

The earle marcheth in order of battell to the fort.

The Spaniards leaue their fort.

The earle followeth the Spaniards and pursueth them to the foile.

The companie of the Spaniards not about seven score.

The difference of the pope and king Philip, to make a through conquest of Ireland.

The earle of Desmond incamped at the fort.

The earle lacke of munition could not pacuillie against the fort.

The Spaniards that were and were slain.

The lord deputie cometh to Keshill, and is there met by the earle of Desmond.

The lord deputie maketh to the fort, and becometh it.

The fort is humoured.

The answer of the fort.

The Spaniards make a sallie vpon the Englishmen.

The diligent seruice of the mariners.

The fort is better vpon the land side.

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toke their pleasure; who when they were in their fort, the captaine and his men came vpon them, and toke them all. Among them there was one, who carried and was laden with withs, which they used in stead of halters: and being demanded what he would doe with them, and whie he carried them; gaue answer, that they were to hang vpon English churles: so they call Englishmen. As it so (quoth the captaine) well, they shall now serue for an Irish kerne: and so commanded him to be hanged vpon with one of his owne withs; the residue he handled according to their desert.

The lord deputie incamped himselfe as nere the fort as he could. And at this present was sir William Winter also retorne returned from out of England: but he arrived at Kinsale, and his viceadmirall captaine Bingham came into the baye of Saint Charles weeke or smere weeke, and not long after, sir William Winter himselfe followed. And by these means the said lord deputie was so well furnished of all things necessarie, that he at land, and sir William Winter at sea besieged the fort. But before any assault giuen, he first summoned the fort; requiring of them who they were, what they had there to doe, by whom they were sent, and whie they fortified in his maiesties land, & required therewith to yeld vpon the fort. But they answered that they were sent some from the holie father, which had giuen that realme to king Philip; and some from king Philip, who was to receiue and recouer that land to the holie church of Rome, which by his maiesties means was become schismaticall, and out of the church, with other reprochfull speeches: and that therfore they were in that respect to keepe what they had, and to recouer what they yet had not. Whereupon the lord deputie sent to sir William Winter, to haue conference with him, how, in what fort, and by what waies they were to worke for the dispossessing of these strangers from their fort, and how their artillerie and munitions might be best placed and laid for the batterie; and betwene whom it was then determined how all things should be done.

Whiles they were thus in speeches, and consulting of the matter, the Spaniards thinking to take some aduantage, made a sallie vpon the Englishmen: which was forthwith answered by captaine Denie (who as then had but a dozen shot) and by Michaell Butler lieutenant to captaine Raleigh: & these so valiantlie behaued themselves, and so worke stillie followed the fight, that they made the Spaniards with more hast than with good speed to retorne againe to their fort. The same night following, sir William Winter, according to the conclusion betwene the lord deputie and him, he did cause to be unladen certeine culuerings, and like peeces of ordinance out of his maiesties ships, which then lay in the rode of smere weeke, and then there being a great banke betwene the shozes side and the fort, through which the ordinance were to be caried, they did in the same night cut through that banke, caried their ordinance through it, and mounted them in the place appointed, before the breake of the daie, and before it was open daie the batterie was ready to be giuen. A peece of seruice (the place and time considered) thought worthe great commendations. The lord deputie likewise had done the like vpon the land side, & so being on both sides in readinesse to follow the seruice, his lordship summoned them by the shot of a peece of ordinance, offering vnto them mercurie if they would yeld. But they knowing nothing what was done that night, answered as before, that they would keepe what they had, and would increase what they could get. Whereupon they began to batter the fort on both sides, both by land and by water.

This first daie of batterie was captaine Raleighs ward daie. But the Spaniards made the first bags, that they cared not for this; and to set a good face vpon it, some of them sallied out, and offered the skirmish, but verie faintlie and fearefullie: and so both vpon the first daie, the second daie, and the third daie, little was done; but onelie the continuance of the batterie. The fourth daie was captaine Roches ward daie, vnder whom was a lustie yong gentleman named John Cheeke, who drew so nere the fort, that he looked ouer the purport into it, which being seene and perceiued, one of the Spaniards leuelled a peece at him, & with his shot strake him in the head, wherewith he died. About the end of these foure daies, the trenches for the full batterie were drawne and brought so nere vnto the fort, that now they left to dallye any longer with the fort, but verie hotlie and sharpelie they battered at it on both sides. The Spaniards, who had staied themselves vpon the hope of some further supplie, to come out of their countrie, and thinking of some better aid of the erle of Desmond, & of his brethren, than yet they had receiued; and seeing also the batterie to be such as they could not be able to withstand and hold out, they desired a parley with the lord deputie, who vtterlie denied it: saying, that his seruice was against traitors and rebels, with whom no speeches nor parleys are allowed. And forsomuch as they (though strangers by birth) otherwise did confederat with them in such a traitorous action, they were in the like predicament with them. Then they requested that they might haue libertie to depart with bag & baggage, which also would not be granted. Then they requested that certeine particular men among themselves might haue their free passage, and certeine other conditions: but my lord refused both this, and all other conditions, requiring an absolute yelding, or nothing at all. When they saw that they could not preuaile any waie, then at the length they hanged out a white flag, and with one voice they all cried out *Misericordia, misericordia*, and offered to yeld both themselves and the fort, without any condition at all. Which thing when it was aduertised to his lordship, he sent captaine Jaques Wellingfield master of the ordinance to the fort, and to make triall whether this their offer were true and unfeigned: who when he came to the fort, he was receiued sir, and forthwith the captaine of the fort came vnto him, and in all humble maner yelded himselfe to be brought, and to be presented vnto the lord deputie: and at the commandement of the said Jaques Wellingfield he disarmed himselfe, and caused all his companie to doe the like, and to bring all the armour in the fort into one place; and there they laid their pikes across the vpon the same. Which being done, the said captaine Wellingfield came out of the fort, and brought the captaine with him, promising him safe conduct to the lord deputie. But by the waie, his lordship sent some to receiue him at his hands, and willed the said Jaques Wellingfield to retorne againe to the fort.

In this fort sir James Fitzgird knight, and lord of the Decies, was a prisoner by the order of the erle of Desmond, and one Plunket an Irishman, and one Englishman, which came and accompanied the traitors out of Spaine. The knight was set at libertie, but the other two were executed. When the captaine had yelded himselfe, and the fort appointed to be surrendered, captaine Raleigh together with captaine Macworth, who had the ward of that daie, entered into the castell, & made a great slaughter, manie of the most part of them being put to the sword. And when all things were cleere, the lord deputie came to the fort, and hauing done what pleased.

John Cheeke is slaine.

The fort is battered on euerie side.

The Spaniards desire a parley.

Captaine Wellingfield is sent to the fort.

The prisoners in the fort are executed.

The lord deputie came near the fort.

The fort is besieged.

The lord deputie answered the fort.

The Spaniards offered to yeld.

The Spaniards made a sallie vpon the Englishmen.

The lord deputie commeth to Kinsale, and is there met by the erle of Desmond.

The lord deputie sent some to receiue him at his hands.

The fort is battered on both sides.

sed him, his lordshyp returned, and manie of the capteins he saued. The fort forthwith was rased, the armoz and munitions were disperfed abroad, and all things done as it pleased the lord deputie, he sent the cozonnell and campmaister ouer into England by capteine Denie, and dismissed the armie, and sent euerie capteine to his garrison. And his lordshyp went from thence to Dingham, which is a long scattering waste towne, and in it foure or five castels, which the earle of Desmond had caused to be defaced in the beginning of this rebellion.

Capteine Zouch made the gouernour of Desmond.

And here the earle of Desmond met with the lord deputie with a new supplie of his owne men, being readie to haue followed the seruice if need had so required. In this towne the lord deputie made capteine Zouch gouernour of Kerrie and Desmond, and appointed vnto him three hundred men, and accompanied him with capteine Cash, who had one hundred men, and capteine Achin, who had fiftie horsemen, and commanded these to lie in garrison in that towne, or where they thought good. And these had to them giuen all the victuals which were found in the fort. And from hence his lordshyp went to Limerike, and came thither the seauen and twentieth of November, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred & eightie. At which time there arrived out of England six new bands of soldiers, under the leading of capteine Berkleie, capteine Cruise, capteine Herd, and capteine Tanner, all which his lordshyp bestowed in severall garrisons, and in such places as were most meet for seruice; capteine Berkleie one, lie of the capteins remained in Mounster, and was placed in the house of Asketten, the chiefe castell of the earle of Desmond with two hundred men. The others went into Connagh, where the wicked sonnes of the earle of Clanricard were now vpon their keeping. For notwithstanding that the Spaniards were ouerthrowne, and thereby a sufficient warning was giuen to the rebels, to bethinke themselves, that if they did persist in their rebellions, the like would also insue vpon them: yet see how that the benemous Hydra had no sooner lost one of his heads, but in stead of one, sundrie and manie others are sprouting vp. For at the vertie instant, the barbarie brood of the earle Clanricard, the viscount of Balinglasse, associated with the Obyins, Omozes, and Keuenaghs in Leinster, & with sundrie others of that wicked nation, conspire, and are vp in open rebellion; and so now at this one instant, Mounster, Connagh, and a great pece of Leinster are in arms and actuall rebellion: onelie Ulster (which was wont to be the worst) is now the best and most quietest.

The earle of Desmond is the gouernour of Mounster.

The cleargies band doe actue into Ireland.

The earle of Kildare, and the baron of Deluin had in suspicion, and are committed to ward.

Mhalla whereof he was baron, and there (as it was said) he was taken by the Deonhours, and kept against his will for his safetie, vntill they did heare further what should be become of the earle.

This thing being aduertised to the lord deputie, he contentred that this was but a surmised and colozable kind of dealing, to bleare his lordships eyes; wherefore by order and good aduise he first willed the earle to send for his sonne, who did so. But his messenger returned with an answer, that the young lord was willing to come, but the Deonhours, who were in doubt what should be become of the earle, would in no wise suffer his sonne to depart, unless they might haue good assurance for his safe returne againe vnto them. The lord deputie not liking these kind of fond excuses and disordered dealings, sent the earle of Desmond then being in Dublin, to deale with the Deonhours, who being accompanied with sir Edmund and Piers his brethren, Nicholas White maister of the rolles, capteine George Carew, capteine Macworth, and sundrie other capteins and gentlemen, made their repaire to the borders and marches of Mhalla; wher after much talke to no purpose, they all returned without the young lord.ouer theles afterwards the Deonhours when they had better considered of the matter, and had had some conference with Hussen and others the earles men, and mistrusting that some further troubles would insue, euen as the earle of Desmond had partly threatened them; and doubting also least the staing of the sonne might be prejudiciall to the father, then in all hast did send the young lord to the earle of Desmond, who caried him to Dublin, and deliuered him to the lord deputie: and his lordshyp forthwith sent him to the ward, where he remained with his father, vntill they both and the baron of Deluin were sent into England, where the earle and the baron were sent to the Tower, and the young lord committed to the custodie of the earle of Bedford. The earle died after in London, and his bodie was caried into Ireland, and there buried amongst his ancestors.

Capteine Walter Raleigh, lieng in garrison at Corke, and nothing liking the outrages, bozages, and villanies daily practised by Barrie, Conden, and others vpon the good subiects and his maiesties garrisons, whereof sundrie complaints had bene made, and small redresse had, he rode himselfe to Dublin vnto the lord deputie, and made his complaints thereof, alledging that the outrages of the Barries and his consorts were such, that unless they were proclaimed traitors, and with all diligence followed and pursued, the euent thereof would be verie euill, to the aggrauance of good subiects, & to the discouragement of the wicked: whose insolencie and pride was growne to such a height, that the sword with extremitie was the onelie meane now to redresse the same.

The lord deputie and counsell, when they had heard and well considered this, they sent him backe againe with a commission vnto himselfe, to seize and enter vpon the castell and house of Barrie court, and all other the lands of the said Barrie: and likewise to pursue and follow him in the best maner as he thought good: and for his better seruice to be done herein, he had certeine horsemen in wages also giuen vnto him, and added vnto his ensigne of footmen: wher vpon he returned. But before he was come backe to Corke, the case was altered; for the matter was so ordered and handled by such as there and then were in authoritie, and so manie delafes were vsed to hinder the good seruice proposed, that his commission auailed him verie little or nothing, for the castell of Barrie was committed

The earle of Desmond is kept by the Deonhours.

The earle of Desmond is sent for the young lord.

The young lord is sent to the earle of Desmond.

The earle of Kildare and his sonne are sent into England.

Capteine Raleigh cometh with the full power of the reade.

Capteine Raleigh hath a commission to the ward of the house of the enemy.

Donal lord Barrie burneth his house.

Capteine Raleigh is laid for by the seneschall.

The seneschall followeth capteine Raleigh.

The distressed state of Henrie.

The cowardice of the seneschall.

mitted and deliuered the said Dambhir sonne: and said castell being the whole countie his returne vnto the sene countrie he to haue intrapeted lieng at a fort ouer with sir hteine little mite companie on horsebacke, full and dangerous good guide edmunds of C knew euerie places.

The capteine seneschall had ing scattered him, and crossed, but yet he fer. The first the capteine he thiked for fast by, there thus ouer the bout a bow when he was ded and cast seneschals m killed him. caine his life: selfe was in him and his hast to leape cie, that he q mtre fast by taken by the staid still, and due of his co were not co had about t him, and sa using his sta in the other followed hi and tarrie a standing be of great sen of twelue him; yet r twentie to onelie ralle his men be him, and t tes.

It hap parles apor rebels; at much vpon ppresent beg fore the ear his side, to him. Ther m: n than date a colr gaine, if thie great for his bal mond hea

mitted and delivered to the custodie of the mother of the said David Barrie, and by his set over unto him his sonne: and who forthwith burned and defaced the said castell being his principall house, as also wasted the whole countrie, and became more worse and outrageous than he was before. This capteine making his returne from Dublin, & the same well knowne into the seneschall of Imokellie, through whose countrie he was to passe, laie in ambush for him to haue intrapped him betwene Droughall and Corke, lying at a ford, which the said capteine must passe over with his horsemen, and certeine kerne. The capteine little mistrusting anye such matter, had in his companie onelie two horsemen and foure shot on horsebacke, which was too small a force in so doubtfull and dangerous times: neuertheless he had a berie good guide, which was the seruant of John Fitzedmunds of Cloue, a good subiect, and this guide knew euerie corner and harting hole in those places.

The capteine being come to wards the ford, the seneschall had espied him alone, his companie being scattered behind, and verie fiercelie pursued him, and crossed him as he was to ride over the water, but yet he recovered the ford and was passed over. The Irishman who was his guide, when he saw the capteine thus alone, and so narrowlie distressed, he thiked for himselfe and fled vnto a broken castell fast by, thers to saue himselfe. The capteine being thus ouer the water, Henrie Poile, riding alone about a bowes shot before the rest of his companie, when he was in the middle of the ford, his horse foundered and cast him downe; and being afraid that the seneschalls men would haue folowed him and haue killed him, cried out to the capteine to come and to saue his life; who not respecting the danger he himselfe was in, came vnto him, and recovered both him and his horse. And then Poile coueting with all hast to leape vp, did it with such hast and behemencie, that he quite ouer leapt the horse, and fell into a mire fast by, and so his horse ran awaie, and was taken by the enimie. The capteine neuertheless staid still, and did abide for the coming of the residue of his companie, of the foure shot which as yet were not come forth, and for his man Jenkins, who had about two hundred pounds in monie about him, and sat vpon his horse in the meane while, hauing his staffe in one hand, and his pistoll charged in the other hand. The seneschall, who had so fiercelie folowed him vpon spur, when he saw him to stand and tarry as it were for his coming, notwithstanding he was counted a man (as he was indeed) of great seruice, and hauing also a new supplie of twelue horsemen and sundrie shot come vnto him; yet neither he nor anye one of them, being twentie to one, durst to giue the onset vpon him, but onelie railed and bled hard speeches vnto him, vntill his men behind had recovered and were come vnto him, and then without anye further harme departed.

It happened that not long after, there was a parlie appointed betwene the lord gouernour and the rebels; at which the seneschall was present, and stood much vpon his reputation. Capteine Kaleigh being present began to charge him of his cowardnesse before the earle of Desmond, that he being twentie of his side, to him alone, durst not to encounter with him. Wherevnto he gaue no answer. But one of his men standing by, said; that his maister was that daie a coward; but he would neuer be so forgetfull a game, if the like seruice were to be done, and in manie great terms exalted his maister the seneschall for his valiantnesse and seruice. The earle of Desmond hearing those great speeches, toke the matter

in hand, and offered vnto the seneschall, that if he and sir John of Desmond there present, and three or foure others, the best they could chose, would appoint to meet him; capteine Kaleigh, and such foure others as they would bring with them, they would come to the same place, and passe over the great river vnto them, and would there stow for two, foure for foure, or six for six, fight and trie the matter betwene them; but no answer was then giuen: ther vpon the white knight was afterwards sent vnto him with this challenge, but the rebels refused it. Not long after this, there were speeches made, that the earle of Desmond was to depart from this long and wearie seruice into England, & capteine Zouch should in his place be the generall. Betwene the remouing of the one, and the placing of the other, sir William Morgan, capteine Kaleigh, and capteine Piers had a commission to be gouernours of that part of Munster, where they spent all that summer, and laie for the most part at Kilmore, and in the countrie and woods thereabouts, in continuall seruices vpon the enimies from time to time, as occasion and oportunitie serued.

And when the summer was spent, capteine Kaleigh returned with all his band vnto Corke, being in number eight horsemen and foure score footmen. And as he passed through the countrie, it was aduertised to him, that David Barrie an archtraitor was at Cloue with a great troupe of sundrie hundreds of men. Wherevpon he thought good to passe that waie through the towne of Cloue, minding to trie the valor of David Barrie, if by anye meanes he might meet with him. And euen at the verie towne end he found Barrie and all his companie, and with a lustie courage gaue the onset vpon him. But Barrie refused it, and fled. And then this capteine passing from thence, in his iourneie he espied in a plaine nere adjoining to a woods side, a companie of footmen by themselves, vpon whom with six horsemen he gaue the charge: but these being cut off from the wood wherevnto they were fleeing, and hauing not succor now to helpe & relieue themselves, they turned backe, & comiuning themselves together to withstand this force and onset made vpon them, in which they behaued themselves verie valiantlie, and of the horses they killed five, of which capteine Kaleigh his horse was one, and he himselfe in great danger, and like to haue bene slaine, if his trustie seruant Nicholas Wright a Dorsetshire man borne had not bin. For he perceiving that his maisters horse was galled and stricken with a dart, and plunged so much, that to his seeming he was past seruice; the said Nicholas willed and called to an Irishman there, whose name was Patrick Fagaw, that he should looke to his capteine, and either to rescue him, or to giue charge vpon the enimie. Wherevpon the said Fagaw rescued his capteine, & the said Nicholas Wright forthwith gaue the onset vpon six of the enimies and slue one of them. And therewith came one James Fitzrichard an Irish gentleman with his kerne to the rescue of the capteine, but his kerne was slaine, and himselfe in danger. For Wright not looking on them folowed the enimie verie egerlie, and recompensed the losse of one with the slaughter of others. Which capteine Kaleigh perceiving cried out to his man, saying; Wright, if thou be a man, charge about hand & saue the gentleman. Who at his maisters commandment pressed into the middle of the enimies, and slue one of them, and so saued the gentleman; and, in which skirmish his horse leg was cut vnder him. Diuerse footmen were slaine of the enimies, and two were taken prisoners, whome they carried with them to Corke.

The challenge made by the earle of Desmond to the seneschall.

Capteine Kaleigh a commissioner in Munster.

Capteine Kaleigh followeth vpon Barrie.

Capteine Kaleigh in danger to be killed.

The good seruice of Nicholas Wright.

The earle of Desmond sent for the young lord Fitzguald.

The earle of Desmond sent for the young lord Fitzguald.

The young lord is sent to the earle of Desmond.

The earle of Kildare and his sonne and sonne in law are sent into England.

Capteine Kaleigh cometh netherly against the sufferance of the rebels.

Capteine Kaleigh hath a commission, & the enlargement of a band of horsemen to pursue the enimie.

David lord Barrie burneth his owne house.

omitted

Capteine Kaleigh is sent for by the seneschall.

The seneschall cometh capteine Kaleigh.

The seneschall is taken by Henrie Poile.

The commandment of the seneschall.

The lord
Koch is had in
suspicion, and
sent for.

Captaine Ka-
leigh cometh
to the lord Ro-
ches house.

Captaine Ka-
leigh being re-
ceived into the
castell getteth
in all his men.

At his lying in Cozke there were sundrie pe-
ces of seruices done by him, all which do verie well
deserve to be for euer registred. And amongst all o-
thers this one point of his seruice deserueth both
commendation and perpetuall remembrance. The
lord Koch was growen into a suspicion that he was
not fount of his loyalty. Whereupon captaine Ka-
leigh by commandement was to fetch him and his
ladie to Cozke vnto the generall. This thing was
not so pailie determined, but that the seneschall and
David Barrie had knowledge thereof, and mind-
ing verelie to take the captaine at some aduantage,
they had assembled a great compaignie of themselves
to the number of seven or eight hundred men to
haue met with him either coming or going. The
captaine perceiuing and forsethinking how dan-
gerous his enterpryse was against so noble a man in
that countrie as the lord Koch was, who was verie
well beloued, commanded vpon a sudden all his
men one and other, both horsemen and footmen,
which in the whole were not aboue foure score and
ten persons, to be in a readinesse vpon the paine of
death betwene ten and eleven of the clocke of the
same night. At which time euerie man being in a
readinesse, he took his horse and marched toward
the lord Koches house called Wallie in Harth, which
is about twentie miles out of Cozke, and came thir-
ty somewhat earlie in the morning. At his com-
ming he went forthwith to the castell gate.

The townsmen when they saw their lords house
and castell thus suddenlie beset, they doubting the
worst, did arme about five hundred of themselves.
Whereupon captaine Kaleigh placed and bestowed
his men in battell raie in the towne it selfe, & mar-
ched againe to the castell gate, with certeine of his
officers and gentlemen of his band, as by name Phi-
chaell Butler, James Fulford, Nicholas Writte,
Arthur Barlow, Henrie Swane, & Winking Hulth;
and they knocked againe at the gate. And after a
while there came thre or foure of the said lord Koches
gentlemen, & demanded the cause of their coming,
vnto whome the captaine answered, that he was
come to speake with my lord: which was offered
he should, so that he would bying in with him but
two or thre of his gentlemen, which the captaine
was contented with, yet in the end (but with much
adw) he came in with all these few persons before
named. When the captaine was once come within
the castell, and had entred into some speches with
the lord Koch, he so handled the matter by deuises
and meanes, that by little and little, and by some
and some, he had gotten in within the fron doze or
gate of the courtlodge all his men. And then hauing
the aduantage, he commanded his men to stand
and gard the said gate, that no man should passe in
or out: and likewise charged euerie man to come
into the hall with his peece well prepared, with two
bullets. The lord Koch when he saw this, he was
suddenlie amazed & stricken at the hart with feare:
but dissembling the same, he set a good face vpon the
matter, and calling for meat, requested the captaine
and his foresaid gentlemen to sit downe, & to keepe
him compaignie at dinner.

After dinner, the captaine falling into speches
with the said lord Koch, declared plainlie vnto him
the cause of his coming, and shewed that he and
his wife were accused to be traitors, and that he had
a commission (which he shewed vnto them) to take
and carie them along with him to Cozke: which he
was to performe, and so would. The lord Koch alled-
ged manie excuses for himselfe and for his wife, say-
ing in the end that he neither could nor would go:
the captaine answered, that if they would not go
with a good will, they should perforce go against their

will. The lord Koch seeing that there was no remedie
die, he yielded: and then the captaine minding to
lose no time, willed him to command and carie all
those of the towne, and all such as were about the
house, to attend and be in readinesse to aid him, and
to let him forth in his horse: which he did, and verie
willingly shewed himselfe to abide and obeye the
captaines commandement, saying that he would
answer the matter well enough, and discharge what-
soeuer should be laid to his charge, for he knew him-
selfe to be cleare. And so he made himselfe and his
wife redie to take the horse in hand, as the cap-
taine did appoint and command: and towards night
they did set forward to Cozke. But the night fell out
to be verie tempestuous and foule, and therewith so
darke, that no man could see hand or foot, nor yet dis-
cerne one another; and the waters also were so foote,
so full of barks, hillocks, pits, and rocks, that the
souldiours thereby were maruellouslie troubled and
incombyed, some stumbled among the stones, some
plunged into holes, and some by their often falls
were not onelie hurt, but also lost their armour, and
were maruellouslie spoiled: and besides that, they
were among and in the middle of the enemies, who
laie in sundrie ambushes, thinking verelie to haue
intercepted them, and to haue set vpon them: but the
darke night which was cumbersome to themselves,
was a shadow to shrowd them from their enemies.
And in the end, though with much trouble, they came
to Cozke in safetie, saving one soldier named John
Phelim, who by his often falling and stumbling a-
mong the stones and rocks, did so hurt one of his
feet, that he could neuer recover the same, but did in
the end consume and rot awaie.

The captaine being come to the towne somewhat
earlie in the morning, he was received in, and pre-
sented his prisoners to the generall, with no little
admiration that he had escaped so dangerous a for-
neie, being verelie supposed of all men that he could
neuer haue escaped. The lord Koch being brought
to be examined, did so well answer for himselfe, that
in the end he was acquitted, and taken for a true and
a good subject, and which in time was well tried and
knowne. For not he himselfe onlie, but all his sons
and followers, did attend and performe all such ser-
uices as were laid vpon them; and in which, thre of
his sonnes were killed by the enemy in his mai-
lies seruice.

Captaine Zouch (as is afore said) laie at the Ding-
ham, among whose compaignie there fell a dangerous
and an extreme sickness: few or none escaped it,
howbeit manie died therein. And in which distresse
it was aduertised him, that the earle of Desmond
and David Barrie was assembled at Aghado with
thre thousand men; and he being verie desirous to
do some seruice vpon them, drew all his full force of
horsemen and footmen vnto Castelmange. And
then by the aduise of his capitaine Achim and Cath,
he suddenlie made an onset vpon his enemies, before
they wist of any such thing, and slew a great com-
paignie of them, and drave the earle to such a pith, that he
in his shirt was dyuen to shift for himselfe, in the
middle of his gallotuglasses, and by that means he
escaped. The earle nothing liking this course successe,
sought a better place of safetie, and removed him-
selfe to Harlowe wood, and passed by the waie to Kil-
mallocke. Which when the garrison there did under-
stand, they pursued and followed him, namelie cap-
taine Bourchier, captaine Dowdall, captaine Daks-
worth, and captaine Morris, thre miles together vpon
the plains betwene Kilmallocke and the wood,
and slew manie of the rebels. And captaine Dowdall
who was acquainted verie well with that wood, and
in it had serued sundrie times, he would needs, and
did

Captaine
Dowdall
gave the earle
of Desmond.

The seneschall
shall p. c. i. e. the
garrison of
Limerick.

The lord de-
voutly desireth
to be g. a. c. i. e.
young g. a. c. i. e.
of all
g. a. c. i. e.

The lord de-
voutly desireth
to be g. a. c. i. e.
young g. a. c. i. e.
of all
g. a. c. i. e.

Captaine
Dowdall ma-
ke a sp. i. e. a. c. i. e.
upon the se-
nichall.

Sir John of
Desmond ap-
pointed to
make a league
between Bar-
rie and the
seneschall.

The governoz
Zouch and
captain Dow-
dall make a se-
cret iourneie.

did enter
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the b. b. a.
ne and the se-
nichall fall
out.

Captaine
Dowdall ma-
ke a sp. i. e. a. c. i. e.
upon the se-
nichall.

Sir John of
Desmond ap-
pointed to
make a league
between Bar-
rie and the
seneschall.

The governoz
Zouch and
captain Dow-
dall make a se-
cret iourneie.

did enter into the wood, where he met with the earle of Desmond now the second time, and gaue the onset vpon him, killed a great number of his men, toke from them their carriages, and vpon a waite a great price of kine, and brought them to Kilmallocke to the garrison. There about this time the seneschall came to Lismore, and praied that countrie, and vpon a waite their cattell. Which when the garrison heard, and were aduertised thereof, they turned, and followed the preie to recover it; but they were so encountered and skirmished withall, that they lost the preie, and some and some of their men were slaine. Diuerse skirmishes were baile done vpon the enfirre, and manye fornicies made vpon them to their great damages and hurts.

In the moneth of August next following, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred eightie and one, the lord deputie made a fornicie into Spounsher, where when he had taken an account of all their workings and seruices, he established capteine Zouch to be gouernour of all Spounsher, and generall at armes; and then his lordship returned through Conagh into Dublin. This now new gouernour, being accompanied with capteine Kaleigh and capteine Dowdall, travelled from place to place to see all things in good order: but the certeine place of their resting was at Corke, where for the most part they late in garrison: making in the meane time sundrye fornicies, as occasion of seruice did require. And they being in Corke, newes was brought vnto the gouernour that there was a great quarrell fallen out betwixt Dauid Barrie and the seneschall, and that they were mostall enemies, and at a deable fad; and they late both in Dunfirmin side, not far from the blake water. The earle of Desmond and John his brother late in Patrike Condons countrie, being on the further side of the said water, who were verie soie for this quarrell, and would haue come on to them, but the waters were so great, they could not; yet they sent their messengers to and fro among them for some pacification, but it was to no effect. Capteine Dowdall vpon these newes sent an Irish man which he had, and who was a notable spirit, named Richard mac James, and willed him to seeke out where the seneschall was, to the end that he might make a draught vpon him. This Richard drawing himselfe to the companies of the rebels, and lieng among them in their cabins where they late in the woods, he fell in companie, and then entered into a great familiaritie of one which was a messenger from the Desmonds vnto the seneschall, and he thinking nothing but that this Richard was one of the said companie, began to discourse vnto him the businesse which he had there to do: and told him that the next date following, sir John of Desmond did appoint to come thither, and to make a peace and an agreement betwixt Barrie and the seneschall. When as Richard mac James had heard at full all his speeches, then he intreated him that he would go to Corke with him, which in the end the fellow was contented so to do. And in the next morning they went together to Corke, and at their coming thither, did declare vnto capteine Dowdall the whole matter, and he forthwith aduertised the same to the gouernour: who albe it he did not altogether beleue what was told, yet he agreed that it was best that some seruice should be done vpon them, and concluded that himselfe and capteine Dowdall should do the same, vnder the colour that they were to make a iourneie vnto Limerike, and so they caused it to be said: for in no wise would they be knowne of that which they had determined. And hauing prepared all things necessarie for this seruice, the same night they left the charge of the ga-

rison vnto capteine Kaleigh lieutenant: and themselves taking their leaue, as though they were bound for Limerike, they marched out at the gates, and by break of the date they came to castell Lions, the weather being verie mistie and thicke, and in the castell they found but one poxe man, who told them that Dauid of Barrie was gone but a little before them vnto Humacquillam. The gouernour and the capteine being verie eger, and desirous to do some seruice, they followed the tract of the horse a good prettie waie; but the capteine mistrusting that no good seruice would be done that waite, perswaded the gouernour that he should rather enter and search the woods, which were fast by, where as he thought some good seruice would be done, whose aduise the gouernour followed: and they had ridden but a little waite, but they saw two horsemen come riding toward them, but as soon as they had seene the said gouernour and capteine, they returned backe againe.

Then the capteine told him that there was a bog in the wood, and his aduise and counsell was, that some of his shot should be sent to stand betwixt the bog and the wood; which being done, they followed those two men so short, that they were driuen to forsake their horses, and to run on foot towards the bog. But the lose that being in a readinesse, did put them backe againe vpon the horsemen, who gaue the onset vpon them; and the one of them, which was sir John of Desmond they soe hurted with a horsemans staffe, that he spake verie few words after. And the other, whose name was James Fitzjohn of Strongecullie, they toke: and both they caried with them to Corke. Sir Johns head was sent to Dublin, but his bodie was hanged up by the heeles vpon a gibbet, and set vpon the north gate of Corke. And James Fitzjohn was drowne, hanged, & quartered. And thus haue you the third head of the venemous Hydra cut off, who had his iust reward and merit, if not too good for so villanous & bloudie a traitor: who respecting neither the honor of God, the obedience to his prince, the credit of his owne house, the faith to his friend, nor the state of the commonwealth, was wholly imbued in blond and villanie; and in blond he died, and had his reward by Gods iust iudgement.

Not long after this, it was agreed that a draught should be made vpon Dauid Barrie, for the preie which he and Cozen mac Swene had made in Carbric, and passed with the same by Bentrice, where laie a garrison vnder the leading of capteine Appelleie: but he being deceased, the same was committed to captein Jfenton, whose lieutenant named Richard Cant, minding to crosse the preie, fell in to the fight with Barrie and his companie: but he was slaine and all his companie, there being but one man the drumlager left alieue, who by swiftnesse of his fate escaped. The foresaid Appelleie was a verie proper man, a gentleman borne, and of a good house, and brought up in learning; he could write verie well, and also deliuer his speeches verie orderlie and eloquentlie. When he grew to some ripe yeares, he fell acquainted with some lose companions, who perswaded him to accompanie them to the seas, promising him the sun and the mone, and all the wealth in the world. And he being some inticed and perswaded, was contented, and went to the seas, and became as bad as the haddest; whereof great troubles ensued, and he at length was driuen to leaue the seas, and to wander a long time on the seacoasts in the prouince of Spounsher: where by occasion he fell to come to acquaintance of the earle of Desmond, with whom he found such fauor, that no Englishman could do more with him than

Sir John of Desmond killed, and his bodie hanged vpon a gibbet by the heeles.

Capteine Dowdall made the cells of Desmond.

Capteine Dowdall made the cells of Desmond.

The lord deputie made the cells of Desmond.

The lord deputie made the cells of Desmond.

Capteine Dowdall made the cells of Desmond.

Sir John of Desmond appointed to make a draught vpon the seneschall.

The gouernour and capteine Dowdall made the cells of Desmond.

he could. Afterwards, when the narrow searching for him was quailed and forgotten, he fell to be acquainted with the good Henrie Dauels, whom he found rather a father than a friend unto him: and then his behaviour was such, that he grew to be in good favour with all Englishmen, and in the end put in trust to do sundrie seruices in Mounster, and was become and made a capteine, in which office he discharged himselfe verie honestly and faithfully. The gouernour continuing still in one and the same mind, to do some seruice vpon Barrie, who then late in Dunsferrin, he together with capteine Dowdall marched to Barries campe, and earlie in the morning (they being vnlooked for) entred into the campe and there made a great slaughter vpon Barries men, but Barrie himselfe was gone and fled. After this time, the said Barrie considered his distressed case, and how continuallie he was pursued and followed by the gouernour and the English garisons, whose force he saw that he could by no means auoid, but that at one time or other they would take him at some advantage. He maketh humble petition to the gouernour that he might be vnder his protection, and to liue thankesfully in some dutifull and reasounable order; which he in the end did obtaine.

The lord deputie, thinking that by the death of John of Desmond, and the silence of the earle his brother, who what was become of him no man could tell, but supposed that he was fled beyond the seas, or that he was dead, and that all things were well and in quiet in all Mounster; he thought good to ease his maiesties charge, and so cashed sundrie bands and discharged sundrie garisons, leauing for the seruice of Mounster in the whole but 400 footmen & 50 horsemen, of which, 200 were vnder the leading of the gouernour, one hundred vnder capteine Dowdall, and one hundred vnder Sir George Bourcher; and the first horsemen were vnder capteine Achin, who late in garison at Adare in Barrie. When all things (as late) seemed to be at rest and in peace, and all things well, behold a new stirre (and vnlooked for) is now raised; for Fitzmoris baron of Lerna, who had hitherto dissembled the matter, and pretended to haue bene a dutifull subject, when he saw the weaknesse of the Englishmen, & how that the garisons were discharged, & therefore the few men left were scarce able well to saue and keepe themselves, much lesse to hurt others: he breaketh out into open rebellion, and ioyneth with him his wicked, traitorous, and perjured sonne. This baron of Lerna his first ancestors were seruants to the barons of Carlew, and of O'Don, and lords of Lerna, and had the chiefe rule and government vnder him of all his countrie in Mounster, which was verie great and large: his eldest sonne he kept in the court of England. And this Fitzmoris, who by the authoritie vnder his master was growen into great credit in the countrie, and standing in hope to haue their friendship and assistance in all his businesse, watched his time, and killed the lord Carlew his master, at a table which yet remaineth in the house, and entred into all his baronie of Lerna & his other possessions in Mounster, euen as the like was done by the Haucnaghs in O'Don in Leinster. And the heire of Carlew in England, who had great and large possessions in Devon and in sundrie shires elsewhere in England, made the lesse and little account of his lands in Ireland, and so by little and little they lost all their lands in Ireland.

This new baron of Lerna, the first thing that he toke in hand, was to cleanse and to rid his owne countrie from all Englishmen and their garisons; and in the end, taking capteine Achin at an advantage, slue him, and recovered the ward of Adare. After that, he went to the ward kept in the castell of Lescanile, in which were but eight Englishmen, and the castell being verie hard to be gained, he used this stratagem. He laid verie close & tealie a companie of his men in an old house fast by the castell, & then he practised with an old woman, which was wonte verie morning to bring a great basket of coles or turfes into the ward, that as soone as she was betwene the two gates of the castell, she should let fall hir basket and cry out: which she did. For when she was come to the castell, and had after hir accustomed maner called to the ward, one of them came and loosed the vpper iron doore, and then he did open the inner doore for hir to come in. When she was come betwene the two doores, she let fall hir great basket of coles and cried out. The companie forthwith lieng in the said old house came, and the ward being not able to drave vnto them the vpper iron doore, nor to shut fast the inner doore, the enimie entred, toke the castell, killed all the ward, and cast them ouer the wals. The good incesse of this stratagem caused him to practise & to put in vze other like deuises for the regaining of the castell (as I remember) of Adnagh. For he supposing that hungry soldiers would be contented to accept anie courtesie, he procured a pong harlot, who was some what insolent, to go to the castell, pretending some inuention to haue bene done to hir, and to humble herselfe to the capitaine's deuotion, being supposed, that he by these meanes would fall into the liking and fantasie of hir, and so would reteine hir. And by these meanes, she by hir cunning handling of the matter, according vnto the plot before contriued betwene Fitzmoris and hir, she should at one time or other find the occasion or opportunitie to betraye the castell. The capitaine receiued hir into the castell, and not forgetting the late former practise at Lescanile, caused him to be the more warie and circumspect, and to looke vnto himselfe. Whereupon he so handled the matter with this harlot, that he in the end found out all the deuise, and forthwith he carried hir vp vnto the top of the castell and cast hir ouer the wals, where with the fall she was crushed and died. Fitzmoris being disappointed of his purpose, departed from thence, and ranged ouer all the countries of Tipperarie, O'Don, and Waterford, where were no garisons to resist him, and there played his parts.

The gouernour, who late at Corke, being advertised of these outrages, called his companie together, which (as is before said, was not aboute foure hundred persons) and other reported (but vntrue) to be about foure thousand: yet minding not to suffer an inuention, marched with such companie as he had into Clanmorris, which is the said Fitzmoris countrie, and distant from Corke about thre daies iourne. The baron by his espials being advertised of their comming, forsooke his castell at Adare, and defaced his castell at Lerna, and drave his goods, and all his forces into the wood of Lescanile. When the gouernour was come to Adare, he found the towne burnt, and the few Englishmen (which were in the abbey) greatly distressed. From thence he went to Lescanile, which is ten miles further, where he discoursed the baron and all his companie, which then late in a plaine bottome in the said wood, hauing then in his companie of gallowglasse, kerne, shot, and horsemen, about seven hundred men.

The gouernour taking aduise what was best to be done, because that place was full of fastnesse, and no passage for anie horsemen, but all rested vpon the seruice of the footmen; they diuided their companie. And capteine Dowdall being verie desirous to aduenture the seruice vpon him, he had six score footmen appointed and deliuered vnto him, and the rest

The baron of Lerna being advertised of the Englishmen's comming, he fled into the hills of Slough.

A stratagem used in taking the castell of Lescanile.

A stratagem at Adnagh.

due he reserued to the wood, and plaine where Fitzmoris companie, and the full to his, he diuided parts, thinking to haue his will vpon and forthwith had such a hand vpon them. Which when man turned his back, the teins of Slough being hind; which the captain there, and brought thence they marched. Oliver Stephan there newes was putte had sent vnto which one hundred the other captain vnto Limericke, moris, and of the said capitaine was incamped for the gallowglasse shot, and thirte then but the lieut made a fallie vpon and drave into the and recovered a hundred horses of sheepe and goods he found store of ments. And from and incamped him of Clancar his manage, and to the uerie ward and with the goods his time, the baron slue a score, together to credit his head, but was ers: and being and disolall tre as a forlorne man to go, or where

A supply of two hundred men sent to the gouernour.

Capteine Dowdall set forth vpon Fitzmoris in Slough and met him the next morn.

The baron of Lerna being advertised of the Englishmen's comming, he fled into the hills of Slough.

The baron being distressed of all helps, he fled to the castle of Adare for a protection.

The gouernour marched with his army to Clanmorris to encounter with Fitzmoris.

The courtesie of the earle of O'Don.

The earle of Desmond thought to be dead with two new horsemen.

Capteine Dowdall set forth vpon Fitzmoris, and met him the next morn.

Capteine Dowdall set forth vpon Fitzmoris, and met him the next morn.

due he reserved to himselfe. The capteine entred into the wood, and followed untill he came into the plains where Fitzmoris was; who having a great companie, and the capteine but (as it were) a handfull to his, he divided his whole companie into foure parts, thinking to have inclosed the capteine, and to have his will upon them. The capteine perceived it, and forthwith brake upon one of the companies, and had such a hand upon them, that he slew a number of them. Which when Fitzmoris saw, like a valiant man turned his backe and fled awaie into the mountains of Sloughlougher, and left all his goods behind; which the capteine took, and also all the cattell there, and brought the same to the governour. From thence they marched to the castell of Glan, of which Oliver Stephanson had the ward and keeping; and there newes was brought unto him, that the lord deputie had sent unto him two bands of footmen, of which one hundred were Sir Henrie Mallops, and the other capteine Ports. Whereupon he travelled unto Limerike, and left the whole charge of Glanmoris, and of Kierie unto capteine Dowdall. And the said capteine being put to wext that the baron was incamped at Glanish with two hundred and fortye galloglasses, two hundred kerne, fourescore shot, and thirtie horsemen, and he himselfe having then but the lieutenant Wingfield in his companie, made a sallie upon them, and killed with the sword, and draue into the river above seven score of them, and recovered a pzeic of eight hundred kine, five hundred horses and mares, besides a great number of sheepe and goates: and in the taking of the baron, he found store of monie and plate, and malling garments. And from hense he marched with his cattell, and incamped besides Arough, nere unto the earle of Clancar his house, and from thence to Castellmange, and so to Adare, and furnished as he went euerie ward and garison with store of vittells, and with the goods he rewarded his souldiours. From this time, the baron Fitzmoris having lost all his provision & store, was neuer able to recover himselfe, neither to credit nor to wealth, nor yet to hold by his head, but was forsaken of all his frends and followers: and being ashamed of himselfe, and of his bad and disloyall trecheries, walked and wandered abroad as a forlorne man, not knowing what to do, whither to go, or where to seeke for succor and helpe.

At length being wearie of himselfe, and of his distressed miseries, bethinketh upon the earle of Desmond, whome notwithstanding that without cause he had verie much insured, having most outrageously preied his countries, burned his villages, and killed his people: yet he maketh his recourse unto his lordship, acknowledgeth his fault, confesseth his follies; and being most lozic for the same, desireth his lordship to pardon and remit him, and most humbly requested him to have vnder him a protection. This honorable man, notwithstanding the great injuries done unto him, and he of a great courage and stomach, and of a noble mind, and loth to put up so great injuries, yet (as it is attributed to the lion, *Parcere prostratis*) when he had shewed the great graces of the said Fitzmoris, he forgat all his owne wrongs, and granted him his request. Capteine Dowdall, leaving the governours souldiours and companie at Adare, vnder the leading of capteine Smith, he marcheth towards Cozke, where he rested and laie in garison. Now when all these broils were ended, and verelie supposed that all things had bene at rest, and the whole province of Mounster at peace; behold the earle of Desmond, who was thought to be either dead or fled, beginneth to appeare, and to shew himselfe; and having assembled a great companie, came to Adare, where the garison issued out

upon him: betwene whom the fight was hot, and manie slaine on both sides. Among whom, Smith, sergeant of the band, and Morgan the lieutenant were both slaine: but yet the English souldiours recovered the abbey. About this time one Thomas Birne lieutenant to the notable archtraitor Fitzgiralde, being wearie of the wicked actions which hitherto he had followed among the rebels, sent his messenger to capteine George Carew, requesting him to deale with the lord deputie for his pardon, and for so manie of his companie as would foine with and accompanie him in a pzeic of service to be done: which he promised to recompense with the pzeic of his capteins head, which he would in a bag present to his lordship, as also would kill so manie of his companie as would not consent with him thereto.

When this deuisse was readie to be practised, the cleark of the band, who was one of the confederats, verie trecherously did discover the same unto Fitzgiralde, who immediatly took and hanged his lieutenant, the sergeant of his band (who was an Englishman) and so manie of the souldiours as were of that confederacie. Not long after, Fitzgiralde being thinking upon the extreme miseries, which in this rebellion he had endured, and the small hope which he had to pzeuaile in these his bad and traitorous actions, but chieflie being afraid of his owne life, least at one time or other he should be slaine by his souldiours: he sent a messenger to the then lord iustices, requiring his pardon, and which he would redeme with the head of his best friend and fellow in armes Theon mac Hugh, the verie gall of all the wars and rebellion in Leinster.

This was not so couertly done, but that Theon mac Hugh had knowledge of the practise, and he forthwith intreated Fitzgiralde in the like manner as he before had done with the lieutenant, and so hanged him by. The lord deputie after long sute for his renocation, receiued his maiesties letters for the same, and then he sent for capteine Zouch governour of Mounster to come to Dublin: and in the end of August 1582, after that he had served full two yeres he deliuered by the sword unto the archbishop of Dublin then lord chancellor, and to Sir Henrie Mallop then treasurer at armes, and took shipping; having with him capteine Zouch, who was after slaine by one of his most familiar acquaintance, and sundrie other gentlemen. The said lord Greie was a man of great nobilitie, and of as honourable and ancient descent, one that feareth God in true religion, and dutifull to his maiestie in all obedience. And albeit he had deserved well of that Irish nation, and had sowed the good seeds of notable services, as well for his martiall services, as for his civil government; yet he reped (as his predecessors before him) but darenell and cockle. For they had among them not one lie conspired his death, for which some paid deuelie; but made also sundrie complaints against him, to which he answered to his commendation and acquittal, and to their reproch for their ingratitude.

These two lords iustices being fallen into a broken time, the warres being not ended, the people not quieted, and the gouvernement not staied nor settled; yet they both joining their wisdoms, services, and good wils, were so blessed therein, that by them that land was reduced to some perfection and quietnesse. For not long after they had taken the sword in hand doctor Sanders the popes nuncio and legat, who came from that holie see of Rome, the sea of all wickednesse, with James Fitzmoris in Julie in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred sevenie and nine, to beare arms in this land against his maiestie, after that he had wandered by and downe

The fight at

A draught made to kill Fitzgiralde.

Fitzgiralde executed to death so manie as conspired against him.

Fitzgiralde practiseth the death of Theon mac Hugh.

Fitzgiralde is hanged for his conspircie.

The lord Greie yieldeth up the sword & returneth into England.

1582 The lord chancellor and Sir Henrie wallop are lord iustices.

The death of
Dorcas Dan-
vers.

these peaves together with the earle and his brethren
st John, in woods and bogges, and had lived with them
a most miserable and wretched life, and had bene
partaker of their most cruell bloodsheds, outrages,
murthers, and robberies, a life god and to god for a
traitor and a rebell. He fell sicke of an Irish ague
and of the bloudie fit, and late in the wood of Glen-
neliffe, which is a wood full of alleys, withies, bylers,
thornes, and throught which is no passage; where part
lie of his sicknesse, but cheeflie for famine and want
he died. When in this filthy place, that most misera-
ble wretch and traitor was lodged and died, bequea-
thing his treasons, treacheries, and disolalties a-
gainst his soueraign mistesse and ladie hir maiestie
vnto the pope, reseruing the punishment to the Lord
himselfe, who is a swift and iust iudge vpon all trai-
tors and disobedient persons, and his bodie (as some
saie) was deuoured by of twolues; but (as some do
thinke) that so much as was left was buried at
Clancarrie, not farre off from the place where he
died.

The two lords iustices being entred into this bo-
ken gouernement, did what they could to keepe the
same in peace; and vnderstanding the willfull dispo-
sition of Desmond, they did vse all the means and
waies they could to pacifie him; but so farre was he
imbued and poisoned with the venom of treason and
rebellion, that no reason, no dutie, nor anie other re-
spect could perswade him to be a loiall and dutifull
subject. Wherefore he continued still in his old ac-
customed spoiling and waisting the countries, and
trusting to no house nor castell, did shew himselfe
in woods and bogges, and in the winter following he
kept his Christmasse in the wood of Kilquieg nere
to Kilmallocke. And about the fourth of Januarie
then following, one John Welsh a valiant and a
good souldior, was resolved to make a draught vpon
the said earle, and he made acquainted therewith
capitaine Dowdall, capitaine Bangor, and George
Thozington prouost marshall of Mounster, all which
late then in garrison in Kilmallocke, and according
to the order betwene them then agreed vpon, they
marched in the night time to the place and wood
where the earle laie.

But being come thither, they were to passe ouer
a great riuer, before they could come to enter into
the wood of Kilquieg, & by reason of the great raines
then falling, it was impossible for man or horse to
passe ouer the same, which thing John Welsh did be-
fore mistrust. Wherefore the night before, he went
thither verie closelie, with such few persons as he
had chosen for the purpose: and there he caused a
number of stakes and hurbels to be made of halson,
allers, and withie rods, which he caused to be drawne
ouer the riuer by one, whom he had there of purpose
which could swim verie well. And this fellow when
he had fastened some of the hurbels to a tree in the
further side of the water, and then by a rope drew o-
uer the residue one after another, did so fasten and
tie one vnto another, and so cunninglie handled the
matter, that when the captains came, they passed o-
uer the riuer verie well without danger or perill.
And so from thence the said Welsh did guide and
bring them by the breake of the daie vnto the earles
cabin: but the wood was so full of thickets, and so
mirie, that they were faine to go a speares length
wide from the cabin to come vnto it. The earle hea-
ring a great noise, and suspecting some extraordinar-
ie and a greater companie to be in place more than
his owne, and doubting the wood, ran out of his bed
in his shirt, and ran into the riuer fast by his cabin,
and there hid himselfe close vnder a banke hard by
to his chin, by which meanes he escaped and his wife
with him. The souldiors made diligent search for him

both by searching of the riuer and of the wood, but
could not find him; wherevpon they did put to the
swoord so manie as they found there, and carried a-
waie the goods with them, and so returned to Kil-
mallocke.

At this time the seneschall secretlie with all the
force which he could make, came vnto the towne of
Doughall, & entred into the end of the same towne.
Wherevpon the alarm was raised; and forthwith
Caluerleigh being lieutenant to capitaine Boggan,
hauing all his souldiors together, of which he had for-
tie more, went vnto that end of the towne where the
seneschall scaled the wals, & there he made a leane,
or a little bulwark, and by that meanes saved the
towne, and by the seneschall from his purpose,
and killed aboue fiftie of his men: and so being dis-
appointed of his purpose he departed awaie. In the
end of this moneth of Januarie the earle of De-
mond arrived from out of England to Waterford
with a new supplie of foure hundred men, whom he
divided and committed vnto the seuerall leadings
of sir George Bourcher, sir William Stanleie, cap-
taine Edward Berkeley, and capitaine Roberts.
And being now lord generall by his maiesties ap-
pointment ouer all Mounster, and hauing obtained
an augmentation of two pence by the daie for eu-
erie souldior wages, he assembled all the souldiors
and euerie capitaine which had anie charge, and toke
order with euerie of them for such seruices as were
to be done, furnishesth them with vittels, muniti-
ons, monie, and all things necessarie and meet for
them, requesting euerie one of them to shew them-
selues like good and valiant souldiors, in the pursuing
of the rebels, and vanquishing of the enemies: and
such grace and loue he found among the souldiors,
that he was no more desirous than they most glad
and willing to performe the same. Such a good af-
fection euerie one did beare to this honorable man.

At this time advertisement was giuen vnto his
lordship, that the earle of Desmond was incamped
in the fastnesse of Harlo wood with a great number
of rakebels & rebels. His lordship mustered all his
companies, and minding to do some seruice vpon
the said rebels, marcheth towards the said fastnesse
of Harlo wood. And being come thither, he diui-
deth his companies into foure parts, and they ente-
red into foure seuerall places of the wood at one in-
stant: and by that meanes they scotized the wood
thoroughout, in killing as manie as they toke, but
the residue fled into the mounteins. The rebels be-
ing thus narrowlie followed and pursued, they ne-
uer after met together in the like companies, nor
assembled themselves in such great numbers: but
the most part of them, which were the chieffest follow-
ers and greatest friends vnto Desmond, as Fitz-
morris of Lerna before named, the seneschall, the
lord Barrie, Condon, Donnell mac Anought, & sun-
drie others, some and some came awaie, and sought
for protection. And albeit their manifold and infinit
outrages, murthers, bloodsheds and spoiles, had
deserued a thousand deaths: yet his lordship consi-
dering their repentance, sorowes, and humble sub-
missions, and respecting more his maiesties godlie
disposition to mercie than their deserts, did (for the
most part) grant vnto euerie of them their requests.
The souldiors after this peece of seruice were disper-
sed abroad into their seuerall garrisons. And albeit
the greater parts of the rebels were some by swoord,
and some by protection abated, and much decreased,
yet none of them late altogether idle, but did follow
the seruice as time and occasion offered. For the
earle himselfe, though he were thus vnsceathered of
his greatest helps, yet he was one & the same man,
a most ranke traitor and rebell: and therefore vpon
him

The sen-
eschall allan-
terly & entred
into Waterford
and hath the
republicke.

The earle of
Desmond ar-
rived vnto Wa-
terford and is
generall of
Mounster.

The loue of
the captiues
and souldiors
to the earle of
Desmond.

The lord ge-
nerall com-
meth vnto
Harlo wood.

Desmond is
captured of all
his followers
and friends.

I draught
made vpon the
gallowglat-
tes in Harlo
wood.

The gallow-
glatte in
Harlo wood
put to swoord.

The L. Roch
his men disco-
uered De-
mond.

The De-
mond is relea-
sed by Gogon
mac Swene.

Garrison ap-
pointed to be
at the Dingle.

Desmond re-
ceiveth Dowdall.

Gogon preth-
eth Carbert
by Desmond.

him daily
neuer less
In the
one thou-
advertis-
shell, that
harbozon
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The earle of
Desmond kee-
peth his
Christmas in
the woods.
A draught
made vpon the
earle by John
Welsh.

Desmond how
to passe ouer a
great riuer.

The earle ef-
capeth verie
hardlie.

him bailie were draughts and pursues made, and neuer left, untill in the end he came vnto confusion.

In the moneth of August, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred eighty and three, it was aduertised to the garrisons in Kilmallocke and Cashell, that the erle of Desmond was come againe to harborough himselfe in Harle wood, and had about three score gallowglasse, besides kerne a great number, vpon whom captein Dowdall hauing good espials, made a foynete thither, and being entred into the wood verie earlie laye close all the forenone. For these gallowglasse had bin so daret from time to time, that now like a sort of beere they laye vpon their keepings; and so fearful they were, that they would not carrie in anye one place anye long time, but where they did dreke their meat, thence they would remoue, and eat it in another place, and from thence go vnto another place to lie. In the nights they would watch, in the forenoones they would be vpon the hilles and mounteins, to descrye the countrie, and in the afternone they would scape. The capteine breaking time with them, made staie in the wood accordinglie, and in the afternone he learned by his espials, that they were returned from the mounteins, and were entred into their cabins, where some of them were aslepe, and some of them occupied in dressing of a horse for to eat, for other vittels were scant. The capteine suddenlie entred vpon them, and toke them at such aduantage, that they were all, for the most part, put to the sword: of which, fife and twentie were taken in their cabins. After the dispatch of these gallowglasse, which are counted the best men of warre among the Irish: the residue of the Irish rebels were so dismayd, that a man might without anye great danger passe throughout Spounser.

About a moneth after this, in September, in the yeare one thousand five hundred foure score & three, it hapned that certeine of the lord Roches men, being in Dowall nere to Trusham, were riding about certeine businesse, and met with the erle of Desmond, hauing in his companie two or three horsemen and a priest. The kerns which attended the said lord Roches men, inuironed & compassed them about; but the erle and his men being well horsed, escaped, onelie the priest they toke, by reason of his bad horse, and him the lord Roch sent the next date vnto the lord gouernour, and being examined, he confessed in what great distresse and miserie the erle was, and that for feare he lurked in corners, & would not be seene. And further, that he had his onelie release and was fostered by Gozon mac Swene, a capteine of the gallowglasse, and who was then vnder protection. And by these meanes, the erle (who had not bene heard of since he was garred out of Harle wood) is now discouered. Wherevpon the lord generall commanded a barke to be forthwith vittelled, and to be dispatched into Dingle a Cush: and forthwith commanded capteine Dowdall to repaire thither, and there to lie in garison; which he did forthwith performe. The erle of Desmond when he heard how that he was discouered, and how that vittels and a garison were sent to Dingle a Cush to the working of his wo; he was assured that he should be surelie pursued by capteine Dowdall, who of all other capteines and sir George Bourchier did from time to time gall and most earnestlie pursue him. Wherefore now as for his last helpe, by the helpe and friendship of Gozon mac Swene, & Poile Moough mac Swene his brother, he gathereth a new companie, and maketh himselfe as strong as he can, and getteth himselfe into Desmond, and there standeth vpon his garb. Gozon mac Swene in the meane time entred into Carberie, and taketh a

great piece of kine, which he drowd forthwith into Desmond toward the erle, but the foynete was so long, that he late short of the erle that night about three or foure miles.

The men of the countrie, who had thus lost their goods, thre of them with their swords and targets followed the tract a far off, minding to haue stolen a waite their olone kine if by anye means they could, and if opportunitie would so serue; for by force or by intreatie they knew it to be impossible for them to recouer anye thing at all. The foresaid Gozon, when he had lodged himselfe for all night, it was his pleasure to walke abroad in the fields; and suspecting no harme, went alone, hauing onelie one kerne with him (and both without weapon) about ten or twelue score off from his lodging. About which place it hapned the foresaid three men had hidden and couched themselves in a bush, and taking the occasion offered, they went also betwene him and his lodging, and fell vpon him and his kerne, & killed them both; and as sone as they had cut off their heads, they thistled for themselves. Gozons companie, finding their maister lacking, went abroad to seeke him, and in the end found him and his man without heads, lying dead vpon the ground; which cast them into such a maze, as they wist not what to thinke or to do: neither could they imagine nor deuise how this should come to passe: for garison there was none in those parts, and they knew of no person thereabouts whome they could suspect. But this is the iust iudgement of God, who in his iustice looketh vpon the persecuted and wicked, and in mercie beholdeth his seruants. For if this man had liued, it was feared that by his means the erle would haue increased a new force, and haue dighted the lord gouernour and all the garisons to greater troubles. The erle being aduertised of the losse of this his friend, his cheefe and onelie staie, was in a great agonie, and maruellouslie dismayd; and seeing no other remedie, he preparerth the best for himselfe, and taking the aduantage of the time, before the garison should be placed at the Dingle, he made a draught into Kerrie nere Traleigh, minding to take a priest from such as had forsaken him and had receiued their protections. Wherefore in the euening he sent two horsemen with a certeine kerne ouer the strand of Traleigh vnto a castell there, & commanded them to take their priest from thence, which they did, and brought the same a waite with them.

Among those kine thus driten a waite, a poze woman of that countrie lost all those few that she had, and being distressed of that which was the cheefe, and in a maner the onelie release of hir and hir children and household; and not knowing how she could by anye meanes recouer them: she besought hir selfe vpon a brother which she had, dwelling on the other side of the mounteine, in a castell named Drome, which was one of the Pozetos; and to him she runneth in all the hast she could, and declarerth hir estate and case, praieng him to helpe hir, and that he would follow the tract for the recouerie of hir kine. Who when he was aduertised that there were but two horsemen & a few kerne which had driten the priest a waite, he to pleasure his sister toke three other of his brethren, and followed the tract, till he came to Castlemarige, which castell was in the waite. And when he came thither, he went to the castell, and desired the constable (whose name was Chesson, and not long before lieutenant to capteine Berkeleie) that he would spare him some shot and a few of his kerne to helpe him to follow the priest which was driten that waite. The constable and the soldiors were verie glad to pleasure him, and so he had feuen shot and a dozen of kerne which dwelled in an out house fast vnder

Gozon mac Swene is killed.

The erle commandeth priest to be taken in Kerrie.

A draught made vpon the gallowglasse in Harle wood.

The gallowglasse in Harle wood put to sword.

The lord Roches men discouered Desmond.

The erle is taken of his followers in Desmond.

A garison appointed to be in the Dingle.

Desmond feared by Dowdall.

Gozon priest in Carberie by Desmond.

der the castell, & so they went altogether to Traleigh, they being in number thre and twentie persons; one of these was an Irish man borne, named Kollie, but served all waies under Englishmen, and could speake verie good English. This man, when they came to Traleigh, they appointed & made him their leader or capteine; and Pozetto because he was borne in those parties, and best knew the countrie, they appointed to be their guide: and from thence they folloved the tract untill they came to the side of a mounteine, where there was a glan, and in it a little groue of wood: and the night being come upon them, there they staid and rested themselves for that night. And in the darke night one of them had espied through the trees a fire not farre off, whereupon they drew themselves close together, and caused one of themselves closelie and secretlie to draw towards the fire and to discover what companie was there, and how manie was of them; which man did so. And when he returned backe unto them, he told them that there was an old bad house, and about five or six persons therein: whereupon they all determined and agreed to repaire to that place to know the whole matter. Pozetto was the guide to bring them to the house, and Kollie did set his companie in order and good array, as was most for their service, if need should so require. And when they were come to the house, they found in it but onelie one old man, for the residue were gone. Then Kollie drew his sword and strake the old man, with which blow he had almost cut off one of his arms, and then he strake him againe, and gaue him a great blow on the side of his head; where with the said old man cried out, desiring them to save his life, for he was earle of Desmond, and then Kollie staid his hands: but the erle bled so fast, that he wared verie faint, and could not traueill ante further: whereupon the said Kollie bid and willed him to prepare himselfe to die; and then he strake off the earls head.

The earle of Desmond taken in an old house alone and slaine.

The residue of the companie in this mearie time spoiled and rifled the house, and toke what them liked: and then they all departed and went to Castlemange, and carried the earles head with them, but left the bodie behind; and whether the same were denoured by the wolues or buried by his kerne, it is not certeinlie knowne. As soone as they came to Castlemange, they sent the said earles head unto the lord generall, who forthwith sent the same into England for a present to hir maiestie; which forthwith was put upon a pole, and set on London bridge. When this his death was noised and knowne, there was no more service to be done: for euerie rebell cast awaie his weapon, and sought all the waies they could to humble themselves and to become good subiects: saving one John Bourke, who stood by on his protection, and yet neuertheless he and his companie went to Adare, there to haue taken a prete. But as he passed by the castell, a boie therein discharged his peece upon the said Bourke, & strake him in the head, whereof he died. The common people, who had felt the great smart of this troublesome time, rejoiced and were glad of the death of the erle, being in a good hope that the long troubles should haue an end, and they to be the more at rest. During these continuall troubles in Pounsser, the two lord iustices which late at Dublin were much eased from all martiall affaires elsewhere, and were troubled but with the clamorings, exclamations, and bzaibling of the Irish people, not worth the remembying: saving that a certeine combat was fought and tried before them in the castell of Dublin, betwene two Deonhous, verie neere cosens & kinsmen: the one was named Teig mac Coill Patrike Deonhour appellant; the other was named Con

John Bourke having a protection, made a death, and was killed.

A combat betwene two Deonhous.

mac Cozmack Deonhour defendant. One of these appealed and charged the other for sundrie treasons in the late rebellion, and which could haue no other triall but by combat, which was granted unto them. Whereupon, according to the lawes and orders of England for a combat to be tried, all things were prepared, the date, time, and place appointed; and according to the same, the lord iustices, the iudges, and the counsellors came and sat in the place appointed for the same, euerie man in his degree and calling. And then the court was called, and the appellant or plaintife was brought in before the face of the court, being striped into his shirt, hauing onlie his sword and target (which were the weapons appointed) and when he had done his reuerence and butte to the lord iustices and to the court, he was brought to a stole set in the one of the ends within the lists, and there sat. After him was the defendant brought in, in the like maner and order, and with the like weapons: and when he had done his butte and reuerence to the lord iustices and to the court, he was brought to his chaire placed in the other end of the lists. Then were their actions and pleadings openly read, and then the appellant was demanded whether he would auerre his demand or not: who then he had affirmed that he would, the partie defendant was likewise asked whether he would confesse the action, or stand to the triall of the same: who did answer as did the other, that he would auerre it by the sword.

He manner of the combat.

Upon this their senerall answers, they were senerallie called the one after the other, euerie of them taking a corporall oath that their quarell was true, and that they would iustifie the same both with sword & blood. Thus they being swoone are brought backe againe euerie of them to their senerall places as before. And then when by the sound of a trumpet a signe was giuen unto them when they should enter into the fight; they arose out of their seats, and met each one the other in the middle within the lists, and there with the weapons assigned unto them, they fought: in which fight the appellant did preuaile, and he not onlie did disarme the defendant, but also with the sword of the said defendant did cut off his head, and upon the point of the same sword did present it to the lord iustices, and so with the victorie of his enimie he was acquitted. Thus much I thought good to saie somewhat of much, of the manner of a combat, which together with manie circumstances thereunto belonging is now for want of use almost cleane forgotten, and yet verie necessarie to be knowne. And as for this combat it was so valiantlie done, that a great manie did wish that it had rather fallen upon the whole ser of the Deonhous, than upon these two gentlemen.

The vicount of Balkinglas, being aduertised of the death of the earle of Desmond, which was no small grieue unto him, and he also verie wearie of his trotting and wandering on foot amongst bogs, woods, and desert places (being altogether distressed, and in great miserie, and now destitute of all his friends and acquaintances, and not able to hold head ante longer against hir maiesties force) did imbarke himselfe for Spaine, in hope to haue some releefe and succor, and to procure some aid from the king of Spaine; and by that meanes to be of some abilitie to renew his force and rebellion. But he found in the end verie small comfort. And therefore of a verie melancholie greafe & sorrow of mind, as it is thought, he died, being in verie extreme pouertie and need. Not long after this, the two lord iustices, who had ruled and gouerned the land in these troublesome and broken times in great wisdom, care, & circumspection, when they had brought the

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counsell island.

to whole night into grounds.

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Th Dublin to deni whole r lawe o verie t nie of whose lord ch the pri of Kil ster, a cholas chiefe chiefe knight ster of comm knight was free: the m By t and p bzing the la and p before

the whole land to a peaceable & quiet government, and deliuered the same from all open or knowne rebellion; they calhed and discharged all the garrisons in pounster, onelie two hundred souldiours excepted: they kept it in good quietnesse, untill the arrivall of sir John Perot knight, who was sent over to be lord deputie, and landed at Dublin about the middle of June, one thousand five hundred fourescore and foure, the fir and twentieth yeare of hir maiesties reigne vnto whome they deliuered the sword: who being entered into his office, begun such a course, that of his good beginnings a great hope was conceived of the like to insue. For he was a right worthy seruitor in that land, when he was lord president in pounster: and by whome James Fitzmorris was subdued, and the whole prouince maruellouslie well reformed: whose notable and most noble acts as they doe well deserue, so when the same shall come to his full measure, they shall be registred to his perpetuall fame and immortall honoz. And yet in the meane time, it shall not be offensiue to remember some speciall points of his late seruice, which doe deserue to be remembred: as also for the encouraging of this noble man to continue the good course which he hath begun; which doe halson and giue a hope that he will *Adde colophonem*, and bring that land to a full and perfect government & regimēt; which Giraldus Cambrensis would not warrant could be done much before domesdaie.

Not long after the arrivall of this man, the Scots after their accustomed maner, for a bien venu or welcome to his lordship, they began a rebellion, and are by in armes readie for the warre. His lordship hauing notice and knowledge thereof, maketh himselfe forthwith in a readinesse to meete with them, and to stop them of their purpose: and therein he so ordered and handled the matter, that the Scots were bounden to seeke peace, to craue pardon, to submit themselves, and to sweare allegiance, faith, and obedience to hir maiestie. Which when they had obtained, then they toke the lands where in they dwelled, of hir highnesse, yielding a yearelie rent, which before they had not bene accustomed nor wont to doe. And by these meanes, if there be any truth in them, the state of that countrie standeth the better assured.

Then when he was from this seruice returned to Dublin, his speciall care, studie, and indenor was to deuise and studie how to reduce and reforme the whole realme and the government, according to the laws of England. Whereupon he would and did vertie often assemble the whole councell, or so manie of them as were there, for their aduise heretin; whose names are these. The archbishop of Dublin lord chancellor, the earle of Dymond lord treasurer, the primate of Armagh, the bishop of Meath, the bishop of Kilmore, sir John Perot lord president of pounster, sir Henrie Mallop treasurer at armes, sir Nicholas Bagnoll knight marshal, Robert Gardiner chiefe iustice of the bench, sir Robert Willon knight chiefe iustice of the common pleas, sir Lucas Willon knight chiefe baron, sir Nicholas White knight master of the rolls, sir Richard Bingham knight chiefe commissioner in Connagh, sir Henrie Colles knight, sir Edward Waterhouse knight, sir Thomas le Strange knight, Edward Wabesbie, Gestele Fenton secretaire, sir Warham Senteleger & sir Valentine Browne knights; but discontinued. By the good aduise, helpe, and councell of these wise and prudent counsellors, he first thought it best to bring the whole land into thire grounds, whereby the laws of England might haue a thorough course and passage. Wherefore, what sir Henrie Stone before had done in a few counties, that he perfo-

med in the whole realme, and brought the same into such & so manie severall counties, as was thought best and most fit for that purpose. To euerie of which new counties he appointed and assigned severall shiriffes, and all such inferior officers as were most requisite, and to the same incident and appertaining. All and euerie which shires hitherto not registred, nor published in chronicle, together with such as tofore were knowne, I thought it good to set downe by their severall names, and in their prouinces as followeth.

Counties in Mounster.	Limerike	} Old counties.
	Corke	
	Kerrie	
	Tipporaria	
	Crosse Waterford	
	Desmond	} New counties.

The shires in Ireland.

Counties in Vister.	Louth	} Old counties.
	Downe	
	Antrim	
	Monahon	
	Tiron	} New counties.
	Armagh	
	Colrane	
	Donergall	
	Farmanagh Caun	

Counties in Leinster.	Dublin	} Old counties.
	Wexford	
	Catherlogh	
	Kilkennie	
	Kildare	
	Kings countie	
	Queenes countie	
	Meth & West-Meth	
	Longefford	
	Wickelaw	
Fernes		

Counties in Connagh.	Clare	} Old counties.
	Letrimme	
	Gallowaie	} New counties.
	Roscocomin	
	Maio Sligo	

When he had performed this, and established the same by act of parlement, then hir maiesties writs and procelles had a free passage, and were currant through out the whole land, and hir maiestie knowne to be soveraigne lady and quene of the same. When the Irish by little and little gave over their Breton laws, and their Irish usage, and became obedient vnto the English laws, vnto which they referred themselves to be tried, and to haue all their quarels to be decided and determined: whereof at these presents is extant a vertie notable president & example betweene two of the most principall and chiefe personages in the prouince of Vister. The one is he, who nameth himselfe Ouele, and the other is the earle of Tiron, the heire to the great Con Ouele. These two and their ancestors, and all other noble men in that prouince, when so euery antie discord or enimitie did fall out among them, they had no peacemaker but the sword, and by wars and bloodshed was the same decided. Neuertheless, these two noble men leauing to pursue their quarels, as in times past with the sword & in hostile maner, doe refer themselves to the trial of the laws; and each one of them sueth the other at the common laws, and in the chancerie in hir maiesties court

English laws currant through Ireland.

Ouele and the earle of Tiron sue each one the other at law.

R. J. at

at Dublin, and there as dutifull subjects doe abide the triall of their cause. A thing so much the more to be considered, as the parties be of that nobilitie and stoutnesse, and a thing so rare, as heretofore not heard nor knowne. Which course if it haue so happie a progresse and successe, as it hath a good enterance and beginning; no doubt, but that partlie by the lawes, and partlie by the sword, an vniuersall obedience shall through that land be establisshed, the common societie shall be preserved, the whole realme shall flourish and prosper, his maiestie shall be obeyed, the reuenues shall be increased; and in the end, peace shall be vpon Israell. And as this example giueth some manifest good hope thereof, so the same is confirmed and increased by the happie victorie of late in Connagh; where a number of Scots, hauing made an inuasion, were met and encountered withall, by the right worshipfulle Sir Richard Bingham knight, chiefe commissioner of that prouince, and by him they were banquished & ouerthrowne, to the number of fiftene hundred persons; so that verie few or none escaped the sword, to returne home with the newes of their successe; but were either killed or drowned.

Sir Richard Bingham his victorie vpon the Scots.

Thus much hitherto generallie concerning the gouernment of that land of Ireland, since the death of king Henrie the eight, vntill these presents. In the course of which time, manie more notable things haue bene done, worshipfulle to be registred in the chronicles of perpetuall fame and memorie. For the attaining to the knowledge whereof, though John Hooker the writer hereof haue bene a diligent traveller and a searcher for the same; yet he wanted that good successe, as both the historie it selfe requirereth, and he himselfe wissheth. And yet the most part of all the actions in that age consisted most in continuall warres, rebellions, and hostilitie, either against their most sacred kings and queenes, or amongst themselves. But whatsoever tofore hath bene done, none were so tragicall, impious, and vnaturall, as were the last warres of the Geraldines of Desmond, who were not acquainted, nor consenting to these wicked actions, nothing is meant. Whereinto who so listeth to looke, and well to consider, he shall find and see most euident and apparant examples of Gods iustice & iudgement, against such as doe rebell against the Lords anointed; whome the Lord by his expresse word hath commanded to be honozed and obeyed in all humblenesse and dutie: because they are his vicars, substituted, and vicegerents vpon the earth, to defend the good, and to punish the euill; and who so resisteth them, do resist his ordinance, and shall receiue his iudgement: as most manifestlie it doth appeare in this the case of Desmonds rebellion. All which if it should be set downe particularlie, as in course it fell out, it would be verie tedious: but much more lamentable and dolefull to be read.

And therefore leauing the large discourses, it shall suffice to shew and conclude this historie, with the brieue recitall of the most speciall points, in which each man to consider the mightie hand of God against traitors and rebels; and his louing mercie and kindnesse vpon the dutifull and obedient. First therefore James Fitzmoris, the first ringleader in this pageant, and who most vnaturallie had flocked in strangers and forreiners to innade the land, for establishing the antichristian religion, and the depriuing of his maiestie from his imperiall crowne of the realme of Ireland: this man (I saie) was he who yielded the first fruits of this rebellion. For in his idolatrous pilgrimage to the holie crosse, and his traitorous iourneys to practise with all the rebels

and inhabitants in Connagh and Ulster. Moine with him, he did commit a robberie; and being pursued for the same, he was slaine by a gentleman, and one of his owne kinsmen Theobald Burke, and his head & quarters set vpon the gates of the towne of Kilmallocke.

Then James of Desmond brother to the earle, hauing done a robberie vpon Sir Corman mac Teige, was likewise taken and caried to Corke, where he was drowned, hanged, and quartered; and his head and quarters set vpon the gates and walls of the citie of Corke. After him, Sir John of Desmond, one other brother to the said earle, who was a speciall champion of the pope, from whom he had receiued manie blessings, bulls, and Agnos dei, which should keepe and preserve him from all harme: yet for all this his holie cote armour, he was met withall by capteine Zouch and capteine Dowdall, and by them he receiued his iust reward of a bloudie traitor, and a friendkiller; being killed and then caried dead to Corke, where his bodie was hanged by the heeles, and his head sent to Dublin, and there set vpon the top of the castle. And in the end, the earle himselfe was also taken, and with the sword the head was divided from the bodie: the one was sent to London, and there set vpon London bridge; and his bodie vncertaine whether it were buried or deuoured by the wild beasts. And thus a noble race and ancient familie, descended from out of the loines of princes, is now for treasons and rebellions bitterlie extinguisht and ouerthrowne; onelie one sonne of the said earles is left, and yet prisoner in the Tower of London. The two doctors, Allen & Sanders, who were the holie fathers legats and nuncios, and in their foolish fantasies dreamed that they had the holie ghost at commandement, and yet most errant traitors against the lords anointed: the one of them lifting by his sword against his sacred maiestie, under the popes banner at Spounster, one thousand five hundred threescore and ninetye, was slaine and killed: the other, after that he had followed the heeles of the Desmonds almost foure yeares, wandering to and fro in the woods & bogs, died most miserable in the wood of Cleneles, in such diseases as famine and penurie vnto him. The Romans and Spaniards, and the strangers which were sent from the pope and king Philip, with all their comforts and companies, verie few left of them to returne home, and to carie newes of their successe; but were all put to the sword. And as for the great companies of sculbiers, galloglasses, kerne, & the common people, who followed this rebellion, the numbers of them are infinit, whose bloods the earth dranke vp, and whose carcasses the foules of the aire and the rauening beasts of the field did consume and deuoure. After this followed an extreme famine: and such as whom the sword did not despoile, the same did consume, and eat out; verie few or none remaining alieue, saving such as dwelled in cities and towne, and such as were fled therinto England: and yet the store in the towne was verie far spent, and they in distresse, albeit nothing like in comparisn to them who liued at large. For they were not onelie drinen to eat houses, bogs, and dead carions; but also did deuoure the carcasses of dead men, whereof there be sundrie examples: namelie one in the countie of Corke, where when a malefactor was executed to death, and his bodie left vpon the gallows, certaine poore people secretlie came, toke him downe, and did eat him. Likewise in the date of Somereweke, or Saint Marie weke, the place which was first seasoned with this rebellion, there happened a ship to be there lost through foule weather, and all the men being drowned, were there cast on land.

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The common people, who had a long time lived on limpets, oyster shells, and such shellfish as they could find, and which were now spent; as soon as they saw these dead bodies, they took them up, and most greedily did eat and devour them: and not long after, death and famine did eat and consume them. The land it selfe, which before those wars was populous, well inhabited, and rich in all the good blessings of God, being plentiful of corne, full of cattell, well stored with fish and sundrie other good commodities, is now become wast and barren, yielding no fruits, the pastures no cattell, the fields no corne, the aire no birds, the seas (though full of fish) yet to them yielding nothing. Finally, euerie wate the curse of God was so great, and the land so barren both of man and beast, that whosoever did trauell from the one end vnto the other of all Spounster, euen from Waterford to the head of Smarewacke, which is about six score miles, he should not meet anie man, woman, or child, sauing in towne and cities; nor yet see anie beast, but the verie wolues, the foxes, and other like rauening beasts: manie of them late dead being famished, and the residue gone else where. A heauie, but a iust iudgement of God vpon such a Pharisaicall and stiffnecked people, who by no persuasions, no counsels, and no reasons, would be reclaimed and reduced to serue God in true religion, and to obey their most lawfull prince in dutifull obedience; but made choise of a wicked dole, the god spasm to honor, and of that wicked antichrist of Rome to obey, vnto the bitter euershow of themselves and of their posteritie. This is the godnesse that cometh from that great citie vpon the seven hills, and that mightie Babylon, the mother of all wickednesse & abominations vpon the earth. These be the fruits which come from that holie father, master pope, the sonne of sathan, and the man of sinne, and the enimie vnto the crosse of Christ, whose blood thirstinesse will neuer be quenched, but in the blood of the saints, and the seruants of God; and whose rauening guts be neuer satisfied, but with the death of such as do serue the Lord in all godlines, & who will not be drunken in the cup of his fornications: as it doth appere by the infinit & most horrible massacres, and bloodie persecutions, which he daillie exerciseth throughout all christian lands. Which bicane he can not performe also within the realmes of England & Ireland, what practises hath he made by enchant-

ments, sozceries, witchcrafts, & treasons to bereane his maiestie of his life: What deuises hath he vied to raise vp his owne subjects to rebellions and commotions, to supplant him of his roiall estate and government: What practises hath he vied with forren princes and potentates, to seeke occasions of breaches of peace and raisings of warres: And how craftilie hath he suborned his unholie & traitorous Iesuits, vnder colour of holines, to range from place to place through his maiesties realmes, and to moue and persuade his people from dutifull obedience vnto his highnesse, and to denie his supreme authoritie and government: Finally, how doth he from time to time like a rauening wolfe seeke the denouring of him, and of all his good subjects, which liue in the feare of God, and in the religion established vpon his holie word and gospel: Whereof hath ensued the losse of infinit thousands of people, as therof manie apparant examples are set downe and recorded in the histories of England; but of them all, none more lamentable than is this historie of Ireland, and especially this tragedie of Spounster. In which it doth appere, how that for the maintenance of the popes quarels, the earth hath drunken by the blood, the souls of the aire haue preied, and the beasts of the field haue deuoured the carcases of infinit multitudes & numbers of people. Which if euerie man would well looke into and consider, the vngodlie shall see the great iudgements of God, and his seuerer iustice against all such as shall dishonor his holie name; and against such as shall rebell and resist against his anointed: that thereby they may repent, amend their liues, and be conuerted vnto the Lord, both in true religion towards him, and in all dutifull obedience to his anointed. And the god and goodlie shall see, and thereby consider the great good mercies shewed vpon them, in that he hath and continuallie doth preserve and keepe them from out of the salues of the lion in all safetie, that they should daillie more and more grow from grace to grace, and liue in all holinesse and vertue towards him, and persist in all dutifull obedience vnto his maiestie our soueraigne ladie and quene; whose daies the Lord God continue and prolong to reigne ouer vs to his good will and pleasure: and so shall we his people see good daies, liue in securitie, and the peace of Israel shall be vpon vs.

Thus farre the chronicles of Ireland, continued by Iohn Hooker
alias Vowell, Gent.



1585.

THE
DESCRIPTION
OF SCOTLAND,

Written at the first by Hector Boe-
tius in Latine, and afterward tran-
slated into the Scottish speech by
John Bellenden Archdeacon of
Murrey, and now final-
lie into English by
R. H.

Wherevpon is inferred the
historie of Scotland, conteining
the beginning, increase, proceeding,
continuance, acts, and government of
the Scottish nation, from the originall
thereof unto the yeare 1571, gathe-
red and written in English by Ra-
phaell Hollandshhead: and conti-
nued from 1571, to
1585, by o-
thers.

Cum privilegio Regie
Majestatis.



To the Right worshipfull Maister
Thomas Secford Esquire and Maister of the
Requests, William Harison wisheth all knowledge
of God, with dailie increase of his gifts at this
present, and in the world to come
life everlasting.



Having by your singular curtesie received great help in my description of the riuers & streames of Britaine, and by conference of my trauell with the platforms of those few shires of England which are by your infinite charges already finished (as the rest shall be in time by Gods helpe, for the inestimable benefit of such as inhabit this lland) not a little polished those rough courses of diuers waters not exactly before time described by *Leland* our countrieman, or any ancient writer, I could not deuise any thing more agreeable with mine abilitie and your good nature (which greatlie fauoureth any thing that is doone for a commoditie vnto many) than to shew some token of my thankfulness for these your manifold kindneses, by the dedication of my simple translation of the description of Scotland at this time vnto your worship.

Indeed the trauell taken heerein is not great, because I tie not my translation vnto his letter, neither the treatise of it selfe such, as taketh vp any huge roome in the volume of this chronicle. But such as it is, and whatsoeuer it is, I yeeld it wholie vnto you, as a testimonie of my good will, which detesteth vtterlie to receiue any benefit, though it be neuer so small, and not to be thankfull for it. Certes my vocation is such, as calleth me to a farre other kind of studie, so that I exercise these things onlie for recreation sake, & to saie the truth, it is much vnfitting for him that professeth Diuinitie, to applie his time any otherwise vnto contemplation of ciuill histories. And this is the cause wherfore I haue chosen rather, on-
lie

lie with the losse of three or foure daies to translate *Hector* out of the Scotish (a toong verie like vnto ours) than with more expence of time to deuise a new, or follow the Latine copie, which is far more large and copious. How excellentlie if you consider the art, *Boetius* hath penned it, and the rest of his historie in Latine, the skilfull are not ignorant: but how profitablie and compendiously *John Bellenden* archdeacon of Murrey his interpreter hath turned him from the Latine into the Scotish toong, there are verie few Englishmen that know, bicause we want the books.

Wherefore sith the learned read him in his owne stile, and his countrimen in their naturall language, why should not we borrow his description, and read the same in English likewise, sith the knowledge therof may redound to the great benefit of so manie as read or heare the same? Accept therefore (right worshipfull) this my simple offer, and although I assure my selfe, your naturall inclination to be such, as that it will take nothing in ill part that is well meant toward you, how rudelic soeuer it be handled in the doing, yet I will not let to craue pardon for my presumption, in that I dare be so bold as to offer such a trifle to you, whom more weightie affaires doo dailie call from things of so small importance.

Almightie God keepe your worship from time to time in
his feare, and bleesse you and my good ladie your wife
with such increase of his benefits, as may
most redound to his glorie,
& your own ad-
uantage.





The contents of the chapters contained
in this booke.

- 1 **O**F the bounds of Albion, with the fundrie commodities thereof, and of the great infirmities that fall vnto the people there for their intemperancie: and finallie of the religion vsed there in old time.
- 2 The description of the east, west, and middle borders of Scotland, with the most notable townes and flouds thereof.
- 3 The description of Gallowaie, Kile, Carricke, and Cunningham, with the notable townes, lakes, and riuers in the same.
- 4 The situation of Renfrew, Cliddefdale, Lennox, Lowmund, Argile, Loughquaber, Lorne and Kentire, with all the notable things contained in the same.
- 5 Of Rosse, Stranauerne, and Murrey land, with such lakes and riuers as are to bee touched there.
- 6 Of Boene, Anze, Buquhane, Mar, Mernes, Fisse & Angus, with the lakes, flouds, abbeis, townes, and other notable commodities there to be seene and found.
- 7 Of Louthian, Striuclun, Menteith, Calidon wood, Bowgewall, Gareoth, with the notable cities, castels and flouds thereof.
- 8 Of the great plentie of hares, harts, and other wild beasts in Scotland, also of the strange nature of fundrie Scottish dogs, and of the nature of salmon.
- 9 Of fundrie kinds of muskles and cockles in Scotland, and pearles gotten in the same. Of vncouth and strange fish there to be seene, and of the nature of the herbe Citifus, commonlie called Hadder.
- 10 Of the Iles of Scotland, and such notable things as are to be found in them.
- 11 Of the nature of their Claike geese, and diuerse maner of their procreation, and of the Ile of Thule.
- 12 The description of Orkeney, and Shetland, with other fundrie small Iles, and of the maners and conditions of the people dwelling in the same.
- 13 Of the maners of the Scots in these daies, and their comparison with the behaviour of the old and such as liued long since within this Iland.
- 14 The description of an ancient Pi&ct, and such as dwelled beyond the wall of Hadrian.
- 15 Of bishoprikes, vniuersities, and counties in Scotland.





The authors out of whome this historie of
Scotland hath beene gathered.

Hector Boetius.	}	Wilhelmus Paruus, siue Neoburgensis.
Iohannes Ferrarius Pedemontanus.		Albertus Crantz.
Iohannes Maior.		Aeneas Syluius.
Iohannes Fourdon.		Edward Hall.
Rogerus Houeden.		Richard Grafton.
Richardus Southwell.		Iohn Stow: and others.





The description of Scotland, writ-

ten at the first by *Hector Boetius* in Latine, and after-
ward translated into the *Scotish speech* by

John Bellenden archdeacon of Mur-
rey, and now finally into
English by W. H.

The bounds of Albion with
the sundrie commodities thereof,
and of the great infirmities that
fall vnto the people there for
their intemperancie, and final-
lie of the religion vsed
there in old time.

The first Chapter.



The Ile of Al-
bion containeth
in the whole cir-
cumference, 2
99. miles, ha-
ving in length
700, & in breadth
300, as appea-
reth well by the
coast therof that
doth lie ouer a-
gainst France
where it is broad-
est, and from
whence it gathereth narrower and narrower, till it
come to the utter marches & last bounds of England
and Scotland. For betwixt the Gule of Gallowaie
that is on the west side ouer against the Irish seas,
and saint Ebbes head, that lieth vpon the Germane
ocean toward the east, are scarcelie 130 miles, and
thenceforth it groweth smaller and smaller till it
touch vpon the north seas, where it is not aboue thir-
tie miles, as I noted befoze in the description of
Britaine.

This Ile is replenished with people, horses, and
all other kind of cattell and cozne in most abundant
maner, except it be in such places where as God of
his singular godnesse hath otherwise indued the soile
with rich mines of gold, silver, tin, brasse, copper,
and quicksilver, which for the most part are so plenti-
full, that they suffice not onlie for the necessaries of
the whole Iland, but also of sundrie regions that are
situated round about it, if the inhabitants were skil-
full and painefull to deale withall accordinglie. But
the abundance of all other things requisite for the
vse of man, that is found generallie in our Iland,
maketh the people lesse carefull of these commodi-
ties, and moze giuen to idleness. For beside the
great plentie of those things which heauen and earth

do minister, as grasse, cozne and cattell, foules of
sundrye kinds, there is such store of fish in all parties
of our seas, especiallie towards the north, that the
same would suffice to feed and susteine all the people
of the Iland, if there were none other commodities
to be found within the same.

For the inhabitants of all countries that border
vpon vs, as France, Flanders, Zealand, Holland,
and a great part of Germanie (especiallie those which
lie nere vnto the coast) do faile hither with great
numbers of vessels daile to fish vpon our coasts, and
buy such as we haue already caught, not onlie for
their owne vse, but also for the Lenton prouision of
such nations as lie vpon the Leuant seas, where they
sell the same at their owne wils, with very speedie
utterance. Manie other rich and pretious commodi-
ties are to be gotten in the said Ile, whereof the a-
fozenamed nations do make no small account, be-
side these common things. What shall I saie of our
woolles, which are in so high estimation in all lands,
because of their necessarie vses, and whereof a great
part is so fine and soft, that of it are made the costlie
scarlets, pliant gloues, and manie other grained
and delicate clothes, of which I thought good to make
this mention, because the report thereof is not yet
made common and generallie knowne to all men.

Diomphus Alex-
andrinus saith that the
wool of Brit-
taine is often
spun so fine
that it is in
manner com-
parable to
the spiders
draught.

Certes this I dare boldly affirme, that if the
kingdoms of Britaine had such grace giuen them
from aboue, as that they might once liue in vnitie,
or by any means be brought vnder the subiection of
one prince, they should per long seele such a fauour in
this amitie, that they would not onlie liue franklie
of their own, without any foren purchase of things,
but also resist all outward inuasion, with small tra-
uell and lesse damage. For as touching their per-
sons, and likewise their notable wits, apt both for
the attaining of learning and knowledge of handi-
crafts, they are inferiour to no other nation. There-
vnto we find them to be couragious and hardie, of-
fering themselves often vnto the uttermost perils
with great assurance, so that a man may pronounce
nothing to be ouerhard or past their power to per-
forme, if they would giue themselves to liue tempe-
ratelie, and follow their predecessors in moderation
of diet.

Wherefore it is (as I thinke) that almightie God in
his prouident disposition of all things, hath ordeined
their grounds (otherwise plentifullie indued with all
kinds of commodities) to be destitute and void of
wine; as foresaieing that the said liquoz, which bring-
eth greatest benefit vnto other countries, would
grow in the end to be most pernicious & noisome to
them.

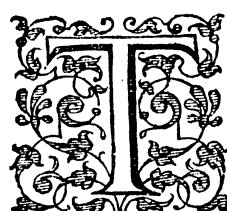
them. For they are giuen to such vnnaturall rauen-
ning and greedie desire of forreine things (whilst
they contemne or not regard their owne) that they
cannot refraine the immoderate vse of wine, and
excesse vsed in drincking of the same; insomuch that
we may see diuerse to be ouertaken and haunted, not
onelie with sundrie kinds of grieuous maladies
common to vs and them of the maine, but also ma-
nie other which they haue not, neither be anie thing
at all acquainted with, as experience daillie tea-
cheth.

Some by long sicknesse and languishing græfes
do grow into such deformitie onelie through exces-
siue feeding, and greedie abuse of wine, that if you
knew them when they were children & yong men,
you shall hardlie remember them when they be old
and aged; and that which more is, in comparison of o-
ther that liue more soberlie, you will hardlie thinke
them to be borne in the Ile, but rather suppose them
to be changelings and monsters, brought out of o-
ther countries to gaze and loke vpon: diuerse of
them through the continuall vse of wine are mole-
sted in their age, with phreneticall pangs and passi-
ons. Seldome also shall you see those that are giuen
much vnto wine and such welfare, to become pa-
rents of manie children, sith their naturall moisture
and generatiue force is much abated, if not altoge-
ther extinguished by such immoderate diet.

But to returne to our purpose, the Albanes or
Britains, as Caesar in his commentaries, and Tacitus
in his annales do report, were very religious,
after the manner of religion vsed in old time. For in
those daies the priests of Britaine named Druides,
were expert both in naturall and morall philosophie,
and from thence came the first professors of that
sect and opinion into France. The principall seat of
their priests was in the Ile of Man, which was re-
puted at that season for the wellspring and fountaine
of all learning and knowledge, and after that their
priests were once conuerted to the catholike faith,
they persevered in the same with great constancie,
without anie note of heresie.

The description of the east, west, and
middle borders of Scotland, with the
most notable townes and flouds
thereof.

The second Chapter.



The Picts had sometimes
the principall and most fer-
tile part of that countrie,
which now is vnder the regi-
ment of the Scots, and after
they had continued in the
same by the space of 1171
yeares, ioined in maner in
perpetuall league with the Scots, and mainteining
mutuallie the warres sometimes with the Britains
and Romans, and sometimes also tarring with their
Scotish neighbours, at the last they fell into extreme
hatred one of another, till it was brought to passe
by the diuine providence, that the said Picts were
ouerthrowne, their name extinguished, and the king-
dome united vnto that other of the Scots for euer-
more. After this time furthermore, although the
Scots haue bene verie oftentimes assailed with
most dangerous and terrible wars, and oftentimes
inuaied by enimies from diuers regions, yet such
hath bene the fauour of almightie God towards
them, that still they flourish and reteine their estate
inviolate.

Whatsoever we haue generallie spoken of Al-
bion, that is chieflie to be vnderstood of the Scots,
and farre greater, especiallie among the Scots, as
they call them in the high land, as people that haue
lesse to do with forreine merchants, and therefore
are lesse delicate, and not so much corrupted with
strange bloud and alliance. Hereby in like sort it
commeth to passe, that they are more hard of con-
stitution of bodie, to beare off the cold blaies, to
watch better, and absteine long, wherunto also it ap-
peareth that they are bold, nimble, and thereto more
skilfull in the warres. As for their faith and promise,
they hold it with greatest constancie, as Hector hath
set downe. Towards the Almaine sea, I find, that
Scotland hath the Mers, sometime the most plenti-
ous region of the Picts for their march, which so long
as the said people did inhabit it, was called Deera,
or Dere; but after their expulsion, it was named
Mers, that is to say, the marches or limits of their
countrie. In procelle of time also the Scots exten-
ded their bounds even vnto the Tweed, which now
diuideth Northumberland from the Mers.

On the other side of the countrie towards the
west, sundrie small bournes descend from the Cher-
iot hilles, and other mounteines lieng thereabout in-
to the Solue, diuiding Cumberland from Annan-
dale, and so being brought into one channell, they fall
together into the Irish ocean, & stand for the bounds
of Scotland vpon that halfe of the countrie. The
Cheriot hilles are in like sort taken for the middle
marches of the region, which with certeine small
brookes that fall from the same, do separate both the
countries, wherby their limits are knowne. The
Mers hath vnder marches at seuerall places (whi-
ther it is extended) as sometime the Germane sea,
sometime east Louthian, sometime the Tweed,
and sometime the Forth, and among manie strong
holds and castles, that stand vpon the borders, is the
towne and castell of Barwike in time past called
Ordolucium, as the inhabitants are called Ordoluci
(if Hector be not deceiued.)

The Tweed springeth out from a meane head, and
after his augmentation with other small waters
that fall into the same, it descendeth with a large
course into the Almaine sea. Beyond the Tweed, to
the middle march vnder the Cheriot hilles lieth Te-
uidale, that is to say, the vale of Tiffe: beyond it
is Eskdale, or the vale of Eske, of a riuer so called
that runneth through the same: ouer against Eske-
dale on the other side lieth Cusdale, so named of the
riuer Cus that passeth thereby, and falleth into the
water of Annand: but Tiff and Eske do run into
the Tweed: furthermore, on the west side ouer a-
gainst the Irish sea, lieth Annandale, wherunto the
Annamd water giueth denomination, which mar-
cheth sometimes without the bounds of Middledale,
where all the three riuers aforesaid, that is to say,
Cus, Annand and Sulway descend together in one
bottome into the Irish seas.

In Annandale is a loch or lake named Lochma-
ben, fife miles in length and foure in bredth, not
onlie verie full of fish, but of such kind as few men
are acquainted with. Beside this lake also there is a
castell of the same name, builded of purpose to re-
streine the furious dealing of theues which do great
hurt in those quarters. For not onlie in Annandale,
but in all the dales or vales afoze rehearsed, are ma-
nie strong theues, which often spoile the countrie,
and exercise much cruell slaughter vpon such as in-
habit there, in anie troublous time. These robbers
(because the English do border vpon their drie mar-
ches, and are their perpetuall enimies) do often
make forceable rodes into the English bounds, for
their better maintenance and sustentation, or else
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they suffer paine from them, as men leading in the meane season a poore beggerlie and verie miserable life. In the time of peace also, they are so inbred to theft and rapine, that they cannot leave off to steale at home: and notwithstanding that they be often verie sore handled therefore, yet they thinke it praise-worthie to molest their aduersarie, as they call the tract forth, whereby it cometh to passe, that manie rich and fertile places of Scotland lie wast and void of culture for feare of their inuasion.

Not far from the Sulwaie (a water where great plenty of fish is to be had) are manie quicke-sands, and those so perillous that no man may well go ouer the same, but with great difficultie and danger of his life. This bale of Annand was sometime called Ordouicia, and the people thereof Ordouices, whose ancient barbarousnesse is reported to be such, that in times past they refused not to kill and eate such prisoners as had yielded themselves vnto them. The verie women in like sort would slea their husbands, if at anye time they fled from the field, and returned to their houses, onelie to giue occasion vnto other men to stand to their tacklings at euery such aduventure. On the west borders and also toward the northlieh Fiddesdale, so called of the water of Fiddes. It beginneth with a verie narrow course, and increasing bodie in the middle marches of Scotland, it finally restraineth it selfe againe, till it cometh at the sea, whither it runneth with a swift course, as the Scottish writers doe report. In this bale standeth a towne named Dunfrie, wherein manie fine clothes speciallie whites are made, which are brought by and caried into England, France, Flanders, and Germanie, where they are had in great price and estimation.

The description of Gallowaie; Kile, Carricke, and Cuninghame, with the notable townes, lakes and riuers in the same.

The third Chapter.



ABoue Fiddesdale is Gallowaie (named sometimes Brigantia) the people where of were in times past called Brigantes: this region is diuided by the water of Cree into two parts, whereof that which lieth nearest to Fiddesdale, is called nether Gallowaie, and the other that is aboue the Cree is named vpper Gallowaie. In nether Gallowaie is Kirkcubright, a rich towne and of a good trade in merchandize, and in vpper Gallowaie is Whitherne, in Latine *Candida Casa*, an abbete dedicated to saint Iohn the bishop, and there lieth his carcase, which is honozed of the people with great superstition and errour. Aboue Whitherne is Wigton towne, and not far from thence is the great lake of Sperton, the one halfe whereof doth freeze by naturall congelation as other poles and plashes doe; but the other is neuer seene to beare anye yce at all, which vnto me doth seeme to be a great wonder. In Gallowaie moreover are two other lakes, the Salset and the Pentramen, of equall length and breadth with the Lochminton; as for Gallowaie it selfe, it yeldeth out a great point, promontorie, or cape (which the Scots call a mule or nuke) into the Irish sea. The common sort name it the moles nuke, and by the rounding of it selfe, it maketh two great lakes, named Kean and Lois, except I be deceiued,

one of these lakes or poles is 30, and the other 16, miles of length, and both full of oysters, heerings, congers, cockles, and other like kinds of fish.

Some are of the opinion that Brigantia was the same region of Britaine that is now called Wales, wherein the Britains inhabited manie yeares after their expulsion out of Britaine. But this opinion is false, with the Romans write that Span the Island lieth ouer against Brigantium and midwaie betwene the same and Ireland: for albeit that the bates or bates are now become wider & further distant each from other by the washing and working of the sea, yet the same latitude & elevation of the pole that Ptolomee ascribed to the Brigantes, agreeth well to the height of the pole ouer Gallowaie, which is verie far from Wales, sithens the Ile of Span lieth also 300 miles from thence, and in the sight of Gallowaie. In like sort by the testimonie of sundrie authors both Irish and Spanishe (we asseme that out of Brigantium a citie in Spaine, now named Compostella) there came a newe companie of people into Ireland called Spaniards, and out of Ireland another crew of the same nation with king Fergus into Albion, and in remembrance of the citie Brigance, wherein they inhabited whilist they were in Spaine, they called themselves Brigantes. To this opinion in like sort Cornelius Tacitus doth seeme to leane, who saith, that the Brigantes descended from the Spaniards, which in his time dwelled in the uttermost parts of Britaine, including vnder that name all the Ile of Albion. These regions afore rehearsed, that is to say, Annandale, Fiddesdale, and Gallowaie, beside fine wools and store of cattell, doth also abound with all kinds of graine, wheate onelie excepted.

Aboue Gallowaie is Carricke, sometime a portion of the region of the Silures, of whose name it is not yet certeinlie knowne, whether it was deriued from the famous citie Carricke, whose ruines doe yet remaine, or not. Silurie is diuided into three parts, to wit, Carricke, Kile, and Cuninghame. In the first, as I said, was Carricke the noble citie: and in this countrie are manie strong castels, both by naturall situation and policie of man: herein also are faire kine and oxen, whose flesh is delicate and verie tender to be eaten, the fallow moreouer of their wombs is so moist and sapie that it neuer wareth hard, but relenteth of the stone accord, and becometh like vnto oile. Beyond Carricke is Kile, so called of Coile king of Britaine, sometime slaine in the said region, and therein is a stone, not much aboue 12 miles from the towne of Air, full 30 foot high, and three elns of breadth, called the deafe stone, not without cause: for when a man is on the one side thereof, he shall not heare what is said or done on the other, though there be neuer so great noise made, no not if a canon should be discharged of set purpose; which to me doth seeme impossible, neuertheless the further a man standeth from the same, the better shall he heare, whatsoever the noise be. Next to Kile is Cuninghame the third part of Silurie, whose inhabitants in time past were most noisome to the Romans. In Kile is a pole named Downe, from whence the riuier Downe doth runne through the middelt of that region into the Irish sea. In Cuninghame likewise is a lake called Carnoth, equall in quantitie vnto the Downe, and no lesse famous for the abundance of fish that is daillie found therein; and not farre from the same is the towne called Largs, where Alexander the third king of Scotland of that name, sometime ouercame the Danes and Norwegians, whereby it grew to be famous, and of more reputation among vs.

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The description of Scotland.

The situation of Renfrew, Clidestdale, Lennox, Lowmound, Argile, Louchquhaber, Lorne, and Kentire, with all the notable things contained in the same.

The fourth Chapter.

The water of Clide issueth Lennor on the north side from the baronie of Renfrew, and it ariseth out of the same hill in Calidow wood, from whence the Annand falleth, and goeth with a long course into the Irish sea; some call this riuer Gluda, and Cluda; but Tacitus nameth it Clota. Not far also from the fountaines of Clide, ariseth the water of Forth, that runneth on the contrarie side into the Germane ocean. In like sort after the water of Clide hath run for a season toward the north, it gathereth somewhat inward, till it come to the mountaine of Granzeben, & from thence holdeth on with a swift course, till it fall (as I said) into the Irish seas. The countrie where it runneth is named Clidestdale. Betwixt Clide and Lennor lieth the baronie of Renfrew, wherein are two poles named Dubinsouth and Leboth, of which the first is 12 miles in compasse, the other 20, and both verie rich and plentifull of fish. But in Lennor, that lieth next aboute Renfrew toward the ocean (called by Ptolomie Helgonia) is a great mere or lake that hight Lochmond, of 24 miles in length, and eight in breadth, and within this thin or pole are 30 Islands, well replenished with churches and dwelling houses.

And in the same also are three things worthy consideration, whereof the first is, that the pleasant and verie delicat fishes there bred do want fins. The second is, that the water will often swell with huge waues though no wind be stirring, and that in such wise that the best mariners in the countrie dare not adventure to saile thereon. There is also a verie fruitfull and commodious Ile therein, verie necessarie for the pasturage of cattell, which fleteth hither and thither as the wind bloweth. This lake is situate at the foot of the hill called Granzeben, which were sometime the marches or limits betwixt the Scots and Picts, and are extended from Lochlowmund to the mouth of Dee. Certes the Picts had no part of the countrie beyond the Granzeben, nor toward the Irish seas, for this region was inhabited by the Scots. Eight miles from Lochlowmund is the castell of Dumbritteine named sometime Alclud, and here the water of Leuen falleth into the Clide.

Beyond Lochlowmund is Argile, an hillie countrie and full of crags and mounteins, therein also are two lakes, Lochfine & Lochquho, that diuide the region into three parts, that in the middelt being called Inapdale. In Lochfine is more plentie of hering than in anie part of the coast that compasseth the Island, but in Lochquho are such kinds of fish to be vsualle had, as are commonlie bred in fresh waters. There are moreouer in Argile two castels, Glenunquhart and Enconell, & in it are 12 Isles, whose chiefe commoditie resteth rather in pasturage for cattell, than abundance of graine. In Argile furthermore are manie rich mines full of mettall, but the people there haue no skill to find and trie out the same. The constant report also goeth there, how there is a stone

of such nature, that if it be hidden in straw for a certaine season, it will kindle of it selfe, and consume the straw to ashes. There are seuen other lakes in Argile, whereof some are thirtie miles in length and breadth, and other lesse.

It was told me once by Doncan Campbell a noble knight, that out of Garloll, one of the poles of Argile, there came a terrible beast, in the peare of Grace 1510, which was of the bignesse of a grethound, and looked like a gander, and issuing out of the water earlie in the morning about midsummer time, did verie easilie and without anie visible force or streining of himselfe ouerthrow huge oaks with his taile, & therevnto killed three men out-right that hunted him with three stroks of his said taile, the rest of them saving themselves in trees thereabouts, whilst the foresaid monster returned to the water. Those that are giuen to the obseruations of rare and vncomon sights, beleue that this beast is neuer sene but against some great trouble & mischiefe to come vpon the realme of Scotland. For it hath bene described also before that time, although not verie often. Lorne abutteth vpon Argile, which was once a part of Argile, and reacheth out into the Irish sea, in manner of a cape or tong, full firtie miles. This point also was called Nouantia, but now it is named Kintire (that is to saie) the head of Lorne, whose vttermost part is not full 16 miles from Ireland. Some authours affirme, that both Argile and Cantire, were called Nouantia in old time, sith Ptolomie maketh no mention of Argile in his cosmographie. In this Lorne is great abundance of barleie, which the Scots call beir. Beyond Lorne is Lochquhaber, heretofore a portion of Murrey land, verie rich in mines of iron and lead, and no lesse beneficiall to the countrie in all kinds of cattell.

There are likewise manie woods, manie lakes, and manie fiers, but two of them are most notable for the plentie of samonis, and other delicate fish, as well of the salt as fresh water, which be there taken, and almost without anie trauell; neither is there anie where else in all the Ile such store. The one of these is named Lochtie, & the other Spanze, but vpon what occasion these names were giuen to them I find as yet no certaintie. The Lochtie riseth not above eight miles from Lochnes, and falleth beneath the same into the Germane ocean, and beside it, there is a rockie crag, running out at length into the sea, named Hardnomoxth. In the mouth of Lochtie likewise was sometime a rich towne named Inuerlochtie, whither the merchants of France & Spaine did make their daillie resort, till at the last it was so defaced by the warres of the Danes, that it neuer was able since the said time to recouer hir pishinate renowne. But whether the negligence of the due repaire of this towne, proceedeth of the sloth of our people, or hatred that some enuious persons do beare to cities and walled townes in our countrie, as yet it is vncertaine. Beyond Lochtie is the castell of Dunstafage, in time past named Euonium: beyond Dunstafage also is the mouth of the water of Spanze, where it falleth (as I heare) into the Germane ocean.

The discourse of Ros, Stranauerne, & Murrey land, with the lakes, riuers, and notable townes in them.

The fifth Chapter.

Byond the water of Spanze lieth Ros, sometime called Lugia, a verie narrow region (God it wote) but running out in great length through the middelt of

of the Island, being enuironed on both sides with the ocean. That portion thereof which lieth nearest to the Irish seas, is verie difficult for such as trauell by the countrie, by reason of the high mounteins, which maketh the countrie more apt for wild beasts than mankind to inhabit: neuertheless waing more fertill on that part which stretcheth toward the German sea, it yeldeth it selfe to culture, and rendzeth some graine. In pasture also it is not altogether vnprofitable, with there is good grasse and verie batable for their heards: for the ballies there, being watered with sundrie pleasant streames, doe yeld a sweet and verie sauozie grasse, wherewith all sorts of cattell are verie much delighted. In Kos are sundrie lakes, but Lochbun is the greatest. There are also manie fresh rivers, fraught with excellent fish, and finally a notable firth or safe haven called Cromart, wherunto diuers in time of necessitie doe resort, to auoid the danger of shipwacke, that otherwise would assuredly annoy them. The Scottish men call it Weill of shipmen. In this region moreover is the towne called Thane, where the bones of Dutho an holy man (as they say) doe rest, & are had in greater estimation among the superstitious sort (as sometime ouer the whole Island) than the holie gospel of God and merits of his sonne, whereby we are onelie saued. Two ancient houses are likewise maintained in one vale of the Kos, whose formes resemble so manie belles, but to what end as yet I doe not find. Pert vnto the said Kos lieth the Stranauerne, the coasts whereof abutting for a while vpon the Deucalidon sea, doe afterward turne againe toward the Almain seas, hauing partlie the Deucalidon coast, and partlie Cathnesse vpon the north side, Southerland on the east, Kosla on the south, and Deucalidon againe vpon the west. There are three great crags or points lieng on the uttermost side of Stranauerne, that is to saie, the Hole, Holobun (the greatest of the three) and Dobu niste, which because they shoo farre off into the sea, doe make two great firths and lakes, each of them being severallie distinguished from other.

Pert vnto Cathnesse lieth Southerland, a profitable region both for graine and all kinds of prouision, but chiefe for the nourishment of bestiall, wherunto it chiefele inclineth, as doe the other two last before rehearsed. On the further side also of this, lieth Murrey land, sometime called Vararis, although the marches thereof are changed from that they were of old. For whereas in time past all the region lieng betwene Spaine and Pesse to the Irish sea, was named Murrey, now it is knowne to be wille beyond the water of Spaine & Balloche, & reacheth on vntill it come to the Irish sea. Betwixt Kos and Murrey land, is a great bay, and likewise a descent of sundrie waters: for therinto fall the Pesse, Parden, Findorne, Los and Spaine, whereof this latter runneth with so fierce & violent a streame, that the force of the sea at the flood struing to enter into the same, is put back, & may not resist the inuincible fall, and beates backe the water that descendeth into the ocean. The Pesse issueth out of a lake of the same name (which is not passing 8 miles from the said plash, from whence the Lochie runneth) & thence goeth into the Irish seas: and this propertie it hath, that neither the streame, neither the lake it selfe will yeld to be frozen in the verie deepe of winter. Such also is the force thereof, that if anie yce or anie frozen substance be cast therein; it will by and by relent and dissolve againe to water, whereby it becommeth verie profitable for such cattell as are benumbed with cold. In the mouth of the Pesse, standeth a towne called Inuernelle, where sometime was great abundance of herring taken, but now they be

gone by the secret working of God. The common people put the fault in the rich & men of higher calling, who enuieng the commoditie of the poore inhabitants, will often seme to bereue them of this emolument, by force and slaughter. Wherupon (as they say) it commeth to passe, that the increase of swines decayeth, and verie small store is taken there by manie yeares after such iniurie offered.

But to proceed: beside Lochnesse, which is 24 miles of length, and foure in breadth, by reason of the great woods there standing, is great store of sauage beasts, as harts, wild horses, roes, and such like. There are likewise martins, beuers, fores & wezels, whose skins and cafes are sold vnto strangers at huge and exorbitant prices. In Murrey land also is not alonely great plenty of wheat, barlie, otes, and such like graine, beside nuts and apples, but likewise of all kinds of fish, and especiallie of samon. The people thereof in like sort doe vse a strange manner of fishing: for they make a long woele of twicker, narrow necked, and wide mouthed, with such cunning, that when the tide commeth, the fish shoot themselves into the same, and forthwith are so inclosed, that whilst the tide lasteth he cannot get out, nor after the water is gone escape the hands of the fishers. In this region moreover is a lake named Spiney, wherein is exceeding plenty of swans.

The cause of their increase in this place is ascribed to a certaine herbe, which groweth there in great abundance, and whose seed is verie pleasant vnto the said foule in the eating, wherefore they call it Swangits: and hereunto such is the nature of the same, that where it is once sowne or planted, it will neuer be destroyed, as may be proued by experience. For albeit that this lake be five miles in length, and was sometime within the remembrance of man verie well stored with samon and other fish, yet after that this herbe began to multiplie vpon the same, it became so shallow, that one may now wade through the greatest part thereof, by meanes whereof all the great fishes there be vtterlie consumed. In this portion furthermore, is the church of Pette, where the bones of little John remaine in great estimation. Certes his carcase hath bene 14 foot long, his members well proportioned according to his stature, and not fullie six yeeres before this booke was written (by Boetius) he saw his hanch bone, which seemed so great as the whole thigh of a man, and he did thrust his arme into the hollownesse thereof, whereby it appeareth what mightie people grew vp in our region before they were overcome with glattonte and excess. In this quarter finally is the towne called Elgin, not farre from the mouth of Spaine, and therein is a cathedrall church furnished with canons: there are thereto sundrie rich and verie wealthie abbeies in Murrey, as Killos of the order of the Cisterciars, and Bluscardie of the Cluniaks.

This swan no Scot but an Englishman, fled into Ireland, and then into Scotland

Of Boene, Anze, Buchquhane, Mar, Mernis, Fiffe, and Angus, with the lakes, floods, abbies, townes, and other notable things contained in the same.

The sixth Chapter.

Next vnto the Murrey lieth Boene, and Anze, two fertill and plentifull regions, which extend their bounds euen vnto the seas. They are both verie notable indowed with batable pastures, and by reason thereof are verie full of

The description of Scotland.

of cattell, they yeld mozeouer excellent coze, and by meanes of their large woods and forrests not without great stoe of wild beasts of sundrie kinds and natures. Peere also vnto the Douerne water, which is a riuier maruellouslie stoez with fish, standeth a towne named Bamse, and vnder these two regions aforesaid lieth Buchquhane, a verie batable soile for all kinds of cattell, but especiallie of sheepe, whose wolle excēdeth that of the like beast of all other countries thereabouts for whitenesse and fineness. The riuers that are in this countrie do in like maner abound with samons, so that there is no one of them void of this commoditie, except the Kattra onellie, wherein it is not heard that anie hath bene scene: herein also standeth the castell of Slanis, in which the high constable of Scotland dwelleth, and nere vnto the same is a marvellous caue: for the water that dropeth into the same, in a short processe of time becommeth an hard white stone, and except they had bene off remoued heretofore, the caue it selfe had bene filled by with the same manie peeres agone.

This region is void of rats, and such is the nature thereof, that if anie be brought thither from other places, they are found to die immediatlie: finally it is most marvellous of all, that as otes do grow there in manie places of themselves without culture and tillage; so if a man come thither of set purpose to mow downe the same, he shall find nothing els but emptie huls and straw: but if he chance vpon the sudden and without premeditation of the thing to cut downe anie (a matter impossible in my mind) he shall find them so good and full as anie are elsewhere, to be gathered and led home. Certes it appeareth hereby, that this is nothing else but an illusion, wherewith the wicked feends do captivate and blind the senses of the superstitious sort; for that it should be so by nature, it is a thing altogether impossible. Pert vnto this lieth the great region of Par, which is verie plentifull of cattell, and extendeth 60 miles in length, from the Almaine seas to Wozzenoch. In this is the citie of Aberdeen, wherein is a bishops see, and noble vniuersitie, sometime founded by William Elphinston bishop there. This citie lieth betwixt two rich riuers, the Done and the Dee, wherein is the greatest stoe of samons that is to be found againe within the compasse of Albion, and likewise the greatest and longest if you respect their quantitie.

Pert vnto Par, we haue Pernts toward the sea, a verie fat soile, full of pasture, and abundantlie replenished with euerie sort of cattell. In this portion standeth Dunnoter the marshall of Scotlands house, and likewise the towne of Foridon, in which the bones of Palladius do rest, who is taken generally for the apostle of our nation. The water of Esk is bound vnto this region, which is otherwise called Fortheske, a verie dangerous chanell, and wherein mighte haue perished for default of a bydge, as they haue attempted to passe and repasse ouer the same. Angus bordereth vpon the Pernts, it was sometime part of Wozzenoch, and now watered with three notable riuers, as the Fortheske already mentioned, and maruellouslie replenished with samons, likewise the Southeske; and finally the Tait, the noblest water in all Scotland, and remembred by the Romane writers vnder the name of Tan.

In Angus also is an high mountaine or promontorie, called the Red bzaes, which lieth out far off into the Almaine seas. The Tait also riseth farre beyond the mounteins of Cranzen out of loch Tait, which is a pole of 24 miles of length, and 10 of breadth, wherein are not onelie diuers Islands, with castles in them, but the water of the lake it selfe (being most

fine and subtile) is notablie replenished with great stoe of fish, and therefore verie commodious for such as dwell about it. It falleth into the Almaine sea beside Dundee, a towne called in old time Alecum, wherein I was bozne, and in which the people trauell verie painfullie about weauing and making of cloth. There are in Angus also manie other cities and rich abbeies, as Mountros, Bzechin, and Forfaire, beside so manie castles as lieth not in me to number. This likewise is not to be passed ouer with silence, that whereas Forfaire was in times past a notable citie, strengthened with two roiall castles, as the ruines do yet declare, now it is brought vnto little more than a countrie village, replenished with simple cotages. Manie lakes & poles are also in Angus, and those well fraught with fish. There is also in this countrie one place called the vale of Eske, whose sheepe haue such white, fine, and excellent wolle, as the like vnto it is hardlie to be found againe within the whole Island.

After we be ouer the Tait, we come vnto Fife, sometime a part of Ottoline. In this region groweth all maner of graine so plentifulle as elsewhere in anie part of Albion; and where no coze is, there is no lesse foison of cattell. There are blacke stones also digged out of the ground, which are verie good for firing, and such is their intollerable heat, when they are kindled, that they resolute and melt iron, and therefore are verie profitable for smiths, and such artificers as deale with other mettals; neither are they found anie where else (that I do know of) but betwene the Tait and the Tine within the whole Island. Salt is likewise made within this region in great quantitie of sea water, which they boile according to their maner. There are furthermore sundrie citis in the same, of which S. Andrews is the chiefe, wherein is both the see of an archbishop and a famous vniuersitie. There are mozeouer sundrie lakes, as loch Torre and loch Lenin, and in this later are diuerse Isles, and in one of them also the church of S. Phillane, a Scottish saint, of no small name and reputation.

Fife is diuided of Lowthian by the riuier of Forth that runneth a large & broad channell into the ocean seas. Certes it is a water verie plentifull indued with cockles, dillers, mussels, scales, pellocks, mereswime, whales, and great foison of white fish; and among manie other fles that are to be found in this Forth, that of spae is of greatest fame, because Adair and his fellows were killed in the same. In the middell of this Ile rising up a fontaine of fresh and cleare water, from an high rocke, which is not a little to be maruailed at, considering the quantitie and situation of the Ile. Beside this also is a wonderfull crag, rising within the sea, where vnto is so strait and narrow a passage, that a ship shall hardlie come out of it by a siluer bote, and there to but at one place. This rocke (called the Abbe-castell) is twofold; and therein are manie taneis verie profitable for defence, made heretofore by great labor and industrie of men.

Certes, there is nothing in this rocke that is not full of admiration and wonder: therein also is great stoe of soland geese (not unlike to those which Plinie calleth water eagles, or as we saie) sea herons, and no where else but in this Ile and this rocke. At their first coming, which is in the spring of the yeare, they gather such great plenty of dikes and bagges together for the building of their nests, that the same do satiffie the keeper of the castell, for the paytelie maintenance of his felowall, without anie other provision. These fowles do feed their yong with the most delicat fish that they can come by. For though they haue already preyed vpon anie one, and haue

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it fast in their beake or talons, yet if they happen as they flie toward the land to espie a better, they let the first fall againe into the sea, and pursue the later with great and eager swiftnesse, vntill they take hold thereof.

Sometimes their preie is taken from them by the keepers of the castell, as also their sticks from time to time for the aforesaid vse; but they making small or rather no resistance, doe turne againe forthwith, for more wood or fish (as their losse requireth) not ceasing till they haue builded their nests with the one, and nourished vp their young with the other, so that what by the timber of their nests, the beguiling them of their preie, and stealing awaye of their young, they bring yerele no small commoditie vnto the owner of the castell. Within the bowels of these grese there is a kind of grease to be had of singular force in medicine, and stealing likewise the skin from their bodies with the fat, they make an oile verie profitable for the gout and manie other diseases in the hanches and groines of mankind. In this crag more, there groweth an hearbe verie pleasant and delicious for salads, but if it be taken by and planted elswhere, it either groweth not at all, or bitterlie giueth out the vertues therewith it was earst indued.

There was sometime a stone found here in this rocke much like to a water sponge or pumice, hollow on the one side, and of such a nature, that if anie salt water had bene poured thereinto, and suffered to run through, it would forthwith lose the naturall saltnesse, and become fresh and verie pleasant vnto the mouth and tast. We heare in these daies that this stone is to be seene in Fass castell, whither it was brought after it had passed manie hands for the triall of this matter. In this firch also is the Ile Almon, wherein is an abbey. There are likewise diuers other Ilands, and those are verie full of conies; and in the said firch are sundrie fishes oftentimes seene of monstrous shape, with colours hanging ouer their heads like vnto monks, and in the rest resembling the bodie of man. They shew themselves likewise aboue the water to the nauill, howbeit they neuer appeare but against some great pestilence of men, or murren of cattell; wherefore their onelie sight doth breed great terror vnto the Scottish nation, who are verie great obseruers of vncomly signes & tokens.

The description of Louthian, Striueling, Menteth, Calidon wood, Bougewall, Gareoth, with the notable cities, castels, and foulds thereof.

The seuenth Chapter.



At the south of the Forth lieth Louthian, so called of Lothe or Loth, one of the kings of the Picts, it was sometime named Picland; but now it is parcell of the Scottish kingdome, & therefore for bountie of soile is not inferiour to anie region of Scotland. In Louthian are manie abbeies, castels and townes, as Hadinton, Dunbar, Forthbertwic and Leith: but Edinburgh passeth them all, as well in policie of regiment as in forme of building and wisdom, and riches of the inhabitants: therein also is the castell of Spaldens, remembred by the most renowned authors, & also the kings chiefe palace, the which tr-

pleth the renowne of the foresaid citie. Not farre from thence moreouer is a certeine oillie spring, which riseth out of the ground in such abundance, that the moze is caried from thence, the moze is re-frozed: and the people are persuaded hereof, that it is verie medicinable against all cankers and skalls.

Not farre from the mouth of Forth is the castell of Dunbar, which by naturall situation and industrie of man, is now become one of the chiefe holds in Albion. It was sometime the principall house appertaining to the earles of March: and there hard by is a towne of the same name, wherein is a rich abbey or chedledge of canons founded by those earles. Pert vnto Louthian lieth Spers, whereof I haue spoken already, but we will now go by higher into the land. Pertest vnto Spers therefore lieth Twedale, and aboue it is Twedale: next vnto Twedale is Druisdale, Malcospdale, Doulgassedale, and Cliddisdale, and all these are such names as the riuers haue that run along their bottoms. The principall towne of Cliddisdale is Glasco the archbishops see, wherein is a notable church erected in the honor of saint Gorgow, and builded with great magnificence. In Glasco also is a noble vniuersitie, where the liberrall arts and sciences are verie re-soundie taught.

In this region moreouer is a verie rich mine of gold, and another of azure, the commoditie of which later is reaped with small trauell. There are sometimes found diuers pretious stones also, as rubies and diamonds. Certes this mine was disclosed in the time of James the fourth, who would no doubt haue brought it to full perfection, if he had longer liued, whereas now little profit redoundeth thereby to the commonwealth, because it is either bitterlie neglected, or not very much regarded. Forth of Glasco lieth Spenteth, and Striueling shire, bordering vpon Argile and Lennox. In Striueling shire is the towne of Striueling, and aboue it is the castell of Striueling, which was sometime called the dolorous mountaine. At this towne also began the great Calidon wood, which ran through Spenteth and Stratherne, to Atholl and Lochquhaber, as Ptolome writeth in his first table.

In this wood were sometime white buls with thackit heares and curled manes like fierce lions, otherwise they were like vnto the tame, neuertheless so wild and sauage, that they would neuer be made familiar, nor tast of any hearbe or grasse that mans hand had once touched, after manie daies. Being taken also by the industrie of man (which was very hard to doe) they would refuse all sustentance, & starue themselves to death. As soone as any did inuade them, they would rush vpon him with great violence, and beare him to the earth; as for dogs, nets, or any kind of weapon they feared not, neither cared for any manner of engine.

It is said that Robert Bruce after his coronation did hunt one of these buls in the foresaid wood, being accompanied but with a small traine, in which boiage he escaped narrowlie with his life. For after the beast felt himselfe sore wounded by the hunters, he rushed vpon the king, who hauing now no weapon left in his hand therewith to defend himselfe, he had suerlie perished if rescue had not come: howbeit in this distresse one came running vnto him, who overthrew the bull by plaine force, and held him down till the hunters came that killed him outright. For this balliant act also the king indued the aforesaid partie with great possessions, and his lineage is to this daie called of the Turnebulls, because he over-turned the beast, and saued the kings life, by such great prowesse and manhood. Certes the flesh of these beasts were reputed in old time as a most de-

The description of Scotland.

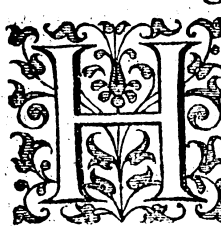
licate food, and onlie meate for the nobilitie, notwithstanding that it be verie full of finetis and gristles, whereat some delicat feeders doe often take offense. In times past also they were bred in many places of the Calidon, but now they be all consumed by the gluttonie of the inhabitants, so that none of them are left, but onlie in Comerland.

On the east side of Menteith lieth Stratherne, & bordereth also vpon Fife. Through the ballies likewise of this region runneth the water of Crn, that falleth into Tay. This is mozeouer worthie to be noted, that not foure miles from the confluence of Crn and Tay, there is a stone of small quantitie, and yet of great wonder, for in what place soeuer it be laid, it will not be removed from thence by manuell practice, art, or engine, & yet one man may so moue it as an hundred. On the other side of Tay beyond Angus and Cotwray lieth Strermond, a region plentifullie indued both with grasse and corne. Not farre from Strermond is Athole, wherein are manie noble ballies and riuers full of fish, as pikes, lamperns, &c. The soile there also is so bountifull, that it yeldeth corne in maner without any tillage. There is likewise therein a soile called Lud, whose felde are so plentiful, that (if they be well tilled and dressed) they will yeld great store of barlie without any sowing of seed. Wholbeit, as this is in that part of the region often verified, so in other there is a contrarious disposition to be found in the earth, which turneth wheat some into god and perfect rie, the like wherof I heare to be not far from Luke, & in the countries thereabouts.

West of Buchquhane and Borne lieth Wosge, well and Garcoth, very plentiful soiles both for grasse and corne. In Garcoth also is an hill called Doundore, that is to saie, the golden mounteine: for the shepe that feed thereon are yellow, and their teeth of the same hew, resembling burnished gold. Their flesh mozeouer is red as it were tinged with saffron, and so is their wooll much after the same manner. There is furthermore in the same region, an heape of stones lieng togither in maner of a crown which yeld a sound when one of them is stricken as if it were a bell. Some are of the opinion, that one idoll temple or other stood heretofore in that place, while the Scottish nation was addicted to the worshipping of diuels. Many other regions are in Scotland, as Wabaldane, Strabran, and Badzenoth, with diuers small territories and fouds, howbeit they are not so notable as those which we haue already touched, and therefore I thinke it but follie to deale any further with them.

Of the great plentie of hares, red deer,
and other wilde beasts in Scotland,
of the strange properties of sundrie
Scottish dogs, and of
the nature of
samon.

The eight Chapter.



Having made this speciall description of the realme of Scotland, now will I touch such things as concerne the same in generall. First of all therefore in the fields and wild places of the country there is great plentie of hares, red deer, fallow deer, roes, wild hares, wolues and fores. These hares are not gotten but by great flight and policie: for in the winter season the inhabitants

turne certeine tame hares & mares among them, wherewith they grow in the end to be so familiar, that afterward they go with them to and fro, and finally home into their maisters yards, where they be taken and some broken to their hands. The wolues are most fierce and noisome to the herds and flocks in all parts of Scotland, saving in one parcell of Angus, called Glennoys dale, where these beasts doe no manner of hurt vnto the domesticall cattell, but prey onlie vpon the wild.

Fores doe much mischefe generallie in all lands, but chiefly in the mountaines, where they be verie hardlie hunted, howbeit art hath devised a meane to prevent their malice, and to preserve their patria. Certes there is almost no house that doth not for certeine daies cherish by a yong fox, which the Scots doe call a Lodde, and then killing the same, they mince the flesh thereof amongst such meat, as they giue vnto their fowles and other little bests, and by this means so many foules and cattell as eate hereof are preserved from danger of the fox, almost by twy moneths after, so that they may wander whither they will, for the fores as it were winding or smelling the flesh of their fellows yet in their crops will in no wise meddle with them, but elshe, and knowe such a one, although it were among an hundred of other.

In Scotland also are dogs of maruelous condition; for beside the common nature and vniuersall properties of dogs of all other countries, there are three sorts with vs, which are not seene elswhere in any quarter of the worlde. The first is an hound of great swiftnesse, hardinesse, and strength, fierce and cruell vpon all wilde beasts, and eger against thieues that offer their maisters any violence. The second is a racy or hound verie exquisite in following the foot, (which we call dhalwing) whether it be of man or beast, yea he will pursue any manner of foule, and find out whatsoeuer fish is cast vp, or lurketh among the rocks, by that excellent sense of smelling wherewith he is indued. The third sort is no greater than that of raches, in colour for the most part red, with blacke spots, or else blacke and full of red marks. These are so skilfull that they will pursue a thiefe, or these stolen goods in most precise maner, and finding the trespasser, with great assurance they will make a raife vpon him. If it be so that he haue taken the water for his safegard, he shrinketh not to follow him, and entering and issuing at the same places where the partie went in and out, he neuer ceaseth to range till he haue noted his footing, & be come to the place wherein the thiefe is shrowded. The dogs of this kind are called sleuthhounds. Certes this report would seeme meere incredible, except it were daily had in experience vpon the borders of England and Scotland, where pillage is good purchase in differentlie on both sides. There is a law also among the borderers in time of peace, that whoso denieth entrance or sute of a sleuthhound in pursuit made after felons and stolen goods, shall be holden as accessory vnto the theft, or taken for the selfe thiefe.

Of foules, such (I meane) as live by prey, there are sundrie sorts in Scotland, as eagles, falcons, goshawkes, sparrowhawkes, marlions, and such like: but of water foules there is so great store, that the report thereof may seeme to exceed all credit. There are other kinds of birds also in this countrie, the like of which is nowhere else to be seene, as the capercailze or wild harte greater in bodie than the rauen, and liuing onlie by the rinds and barks of the pine trees. We haue in like maner manie more cocks and hens, the which abstaining from corne, doe feed vpon nought else, but the leaues of Cyttus, which the Scots doe commonlie call spadder. These

These flos are verie delicate in eating. The third sort is reddish blacke of colour, in quantitie comparable to the pheasant, and no lesse delicious in taste and savor at the table, our countrie men call them wild cocks, and their chiefe sustenance is by wheat.

Beside these, we haue also another soule in Pers more strange and vncouth than all these afore mentioned, called a gusard, fullie so great as a swan, but in colour of feathers and tast of flesh, little differing from a partridge, howbeit these birds are not verie common, neither to be seene in all places, such also is their qualittie, that if they perceiue their eggs to haue bene touched in their absence by mans hand (which lie commonlie on the bare earth) they forsake those nests, and laie in other places. All other our soules are common to vs and other nations. Saman is more plentiful in Scotland than in anie other region of the world, and because the nature of this fish is strange, I will set downe so much as I doe know hereof at this present time as followeth.

The samon in harvest time cometh by into the small riuers, where the water is most shallow, and there the male and female rubbing their wombe one against another, they shed their spawne, which forthwith they couer with sand and grauell and so depart away. From henceforth they are gant and slender, and in appearance so leane that they appeare nought else but skin and bone, and therefore worthilie said to be growne out of use and season. It is said also that if they touch anie of their fall fellowes, during the time of this their leanness, the same side which they touched will likewise become leane, whereby it cometh to passe, that a samon is oft seene to be fat on the one side of the chine, and leane on the other. But to proceed, the aforesaid spawne and milt being hidden in the sand (as you haue heard) in the next spring doth yeld great number of little frye, but so nesh and tender for a long time, that till they come to be so great as a mans finger (if you catch anie of them) you shall perceiue them to melt, and their substance to dissolue and fade euen as it were gellie, or as yce laid forth against the sun. From henceforth they go to the sea, where within the space of 20 daies they grow to a marvellous greatnesse, and then returning againe toward the place of their generation, they shew a notable spectacle not vnworthie to be considered.

Certes in Scotland there are manie linnies or poles, which being in some places among the rocks verie shallow about, are yet deepe beneath, with the fall of the water, and thereto the samon not able to pearce through the channell, either for swiftnesse of the course, or depth of the descent of such water as cometh against him, he goeth so neere vnto the side of the rocke or dam, if I may so call it, as he may, and there aduentureth to leape ouer and vp into the lin, if he leape well at the first he obtaieth his desire, if not, he attaieth the second or third time, till he returne now vnto his countrie: a great fish able to swim against the streame, that before was a little bod, and maugre his resistance, caried with the violent course of the water into the maine ocean. Such as assaye often to leape, and cannot get ouer, do byrse themselves and become measelled: others that happen to fall vpon drie land, a thing often seene, are taken by the people (that watch their times) in caldrons of hot water, which they set vpon the shallow & drie plots with fire vnder them, in hope to catch the fattest, & such as by reason of their weight do oftentimes leape short. Certes the tast of these is reputed to be most delicate, and therefore their price is commonlie greater than of the rest. It is inhibited in Scotland to take any samon from the 8 of September, vntill the 15 of Nouember. Finally there is no man that

knoweth readilie whereon this fish liueth, for neuer was anie thing yet found in their bellies, other than a thicke slimie humoz.

Of the sundrie kinds of muskles and cockles in Scotland, and of pearles gotten in the same: of the vncouth and strange fish there to be seene, and of the nature of the herbe Citilus, commonly called Hadder.

The ninth Chapter.

Here it resteth that I shew the nature of muskles and cockles, wherof we haue manie and sundrie kinds among vs: of these also some are small, and yet if they be eaten fresh, are not without a naturall delicacie in tast. Others are greater and not unlike in forme and quantitie to those that haue the purple: and albeit that they are bitterlie void therof, yet is their meat and substance right pleasant in the eating. There are of another sort which are longer and greater than either of these, called Horse muskles, to be had in Dee and Done, and in these are the pearles ingendered. Certes they loue to be resident in the deepest and clearest waters that are void of mud and filth, and such is their estimation among the deintiest kinds of food, that they were not vnworthilie called of old time, widowes luffes. Their shelles also is as it were wrought euen from the verie tops, and thereto full of spots, where in (as in yeld of gaine) they farre exceed all other. These earlie in the morning, in the gentle, cleare, and calme aire, lift vp their vpper shelles and mouethes a little aboue the water, and there receiue of the fine and pleasant breath or dew of heauen, & afterwards according to the measure and quantitie of this vitall force receiued, they first conceiue, then swell, and finally produce the pearle.

They are so sensible and quicke of hearing, that although you standing on the braie or banke aboue them, doe speake neuer so softly, or throw neuer so small a stone into the water, yet they will deserue you, and settle againe to the bottome, without returne for that time. Doubtlesse they haue as it were a naturall carefulnesse of their owne commoditie, as not ignorant, how great estimation we mortall men make of the same amongst vs, and therefore so soone as the fishermen doe catch them, they bind their shelles together, for otherwise they would open and shed their pearles of purpose, for which they know themselves to be pursued. Their manner of apprehension is this, first foure or fve persons go into the riuer together, by vnto the shoulders, and there stand in a compasse one by another with poles in their hands whereby they rest more suerlie, with they fix them in the ground, and staie with one hand vpon them: then casting their eyes downe to the bottome of the water, they espie where they lie by their shining and cleerenesse, and with their toes take them by (for the depth of the water will not suffer them to scape for them) & glue them to such as stand next them.

The pearls that are so gotten in Scotland, are not of small value, they are verie orient & bright, light and round, and sometimes of the quantitie of the naille of ones little finger, as I haue had and seene by mine owne experience. Almost such another muskle found on the coast of Spaine, the shels whereof are gathered by such as go in pilgrimage to saint James, and brought into Scotland, but they are without

Cardane describeth this, lib 7. de Subtilitate.

without pearls, because they live in salt water, which is an enemy to the margarite : but Cardane also denyeth it. In all the sea coasts also of Scotland are cockles and mussels of the same forme, but without this commoditie. Many vncouth and strange shapcs of fish likewise are seene there, whereof some are armed with shels, some with hard skales, and others round as a ball skinned like an yxon or hedg hog, hauing but one cundit both for purgation of their excrementes, and reception of their sustenance. To shew euery kind of fish that is in Scotland, it were but a vaine trauell, sith the same are knowne almost in euery region.

In like sort, we haue such plentie of fish vpon our
seuerall coasts, that although milians and infinite
numbers of them be taken on the one daie, yet on
the next their losse will be so supplied with new store,
that nothing shall be missing by reason of the yester-
fang: so bountifull is God in these his benefits vnto
vs. Furthermore, there is another gift bestowed
vpon vs by the singular prouidence of God. For the
greater dearth & penurie of flesh and corne is scene
in Scotland, the greater store of fish is taken vpon
our shores. In like sort, in the deserts and wild places
of this realme, there groweth an hearbe of it selfe
called Hadder or Hather verie delicat, as Columel-
la lib. 9. cap. 4. saith, for goats & all kind of cattell to
feed vpon, and likewise for diuerse foules, but bees es-
peciallie. This herbe in June yeldeth a purple
floure. Sweet as honie, whereof the Picts in time past
did make a pleasant drinke, and verie wholesome for
the bodie: but forsomuch as the manner of making
hereof is perished in the hauocke made of the Picts,
when the Scots subdued their countrie, it lieth not
in me to set downe the order of it, neither sheweth
they euer the learning hereof to any but to their
owne nation. Finallie there is no part of Scotland
so barren and vnpopitable, but it produceth either
iron or some other kind of mettall, as may be pro-
ued easilie throughout all the Isles that are annexed
to the same.

Galen.lib.7.de
Antidotis sai=
eth that Citi=
sus is no her³
but a shrub,
and so dweth
Plinie lib.12.
cap.3. lib.13.
cap.24. lib 16.
chap.38. And
Columella in
the end of his
5. booke, where
he accompteth
it amōg trees:

Of the Isles of Scotland, and such
notable things as are to be
found in them.

The tenth Chapter.

Being fallen at the last in-
to mention of our Isles, I
will adressed my selfe to de-
scribe the same; in manner
and forme as followeth. At
the Irish sea, betwixt Ire-
land and Scotland are fortie
and three Isles, whereof some
are thirtie miles long, diuers twelue, and others
more or lesse. These are called by some writers Eu-
bonia, and by other Hebrides. But the principall of
them all is that of Man, which lieth ouer against
Galloway, & was somtime the principall seat of the
Druides, as Cornelius Tacitus, Cæsar in his com-
mentaries, and other Roman writers doe testifie at
large. North from the Ile of Man lieth Arran, o-
therwise named Botha after S: Wandons time;
who dwelled there in a little cottage; which (as all o-
ther the like were in those daies) was called Botha.
From Arran we go to Hellaw and Rothelaw, which
later is so named of the Scot, which brought the
Scots first out of Ireland into Britaine. Not far
from this Ile is Ailsay, where there is such store of
soland geese as they said before to be in Was. Be-
yond Ailsay lie manie other distinguished by their se-

werall names, but full of mines, as of iron, tin, lead, & sundrie other mettals. But the most notable Ile be longing to Scotland is Fla, that lieth beyond the promontorie of Prouant cliffe (in Sect. the tange of Noxie) within sight of Lochquahabze. Certes it is a rich parcell, thirtie miles in length, and full of corne and mettall, if the people were cunningg to find and trim the same.

Not farre from thence is Cumbra, and Gula, sub
tie so large as Fla, both for length and breadth. In
Gula is a faire spring two miles from the sea, from
whence runneth a little brooke or strippet, whereof
you shall read more in the description of Britaine,
lib. 1. cap. 8. Neere unto it is Zona, otherwise cal-
led Columkill, in which is an abbie, wherein the kings
of Scotland were commonlie buried from the time
of Fergus the second, unto Dalcolme Cammo, of
whoe created the monastierie of Dunfermlin, where
since that time the most part of our kings haue
bene of custome interred. Passing forward toward
the northnorthwest seas, euer againsts Roffe is an
Ile named Lewis, 60 miles in length, in this Ile is
but one fish riuer, & it is said that if a woman wade
through the same at the spring of the yeere, there
shall no famon be seene there for a twelue month af-
ter, whereas otherwise that fish is knowne to abound
there in verie great plentie. Beyond Lewis lie the
Sky and the Hona, in the later whereof, it is incre-
dible to saie what of scale, of pellocke and porpasse is
to be seene, which are nothing abashed at the sight of
any man. The last and bittermost Ile is named Heth-
tha, where the eleuation of the pole is 63 degrees,
and since the latitude of Man, is but 57.

I conclude, that from the Ile of Man the first Ile of Albion, to Wirtha the last Ile hercof are 377 miles, after 62 miles and an halfe to each degre, as Ptolomie hath set downe. It is named Wirtha, which in Irish soundeth so much as a shepe in English, for herein that kind of cattell aboundeth, each one being greater than any bucke, their hoznes longer and thicker than of the bugle, and thereto they haue side tailes that reach vnto the earth. It is enuironed ouer euerie part with rockie or rockie crags, whereby few vessels may land there but at one place, where the working of the sea is oftentimes so terrible & rough, that no man dare adventure thither without danger of his life. They that go thither therefore, doe watch their times when the sea is calme and still. In the moneth of June also, a priest commeth vnto them out of Lewis, and ministrerth the sacrament of baptism to all the chyldren that haue bene borne there since that moneth in the yeare precedent: which being done, and a certeine number of masses said, he receiuerth tithes of all their commodities, and then returneth home againe.

In the Ile of Lewis are two churches or chapels, whereof one is dedicated to saint Peter, another to saint Clement. The same is, that so soone as the fire goeth out in this Ile, the man that is holden of most cleane and innocent life, goeth to the altar with great solemnitie, and there lateth a wispe of straw, which being done they fall all to praier, in the midst whereof fire commeth downe from heauen and kindleth or setteth the same on fire. Beyond this is yet another Ile, but void of people and all other liuing creatures, sauing a certeine kind of beasts like vnto shepe, whose nature and forme I haue already toucht in the description of Brittain, and therefore omit it here for hast and breuittie sake. Betweene these Isles also is a right dangerous passage, with the sea by working of opposite streames hath engendred a gulf, which sometimes taketh in an incomprehensible deale of water, and sometimes calleteth it forth againe, by meanes whereof many ships that

that by rage of wind and weather are inforced to come that waite, are either swallowed by the waues, or throtone against the rocks to their utter danger and ruine. The greatest rage of this confluence is at a place called Cozebucke, where it will either sinke, or at the least wise draw any ship vnto it, though it be a full mile distant from the same.

Of the nature of the Claik geese,
and sundrie maners of their pro-
creation, and of the Ile
of Thule.

The eleuenth Chapter.

NOW it is come to hand that I intreat of those geese which are ingendred by the sea, whose procreation hath hitherto been thought to haue bene made vpon trees. But the opinion is false, and yet with their generation is strange indeed, I haue not a little travelled, and with no small diligence in deuoured to search out the truth hereof, whereby I learne that their ingendure is rather to be referred to the sea, than any thing els, if my coniecture be oughts: for although that they are in sundrie wise produced, yet I find the same to be performed continuallie in the sea, and not elswhere, as shall appere hereafter. All trees cast into that element in procelle of time become wormeaten, and in the holes thereof are the said wormes to be found, though verie little and small (in comparison to that they be after ward) to be perceived at the first. In the beginning, these worms do shew their heads and feet, and last of all their plumes & wings. Finally when they are come to the iust measure and quantitie of geese, they lie in the aire as other foules do.

This was notable proued in the yeare of Grace 1490, in sight of many people, beside the castell of Pedego, whither the bodie of a great tree was brought by working of the sea. This tree being taken, it was carried to the lord of the soile, who some after caused it to be slit in sunder with a saw: which being done, it is incredible to see, what a multitude of wormes came out of their holes. Of these also some appeared as if they had bene but new shapen, others had head, feet and wings, but no feathers, the rest were formed into perfect foules. At last when the people had gazed thereon by the space of an whole daie, they carried it to saint Andrewes church beside Leith, where the said blocke remains still to be seene. Within two yeeres after there hapned such another tree to come into the fieth of Tay beside Dundee, wormeaten and full of yong geese after the same manner: the third was seene in the haven of Leith beside Edenburgh; and also within a few yeeres, in like sort a ship named the Christopher, after she had lien three yeeres at anchor in one of these Isles, was brought to Leith, where because her timber was found to be rotten she was taken in sunder, and in her keele were found infinite holes as if they had bene eaten with wormes, or bored with a winkle, and each one of them filled with such creatures as I haue said before.

Here if any man will alledge that the Christopher was builded of such timber onlie as groweth in these Isles, and that all roots and trees there growing, are of such nature as in their corruption do turne into these foules, I will disprove his assertion by one notable example theines before mine eyes. Master A-

lexander Galloway parson of Birkell, was with vs in these Isles, & giuing his mind with attentive diligence to search out a full resolution with vs of these obscure and hidden matters, it hapned on a time that he toke by a branch of Alga, called in Scottish, Seat-angle, which hanged full of muskle shels from the root euen to the verie top. Being also desirous to see what was in them, he grew to be more astonished than before: for when he had opened one or two of them, he saw no fish but a foule perfectie shapen, fullie answering to the capacite of the shell.

Finally, knowing that I was verie inquisitive of these and the like rare nouelties, he came hither with the said herbe & shewed it vnto me, who found no lesse by experience than I before reported. By these and many other reasons and examples I cannot beleue that these Claiks (or Barnacles as I call them) are produced either by the qualities of the trees or the roots thereof, but onelie by the nature of the sea, which is the verie cause and productrix of so manie wonderfull creatures. Furthermore, because the rude and ignorant people saw oftentimes the fruits that fell from trees, which stood neuer in the sea, conuerted within short time into geese, they beleued that these geese grew vpon trees, hanging by their nebs as apples and other fruit do by their stalks, but their opinion is bitterlie to be reiected. For so soone as these apples or fruit fall from the tree into the sea, they grow first to be wormeaten, and in procelle of time to be conuerted into geese.

Thus haue I spoken sufficientlie of the Isles of the Hebrides adiacent vnto the realme of Scotland, and therewithall would shut vp my discourse of the same, were it not that I haue somewhat to say also of Thule, not unknowne vnto the Romans, as may appere by Tacitus, who telleth how the Romane nauie by the commandement of Agricola, was sent to view the coasts of the whole Island of Brittain, and at their returne reported how they had seene the Thule, with other Islands lieng about the same. Ptoleme writeth that the Ile of Thule is one of the Shetland Isles, which lie nere vnto Norway, and beyond the Orchades; but this cannot be proued so by late experience: for Thule is manie miles distant from Shetland. Some say that Thule is the same which we call Island: other write that it is the last Ile of the ocean sea, and so is Island, which lieth in the cold frostie sea, beyond the Arctike circle toward the north pole. The people of Island because no corne groweth among them, liue onelie by fish, which they drie and powder so small as meale both come backe from the mill, afterward they mix it with water, and worke it vp for bread.

Of the description of Orkeney, and
Shetland, with sundrie other small Isles,
and of the maners and conditions of the
people dwelling in the same.

The twelfe Chapter.

BEYOND the Isles of Scotland lie those of Orkeney, partlie toward the north-west, and partlie toward the Almain seas. The principall Ile of these is called Pomona, wherein is a bishoppe, and two strong castles. In these groweth no wheat, they are in like sort void of wood, howbeit all other graine groweth there verie plentifully, they be without all venomous beasts also, neither can such as are brought thither liue anye while.

while, more than in Ireland, which susteineth no creature that is aduersarie to mankind.ouer and besides this, there are no frogs: as for eeles they are selborne found and to be seene in the Orkades. Having thus fallen into the mention of Ireland, I thinke it good among diuers other rare gifts of nature, to remember one thing that I haue proued by experience to be done there (although the tractation of Ireland and his commodities apperteine not to this place) which farre passeth all that euer I haue read in booke.

Certes there is a loch, lin, or poole there, nere vnto the which by manie miles, there groweth neither herbe nor tree; howbeit such is the qualitie of this water, that if a stake be pitched in the same, the nature thereof doth within one yeres space alter and change exceedinglie, for that part thereof which standeth in the ground is conuerted into hard stone, the same that is inuironed with water turneth into tough iron, onelie that portion which is aboue the said element reteining his former wooddie substance, whereby it is often seene how in one and the same bodie, these distinct substances are found, that is to say, stone, iron, and wood, which farre exceedeth all credit. But to returne againe to our Orkades, whereof things of little or no lesse importance are to be reherfed, for sith there is great abundance of barley thereof they make the strongest ale that is to be found in Albion, and thereto knowne, that they are the greatest drinkers of anie men in the world; yet was there neuer drunken or man disguised with drinke seene there, neither anie soole, or person otherwise bereft of his wits through frensie or madness. There is herevnto small vse of physicke: for mankind liueth there most commonlie vnto extreme age in sound and perfect health, whose bodies also are of strong constitution and verie white of colour.

The ewes that are to be found in these Islands haue for the most part two or three lambs a peece at euerie eaning, and therewithall they haue in this countrie such plentie of foules both wild and tame, as the like number againe is not to be found in Britaine. Their horses are litle greater than the French asses, but in their labour they exceed all other. What should I speake of the plentie of fish there to be had, which passeth all credit: among which there is one sort greater than anie horse, of a marvellous and incredible sluggish desire to sleepe. This fish when they prouideth to sleepe, fasteneth his huge teeth vpon some crag that lieth aboue the water, and then slumbzeth or falleth into a most sound rest, which the seafaring men espiong, they forthwith cast anchor, and then letting downe their ship-boats, they conueie themselves to the fish, and bore a great hole through his taile, wherevnto they put one end of a cable, and so make it sure; the other end is fastened to a great anchor, which is let fall of purpose into the sea, and this is their enterprize attempted per long to be achieved. For after this wound, it is not long per the fish awaketh, who feeling himselfe to be hurt, leapeeth at once into the sea, thinking to hide and shrowd his in the deepes: but being staied by the weight of the anchor, and inuoluing in vaine to breake the cable, he laboureth so vehementlie, that at the last he windeth his selfe out of his skin (for the which he is commonlie taken) and some after also turneth vpon his bellie, yielding himselfe vnto the waues, and his bodie to the mariners, who make an excellent oile of his grease, and passing strong cables of his hide or skin. Certes such is the force of rope made of the skin of this fish, that they will hold at a plunge no lesse than the Spanish sparto. Herein also they exceed the same, in that they will continue verie long without fretting asunder.

An hundred miles beyond the Orkades are the

Shetland Isles, whose chiefe commodities stand onelie by fish which is dried in the sun. There are brought also into Scotland out of these Islands great store of shepes felles, ore hides, goates skinnies, and calves of martirnes dried in the sunne. And in the same maner the merchants of Holland, Zealand and Germanie, fetch them pærelle by barter and exchange for other common and necessarie wares, with the people of that nation, who for maners and conditions resemble much the Orkanois. The same in like sort that is said of the Orkanois, concerning drunkenness and frensie, is verified on them, as is also their length of life, although not in so rare maner: sith these in stead of strong ale, content themselves with water, and verie slender diet. Beyond the Shetlands there are diuerse other Islands of like condition, but without corne and all maner of flesh to feed vpon. These drie their fish in the sunne, and when they are through stiffe, they grind them to small powder, which they worke vp with water into loaves, and so vse the same in lieu of other bread. Their firing consisteth of the bones of such fishes as they take, and yet they content themselves in such maner with this their poze kind of liuelode, that they thinke their estate most happie in respect of such as inhabit in the maine.

Certes there is no quarrelling amongst these for wealth or gaine, but each one prouideth such store of fish in summer which he taketh himselfe, as shall find his familie, or keepe his house in winter. They are void of all ambitious mood, and neuer troubled with ciuill or forein warres, as men that deeme firme peace and quietnesse, with mutuall loue and amitie, to be the chiefe felicitie to be sought for in this life, and to remaine herein, each one to his power doth shew his whole indouor. This finaltie is to be added vnto their commendation, that they are simple, plaine, void of craft, and all maner of serpentine subtiltie, which endeth commonlie with mischief, and reigneth in the maine. Once in the yere there cometh a priest vnto them from Orkeney, (of which diocesse they are) who ministrerth vnto them the sacrament of baptisme, and after a certaine time (hauling taken vp in the meane time his tithes in fish, which is their sole increase, and verie trulle paid) he returneth home againe the same way that he came.

If anie gifts of nature are to be numbered as parcels of worlde riches and renowne, they are not without these also: for the people of these Isles are lustie, faire, strong of bodie, and high of stature, so that nature hath not failed to indue them with these things, and that in most excellent maner. What should I say of their health, which is and may be preferred aboue all treasure, as they well know that are oppressed with long and greivous infirmities: For here among these men, you shall verie selborne heare of sicknesses, so attach anie, until extreme age come that killeth them altogether, and this is that exceeding benigne naturallie appropriated vnto their carcases. As for their quietnesse of mind, it is at times such as is constant, and changeable, and therefore incomparable vnto any riches or huge masse of worlde lie treasure.

Herevnto furthermore, if it be true riches (as it is in deed) for eue one not to covet other mens goods, but to content himselfe with that which is his owne, and not to stand in need of anie thing, can anie man be found in anie other region more rich and contented than the Shetland men and these Islanders: For nallie, if those be the true honors, and recurrent vnties which the obsequious world with great incerttie and void of all starrtie, doth shew vnto his god parents, and wherevntoall the drift is now marvellouslie

Dr Matthio-
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lie resolute and desire themselves: And that these are also not wanting in these regions, can we easily say that these men do lacke any thing, or shall we not rather asseme with great assurance, that they rather stand in need of nothing that any mortal man can lustie wish or desire?

But if there be any man that will accuse me of untruth in the recitall of these things, as one that lieth lowd and by authoritie of a people dwelling far off, for so much as I my selfe was neuer in those lands, he shall vnderstand that I learned all these things of the reuerend father Edward bishop of the Orkades, with whom one of these Islanders dwelled, who not onelie made a like rehearsall of these things with his owne mouth, but also verified the same in his owne person, for his height far passed the common stature of men, thereto he was excellentlie well featured in his lims, so white of skin ouer all, that he might contend in beantie with any ladie of the land, and finally so white and strong of bodie, that no man in all those quarters durst run or wrestle with him. Hereby also we may see, how far they are deceiued which iudge them to be barbarous, and miserable creatures, that inhabit far from the tropike lines, for there are no people more happye than those that dwell in these quarters, as I haue proued already.

Furthermore, among the rocks and crags of these Isles groweth the delectable amber, called *E-lestrum*, *Chrysolitrum*, or (as Dioscorides saith) *Pterygophoron*, indued with so vehement an attractive force, that being chased it draweth straw, flor, and other like light matter vnto it. This gum is ingendred of the sea froth, which is thowen vp by continuall percussion of crags and rocks against the sea walls, and through perpetuall working of the waues groweth in time to become tough as glue, till it fall at the last from the rocke againe into the sea. Such as haue often viewed and marked the generation of this gum, whilest it hangeth on the rocke, asseme it to be like a froth and bubble of water without all massie sadnesse, because that as yet it is not sufficientlie hardened by the working of the element. Sometimes the Seetangle is found inuironed also withall, because it is driuen hither and thither by the working of the waues, and so long as it fleets to and fro in this manner, so long is it apt to cleaue to any thing that it toucheth.

Two yeares before I wrote this booke, there came a great lumpe of amber into Buchquhane, in quantitie so big as any house, which the heardmen that kept their cattell nere hand caught vp, and not knowing in deed what it was, they caried it home, and threw a portion thereof into the fire: finally, perceiving a sweet and delectable sauer to proceed from the same, they ran by & by to the priest of the towne where they dwelled, telling him how they had found a peece of stuffe which would serue verie well in stead of frankincense, wherewith to perfume his saints or rather Idols in the church. These men supposed that sir John had bene more cunning than themselves, but contrarie to their expectation, it fell out that he was no lesse vnskillfull & void of knotologie than they; and therefore refusing the whole lumpe, he took but a small portion thereof, and returned the rest vnto them, whereby it came to little profite and lesse gaine among the common sort, who suffered it to perishe by reason of their vnskillfulnesse. Certes when they broke it in peeces, it resembled in color vnto the purest gold, & shined as if it had bene the laie or flame of a candle. Herein also the proverbe was proued true, that the low recks not of valye. But to come as I vnderstand of the matter, I used such diligence, that one portion thereof was brought to

me at Aberdeen. And thus much of the *Hebrides*, *Orkades*, and *Shetland* Isles subiect vnto the Scottish regiment.

I might (no doubt) haue made rehearsall of diuers other strange things touching the nothing in this behalfe: but I haue made chosse onelie of the most rare and excellent, and so would finish this description, were it not that one thing hath staied me right pleasant to be remembred, as an vncomly & strange incident, wherof maister James Ogilbie ambassadour from James our king (among other) vnto the king of France, hath certified me, and wherof he had experience of late, at such time as he was constrained by tempest of weather to get to land in Norwaye. Thus standeth the case, being dytuen (as I said) vpon the shore of Norwaye, he and his companie saw a kind of people ranging vp & downe in the mounteins there, much like vnto those which diuers pictures giue forth for wild men, hearte and eglic to behold. In the end being aduertised that they were sauage and wild beasts; yet neuerthelesse deable enemies to mankind: they vnderstood therevnto, that although in the day time they abhorred and feared the sight of man, yet in the night they would by great companies invade the small villages & countrie townes, killing and fleeing so manie as they found, or where no dogs were kept to put by their rage and furie.

Certes such is their nature, that they stand in great feare of dogs, at whose barking and sight they flie and run away with no small hast and terror, wherfore the inhabitants are inforced to cherishe great numbers of the said beasts, thereby to keepe off those wild men that otherwise would annoy them. They are moreover of such strength, that sometimes they pull vp young trees by the roots to fight withall among themselves. The ambassadours seeing these vncomly creatures, were not a little affrighted, and therefore to be sure from all inuasion, procured a strong garrd to watch all night about them, with great fiers to giue light ouer all that quarter, till on the morrow that they toke the sea, and so departed thence. Finally, the Norwegians shewed them, that there was another people not far off, which liued all the summer time in the sea like fish, & fed of such as they did catch, but in the winter half (because the water is cold) they pished vpon such wild beasts as fed on the mounteins, which coming downe from the snowie hills to graze in the vallies, they killed with darts and weapons, and caried vnto their cates. In this exercise also they tie little boyds to their feet, which beate them vp from sinking into the snow, and so with a trasse in their hands they make the better shift to clime vp and come downe from the crags & mounteins, whereof in that region there is verie great plentie and abundance.

Of the maners of the Scots in these daies, and their comparison with the behaviour of the old, and such as liued long since with their ancestors.

The xiiij. Chapter.



As much as diuers noble men haue desired me to shew apert the old maners of the Scots touched in my historie, to the end it may be knowne how far our nation in these present daies are different in their maners and behauiour.

behaviour from those of our forefathers, and hereunto although I assure my selfe already that the revealing of these things will procure unto me the hatred of sundrie worthy or renowned personages (of which few will yield to heare their doings touched or their errors reproved) yet because I owe such dutie and service unto those that have made this request unto me, and least I should seeme ingrate not to hearken unto them in this behalfe; I have condescended to the performance of their desires, and so much the rather, for that they alledge how it will be verie profitable unto all the readers, but especially such as are not immoderately given over unto their owne affections, nor so wholly drowned in their owne sensualitie and pleasures, but upon consideration of wholesome admonition will be verie willing to leaue whatsoever offendeth in them.

First of all therefore, I will declare what vices have bene among our elders both in time of warre and peace, and by what wisdom and industrie they have prevailed so long time against such and so many mightie adversaries, as first the Britains, then the Saxons, next of all the Danes which have entered into this Island with huge armies to spoile and subdue the same. Furthermore, I will set downe with so much brevitie as I can, how the falling by little and little from the frugalitie and customs of their forefathers, their vertue and force also began in like order to decaye. And finally how in these daies either by the clemencie of our neighbours, or by their delicate negligence rather than by our owne provellence, we live in securitie, and thereby as it were overwhelmed and wrapped up in all avarice and excess, whereinto our want of exercise and martiall provellence doth marvellously impell us.

Certes I beleve that by this meanes such as are of the more couragious sort (& yet retaining a savour of the temperancie of their elders) will reioice to heare their manhood & great provellence commended in this wise, as others of the contrarie sort (in servile manner addicted to gather goods, and spend their times in idle excess and riot) seeing their errors justlie reprehended, and the dishonour gotten thereby openly revealed, will the rather adressed themselves to reformation of their estate, thereby to recover the ancient renowne of their forefathers, in answering to their provellence, than prove a reproch unto their successors, through their lewd behaviours never to be forgiven. This I protest before all men, that whatsoever I shall speake of the evil maners of our times, I do not meane it unto all, but those onely whome blind self-love, covetousnes, intemperancie, excess and abuse of all Gods good gifts have so touched, that they deserve much more to be reprehended than I will vouchsafe to attempt in this my lateward treatise. Therefore if anie man shall thinke himselfe to be rubbed on the gall by me, I counsell him that he conceale not his infirmities, by seeking revenge on other men, but rather endeavour to procure the remedie in first acknowledging his misdoings, which is the one and better halfe of his cure.

Our elders although they were right vertuous both in warre abroad, and at home in peace, were yet neverthelesse in conversation & behaviour verie temperate, which is the fountaine & originall of all vertues. In feede they were competent, in meate and drinke sober, and contented with such food as was ready at hand and prepared with little cost. Their bread consisted of such stuff as grew most readily on the ground without all manner of sowing and bolting, whereby to please the palate; but baked up as it came from the mill with out anie such curiositie, which is a great abasing of the force thereof unto

our daile nourishment. The first whereon they chiefly fed, was either such as they got by hunting, wherein they took great delight, and which increased not a little their strength and nimblenesse, or else such tame catell as they bred up at home, whereof beefe was accounted the principall, as it is yet in our daies, though after another maner and far discrepant from the use and custome of other countries. The stirkes or young beastes ungelded, whether kill young for beale, or geld, to the end that they may serve afterwarde for tillage in earing up of the ground, but the cowcalkes and heifers are never killed till they be with calfe, for then are they fattest and most delicious to the mouth. The common meat of our elders was fish, howbeit not onlie or so much for the plentie thereof, as for that our lands late often wast and untilld, because of the great warres which they commonlie had in hand. They brake also their fast earlie in the morning with some slender repast, and so continued without anie other diet untill supper time, in which they had but one dish, whereby it came to passe, that their stomachs were never overcharged, nor their bones desirous of rest through the fulnesse of their bellies. At such time as they determined of set purpose to be merie, they used a kind of Aquavite void of all spice, and onelie consisting of such hearbs & roots as grew in their owne gardens, otherwise their common drinke was ale: but in time of warre, when they were enforced to lie in campe, they contented themselves with water as rediest for their turnes. Each souldier also had so much meale as might serve him for a daie which he made up in cakes, and baked on the coles, as the Romans sometimes used to do, and the emperor Caracalla himselfe (as Herodian hath remembred.) Seldome did they eate anie flesh in their tents, except they got it from their adversaries; such as they had likewise was eaten halfe raw, because they supposed the twice thereof so used to nourish verie abundantly. But fish was much more plentifull amongst them, especially when they wanted their usuall prey, or could not attaine unto them.

They brought furthermore from their houses to the field with them, a vessell of butter, chese, meale, milke, and vineger tempered together as a shot-anchore against extreme hanger, on which they would feed and sucke out the moisture, when other provision could not be gotten. In like maner, whensoever they had entered into league and amitie with their enemies, they would not live in such securitie, that thereby they would suffer their bodies & forces to degenerat, but they did keepe themselves in their former activitie and nimblenesse of lims, either with continuall hunting (a game greatly esteemed amongst our ancestors) or with running from the hilles unto the vallies, or from the vallies unto the hilles, or with wrestling, and such kinds of pastime whereby they were never idle. Their heads were alwaies shaven after the maner of the ancient Spaniards, with a little tuft of heare onelie left on their foreparts, and never covered, except when they were troubled with sicknesse, by which means it came to passe, that few of our nation in old time was faine to be bald and hearelesse. They went also barefooted, or if they had anie shoes, they dyed them first in the water per they did put them on, especially in winter when sharpest weather shewed it selfe, to the end that the soles of their feet (which were well hardened in summer with heat and in winter with cold) might be more strong and able to susteine great labour and daile travell.

Their apparrell was not made for beautie and pompe, but as should seme best to cover their bodies, and

and serue their appointed vices, their hosen were shapen also of linnen or woollen, which neuer came higher than their knees, their breeches were for the most part of henrye, clothes also they had for winter made of course woll, but in the summer time they ware of the finest that could be gotten. They slept moreouer either vpon the bare stowe or pallets of straw, teaching their children euen from their infancy to eschew ease, and practise the like hardnesse; and sith it was a cause of suspicion of the mothers fidelitie toward hir husband, to seeke a strange nurse for hir children (although hir milke failed) each woman would take intolerable paines to bring vp and nourish hir owne children. They thought them surthermore not to be kindlie fostered, except they were so well nourished after their births with the milke of their breasts, as they were before they were borne with the blood of their owne bellies, nay they feared least they should degenerat and grow out of kind, except they gaue them sucke themselves, and eschewed strange milke, therefore in labour and painfulnesse they were equall, & neither sex regarded the heat in summer or cold in winter, but travelled barefooted, and in time of warres the men had their carriages and victuals trusted behind them on their horses, or else vpon their owne shoulders without refusall of anie labour intioined vnto them by their captains.

If it hapened them at anie time to be vanquished, they fled with such speed to the mounteins, that no horse might ouertake them, and verie oft escaped. The violence that was done to anie one of them, was reputed common to all, & such was their deadly fude conceived in these cases, that vntill they had requited the like with more extremitie, they would neuer be quiet nor let go their displeasure. The noblest and most courageous gentleman would sonest desire to be placed in the fore ward, where his vassalage or seruice & manhood should readiest be scene, and such was the friendship of the nobilitie amongst themselves, that whilst they contended which of them should be most faithfull and friendlie to other, they would oft fall out, and quarell one with another. Sometimes it hapened that their capitaine was beset with extreme perill, or peraduenture some other of the nobilitie, in which cases they that were of his band would suddenlie rush in through the thickest of their enemies vnto him, and deliuer him, or else if they could not so do, they would altogether lose their liues with him, thinking it a perpetuall note of reproch to ouerlue their leader.

The graves and sepulchers of our noble men had commonlie so manie obelisks and spires pitched about them, as the deceased had killed enemies before time in the field. If anie souldier had bene found in the field without his sint and timber box, or had walked or gone vp and downe with his sword at his side, and not naked in his hand, for then vsed they light armour for the most part, he was terrible scourged: but he that sold or morgaged his weapon, was forthwith cut from his companie, and banished as an erile; he that fled or went from the battell without leave of his capitaine, was slaine wheresoeuer he was met afterward, without anie iudgement or sentence, and all his goods confiscated to the prince. Their light armour in those daies consisted of the lance, the bow, the long sword which hanged at the side of the owner, and thereto a backler, but afterward heavier armour came into generall vsage.

In these daies also the women of our countie were of no lesse courage than the men, for all stout maidens & viues (if they were not with child) marched as well in the field as did the men, and so some

as the armie did set forward, they slue the first living creature that they found, in whose blood they not onelie bathed their swords, but also tasted thereof with their mouthes, with no lesse religion and assurance conceived, than if they had alreadie bene sure of some notable and fortunate victorie. When they saw their owne blood run from them in the sight, they wared neuer a whit astonished with the matter, but rather doubling their courages, with more egernesse they assailed their enemies. This also is to be noted of them, that they neuer sought anie victorie by treason, falshood, or sleight, as thinking it a great reproch to win the field any otherwise than by merre manhood, prowesse and plaine dealing.

When they went forth vnto the wars, each one went with the king of his owne cost (except the hired souldiours) which custome is yet in vse. If any were troubled with the falling euill, or leprosie, or fallen frantike, or otherwise was out of his wits, they were diligentlie sought out: and least those diseases should passe further by infectious generation vnto their issue & posteritie, they gelded the men. But the women were secluded to some od place far off from the companie of men, where if the afterward hapened to be gotten with child, both she and the infant were run through with the lance. Gluttons and raueners, drunkards, and egregious deuourers of victuals were punished also by death, first being permitted to deuoure so much as they listed, and then drowned in one fresh riuer or other.

Furthermore, as iustice in time of war was commonlie giuen to perke, so in daies of peace our contriemen that offended, were oft seuerelie punished and with inconuenient rigor. For they well considered that after their people should returne & come home againe from the warres, they would be giuen to so many enormities, that the same their excesses should haplie be restrained but by extreme seueritie: such also was their nature, that so some as they knew themselves guiltie of any offense committed against the estate or commonwealth, their first attempt was to set discord amongst the peeres and princes of the realme, neuertheless when they are gentlie intreated, and with courteous moderation, they are found to be verie tractable and pliant vnto reason: in priuate bargains & contracts they are so willing to giue euerie man his own, that they will yeeld the more. And so farre is it growne into a custome euen in these our daies, that except there be some surpluse above the bare covenant, they will breake off and not go forwards with the bargain.

They vsed at the first the rites and maners of the Egyptians from whence they came, and in all their priuate affaires they vsed not to write with common letters, as other nations did; but rather with cyphers and figures of creatures made in manner of letters, as their epitaphes vpon their tombs and sepulchers remaining amongst vs do hitherto declare. Nevertheless in our times this hieroglyphicall manner of writing (I wot not by what means) is perished and lost, and yet they haue certaine letters proper vnto themselves, which were sometime in common vse: but among such as retaine the ancient speech, they haue their aspirations, diphongs, and pronunciation better than any other. The common sort are not in vse withall, but onlie they which inhabit in the higher part of the countie, and sith they haue their language more eloquent and apt than others, they are called poets, they make also poets with great solemnitie and honour, being borne out therein by the authoritie of the prince. Besides the skill also of many other arts and sciences, whose rules and methods are

The description of Scotland.

are turned into the said language, are giuen by tradition from their elders, they chiefe excell in physike, wherein they go far beyond manie other, who learning of them the natures and qualities of such hearbs as grow in those quarters, doe heale all manner of diseases euen by their onelie application.

Certes there is no region in the whole world so barren & vnfruitfull, through distance from the sun, but by the prouidence of God all manner of necessities for the sustentation of mankind dwelling there are to be had therein, if the inhabitants were such as had any skill how to vse the same in order. Neuertheless our elders, which dwelled continuallie vpon the marches of England, learned the Saxon tongue through continuall trade of merchandize and hazard of the wars long since, whereby it came to passe that we neglected our owne language, & our owne manners, and thereto both our ancient order in writing and speaking is vtterlie left among vs, that inhabitants nere vnto them; whereas contrariwise those that dwell in the mountaine retein skill their ancient speech and letters, and almost all their old rites, whereby in time past their forefathers haue bene accustomed. One thing hereof also may euidentlie be seene (for an example) in their boats which they call carrocks, for being made of osiers and couered with bull hides, they vse to passe and repasse with them ouer their riuers and waters in catching of samons, and when they haue done, they beare them on their backs vnto what place soeuer it pleaseth them.

But we will now leaue the maners of our ancient friends, and intreat of our later countrymen. In proceesse of time therefore, and chiefe about the daies of Spalcolme Cammo, our maners began greatlie to change and alter. For when our neighbors the Britons began, after they were subdued by the Romans, to warre idle and slothfull, and thereby enuie the Saxons, we began to haue alliance (by prouinitie of the Romans) with Englishmen, speciallie after the subuersion of the Picts, and through our daile trades and conuersation with them, to learne also their maners, and therewithall their language, as I haue said already. Whereby shortly after it came also to passe, that the temperance and vertue of our ancestors grew to be iudged worthe of small estimation amongst vs, notwithstanding that a certaine idle desire of our former renowne did still remaine within vs.

Furthermore as men not walking in the right path, we began to follow also the vaine shadow of the Germane honor and titles of nobilitie, and boasting of the same after the English manner, it fell out per long, that whereas he in times past was accounted onlie honorable, which excelled other men not in riches and possessions, but in prowesse and manhood, now he would be taken most glorious that went laden with most titles, wherof it came to passe, that some were named dukes, some earles, some lords, some barons, in which vaine pusses they fired all their felicitie. Before time the noble men of Scotland were of one condition, & called by the name of Thanes, so much in Latine as *Quaestores regij*, gatherers of the kings duties, in English: and this denomination was giuen vnto them after their desert and merit.

But how far we in these present daies are swayed from the vertues and temperance of our elders, I beleue there is no man so eloquent, nor indued with such difference, as that he is able sufficientlie to expresse. For whereas they gaue their minds to doolytinesse, we applie our selues to drunkenness: they had plentie with sufficientie, we haue inordinate excess with superfluitie: they were temperate,

we effeminate: and so is the case now altered with vs, that he which can deuoure and drinke most, is the noblest man and most honest companion, and therefore hath no pare if he can once find the veine, though with his great trauell to puruey himself of the plentifullest number of new fine and delicate dishes, and best prouoke his stomach to receiue the greatest quantitie of them, though he neuer make due digestion of it.

Being thus drowned in our delicate gluttonie, it is a world to see, how we stuffe our selues both daile and night, neuer ceasing to ingorge & polve in, till our bellies be so full that we must needs depart. Certes it is not supposed meet that we should now content our selues with breakfast and supper onlie, as our elders haue done before vs, nor inough that we haue added our dinners vnto their aforesaid meales, but we must haue thereto our beuerages and rare suppers, so that small time is spared wherein to occupie our selues in any godlie exercise, with almost the whole daile and night doo scarcelie suffice for the filling of our panches. We haue also our merchants, whose charge is not to looke out, and bring home such things as necessarilie pertaine to the maintenance of our liues, but vnto the furniture of our kitchen, and these search all the secret corners of our forests for venison, of the aire for foules, and of the sea for fish, for wine also they trauell not only into France, whose wines doo now grow into contempt, but also into Spaine, Italie and Greece: nay Africke is not void of our factors, no nor Asia, and onelie for fine and delicate wines if they might be had for monie.

In like sort they gad ouer all the world for sweet and pleasant spices, and drugs (prouokers vnto all lust and licentiousnesse of behaviour) as men that aduenture their onis liues to bring home poison and destruction vnto their countrymen, as if the mind were not already sufficientlie breest of his image of the diuinitie, but must yet more be clogged and ouerladen with such a franked case, therewith all to be extinguished outright, which already dwelleth or is buried rather in such an vglie sepulchre. The bodie likewise being oppressed with such a heape of superfluous food, although otherwise it be indued with an excellent nature, cannot be able to execute his office, nor keepe him selfe byright, but must needs yeld as ouercome, and to be torne in peces and rent with sundrie maladies.

Hereof also it cometh to passe, that our countrymen travelling into the colder regions are now a daies contrarie to their former vfrage taken sometime with feuers, whereby their inward parts doo burne and parch as it were with continuall fier, the onelie cause whereof we may ascribe vnto those hot spices and drugs which are brought vnto vs from the hot countries. Others of them are so swollen and growne full of humors, that they are often taken suddenly, and die of vehement apoplexies, and although here and there one or two recover for a little while, yet are they but dead people, centuing againe, leading the rest of their liues like shadows, and walking about as if they were buried already.

Our youth also following these unhappie steps of their parents, giue themselves whole to lust and licentiousnesse, hauing all vertue and knowledge in contempt, and eschewing the same as a pestilence and subuersion of their pleasures, wherunto they applie themselves as vnto the most excellent trade. But sithens they are now inured, and as it were haunted with these vices, when time doth come of seruice and that our countrie shall stand in need of manhood, these will become so effeminate, that they must now ride on horsebacke as clad in heauie armor, for on foot they cannot go by reason of their fatness,

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ness which choaketh by their vitall forces, neither be able to perforce anie thing at all in comparison of the soueraigne manhood and prowesse of their elders. So some also as they returne home, because their possessions are not otherwise able to nourish them by in pleasure and pampering of their matwes, they must fall to couetous and greedie practises, thereby to enrich themselves, or else proue strong theues, or finally solvers of dissention and discorde among the noble men, thereby to preie some commoditie.

Certes these and other vices following them necessarilie, proceede generallie from none other fountaine than voluptuous life and intemperancie, the which if we would restraine, there is no region vnder the sunne that would proue more wholesome, lesse subiect to pestilence, nor more commodious and profitable for the sustentation of hir people. Certes I despaire not of the redresse of these things, but still hope that in short time these corrupt maners of my countrymen will be turned into better frame. We are not yet become impudent, neither altogether haue cast off vnhamefastnesse, sith that in a great manie some remainder of our ancient sobernesse and manhood doth yet appeare, and thereto newnesse of life with feruent deuotion increaseth euerie day, through the working of the zeale of our christian religion in vs.

This also will I adde, without offense vnto other nations, that there was neuer people more steadfast to my knowledge in the christian faith, nor more constant in their faithfull promises, than the Scots haue bene since their first beginning: and for a conclusion I will say more, not onelie for their praise, but also in exhorting them vnto perseuerance, that as our people now liuing doe passe their ancestozs in sumptuous and curious attyre, so they are more neat and fine in their houses, better giuen to learning, and much more magnificent in building and decking of their churches. God grant them also to returne to their former frugalitie, and that with speed, Amen.

Whitherto haue I translated Hectors description of Scotland out of the Scottish into the English tong, being not a little aided therein by the Latine, from whence sometime the translator swarveth not a little, as I haue done also from him, now and then following the Latine, and now and then gathering such sense out of both, as most did stand with my purposed breuitie. Now will I set downe the description of an ancient Pict, as I haue gathered it out of Herodian and other, and then I will giue ouer not onelie to write more at this present, but for ever hereafter of anie historிக்க matters, sith I see that this honest kind of recreation is denied me, and all time spent about the same in these daies vtterly condemned, as baine and sauouring of negligence, and heathenish impietie.

The description of an ancient Pict.

The 14 Chapter.

The Pict (saith Herodian) hath generallie no vse in apparel, howbeit the nobler sort of them doe wrap their heads and wombs in hops of iron, which they take for great vaunerie, esteeming this kind of attire, in such as weare the same, to be a token of wealth and riches, and so great an ornament, as if they had worne gold or any costlie iewels. Beside this, and the hauing of their necker lip, they painted ouer their bodies with the images of all kinds of beastes, so that he was the gaitest man that had his skin most disguised in this maner.

Certes none of them regarded to increas anie apparel, because they esteemed it a great glorie to haue these paintings sene. In warres they were void, and desirous to shed blood, contenting themselves (in stead of other armoz) with a short lance, and narrow target or buckler, their swordes were tied to their naked sides with a thong, and as for iacke, shirt of male, or helmet, they made no regard of them, because they would trouble them in swimming, or otherwise at a pinch, when they should be compelled to waide.

Dion writing generallie of the whole countrie, describeth it with Herodian into the Calidons & Meats, saying that the said countrie is verie sauage, their cities void of walles, and fields without townes: they liue moreouer (saith he) by hunting and preie, and oftentimes with the fruit of their trees: and albeit that they haue exceeding plentie of fish, yet they eat not of it. They liue naked in tents, and without shoes on their feet, their iuices are common, and children generallie looked vnto: they haue moreouer a populous regiment, and are verie readie to scale: they fight in wagons, and haue little light and swift horses, which run also verie swiftly, & stand at their feet with like steadfastnesse. In the nether end of their lances they haue hollow bullets of brasse, in each is a little peece or two of iron, which ratteth when they shake it, and maketh a strange noise where manie of them are together. They haue also narrow daggers, but cheslie they can susteine hunger and cold best of all men, and likewise soze labour: and if it happen them to hunger and haue no meat at hand, they will sit in the marishes by to the chins by manie daies together. In the woods they fed on roots or barkes of trees, and they haue a kind of meat among them, whereof if they take but so much as a beane, they neither hunger nor thirst in a long time after. And thus much of the Meats (which were the nearest vs) and the Calidons that dwelled beyond the wall, and both in their prouince called Maxima Cesariensis, whereof let this suffice.

The number of bishops in Scotland.

The xv Chapter.

50	T he archbishop of S. Andrews	Albante.	Viscounties.
	Dunblane	Earledomes.	Berwikke alias north Berwikke
	Dunfermling	Cathnes	Korbozow
	Aberdeen	Sotherland	Selkirke
	Brechin	Kosse	Tweddale
	Perth	Forfar	Dunfrise
	Stirling	Wick	Piddisdale
	Edinburgh	Mar	Wigton
	Gloucester	Perth	Are
	London	Angus	Lanarke
	Canterbury	Colvri	Dunbarton
	York	Fiffe	Strueling
	Bath	Parche	Louthian
	Worcester	Arthole	Clakmanan
	Exeter	Strathernie	Binos
	Gloucester	Perth	Fiffe
	London	Leuncor	Perth
	Canterbury	Wigton	Angus
	York	Duglasse	Perth
	Bath	Carrike	Aberdeen
	Worcester	Crawford	Banph
	Exeter	Annandale	Fozes
	Gloucester	Durmonth	Inuerness.
	London	Huntley.	FINIS.

1585

THE
Historie of Scotland,
containing the beginning, in-
crease, proceedings, continuance,
acts and gouernement of the Scotish
nation, from the originall thereof
vnto the yeere 1571, gathered and
written in English by Raphael
Hollinthead: and continued
from 1571, to 1585, by
others:

With a table of the principall
particularities herein
contained.

M. Pal. in Ari.

Historiæ placeant nostrates ac
peregrinæ.

*Cum priuilegio Regiæ
Maiestatis.*



To the Right Honorable the Lord
Robert Dudley, Earle of Leicester, Baron
of Denbigh, Knight of the most noble order
of the Garter, Maister of the Queenes
Maiesties horffe, and one of
hir Highnesse priuie
Councell.



I may seeme (Right Honorable) a great presumption in mee, to haue taken in hand the collection of this Scotish historie, and other of diuers regions, considering so many sufficient men as liue in these daies, farre more able to performe the same. But where at the motion of a speciall friend, I undertooke to deale therein, more vpon trust of his promised aid than of mine owne abilitie, it pleased GOD to call

him to his mercie before the worke could be fullie brought to an end: but yet to answer the expectation of his friends, and trust which he had committed to them and me in this behalfe, I haue doone my good will to accomplish part of that, which in his life time was intended, although not to my wished desire, by reason of such wants as had beene supplied if he had liued to haue seene it published himselfe.

It resteth (right noble Earle) that it may please your Honor to accept my dooings in good part, to whom I offer this parcell of my trauels in this historie of Scotland, in regard of the honor due to your noble father, for his incomparable valure well knowne and approoued, as well within that realme as else-where in seruice of two kings of most famous memorie, Henrie the eight & Edward the sixt, sounding so greatlie to his renowme, as the same cannot passe in silence, whilest any remembrance of those two most peerelesse princes shall remaine in written histories. I therefore most humblie beseech your Honor, to beare with my boldnesse in presenting

C.ij.

ting you with someane a gift, proceeding from one, although unknown to your Lordship, yet not without experience of your bountifull goodnesse extended towards those, to whome I reckon my selfe most beholden. As what is he within this realme almost of anie degree, which findeth not himselfe bounden to your Honor, either in his owne causes or his friends? For such is your inclination to pleasure all men, as the same may seeme a peculiar vertue planted in your noble heart, moving you so much to delight therein, as no time is thought by your Honor better spent, than that which you employ in dooing good to others.

But least I should enter into so large a discourse, as might be framed of this and other your excellent vertues (a matter far exceeding my simple knowledge) I will cease to speake further thereof, sith the same is spread ouer all, as well this as other regions: for no where doo want great numbers of such as haue abundantlie tasted of your exceeding courtesies. In making you owner therefore of this abstract of the Scottish histories, I most humbly beseech your Honor, if anie thing be amisse, to impute the same to the imperfection and defect of better instructions, and with your benigne and favorable interpretation to haue me therein excused. Such as it is, I addresse it to your good Lordship with so dutifull a mind as may be imagined, beseeching God to preserue your Honor with plentifull increase of wisdom, vertue, and all wishfull prosperitie.

Your Honors most humble to be
commanded *Raphaell Hollinsbed.*



Cathelus.

Cathelus given to will and pleasure.

Cathelus went into Egypt, Anno mundi 2416.

Cathelus intertels Pharaoh.

Cathelus went against the enemies, Pharaoh captured him generally under Pharaoh. 1st. 1st. 2. cap. 7.

Cathelus his coming to ad- vanced.

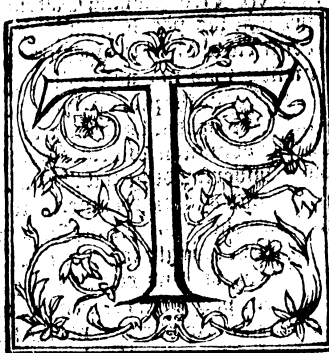
Pharaoh was not a- wakened.

Pharaoh fled.

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THE HISTORIE OF Scotland.



The Scottish men, according to the manner of other nations, esteeming it a glorie to fetch their beginning of great anciencie, say that their originall descent cam fro the Grecks and Aegyptians; for there was (as

the old Scottish historiographers haue left in writing) a certeine noble man among the Grecks, named Cathelus, the sonne of Cecrops, who builded the citie of Athens: or as some other would, he was the sonne of Argus Pealus, the fourth king of the Argiues. This Cathelus plaieng in his youth manie wild and vnrolie parts in the countrie of Macedonia and Achaia, was diuers times sharplie rebuked by his father and other of his friends: so that in fine disdainng their correction and wholsome admonitions, he was banished by his father: after which he got together a number of strong and lustie yong men, such as had vsed the like trade of lining, and with them fled ouer into Aegypt; and comming thither in the 33 yeare of Pharaos Dns as then king of that countrie, was receiued of him in most glad some wise, for that his seruice (as was thought) might stand in great stead in those warres, which the Aegyptians held at that time with the Aethiopiens that had invaded the realme of Aegypt, euen vnto Memphis. This Cathelus, to be short, went forth with his bands against the same Aethiopiens, vnder Moses the capteine generall of the armie, chosen thereto by diuine oracle (as Iosephus writeth) which Moses obtained the victorie, and conquered Saba by force being the chiefest and principall citie which stood in the Ile Aferoe.

For such tokens of valfancie and worthie prowesse as Cathelus shewed, both in this countrie, and in other places, he grew also into such estimation with Pharaos, that he gaue him his daughter in mariage. But Moses was rather enuid than honored for his doing, because the Aegyptians doubted least the Israelites should increase to such a puissant multitude, that in the end they might vsurpe and challenge the gouernance of the whole realme, and bring it by rebelling into their owne hands: wherefore diuers informations were made to the king against him, so that when he once perceiued himselfe to be in danger of the lawe, and looked for no mercie at their hands, he fled from thence out of the countrie, & gat

him into the land of Adian. Vnto Cathelus and his people there was given a citie called Thebes [Aegyptiaca] being taken from the Israelites. Here you must vnderstand, that Pharaos daughter, which Cathelus thus married, was called Scota, of whome such as came of the posteritie of that nation were afterwards, and are at this present day called Scotti, that is to say Scottishmen, and the land where they inhabit Scottia, that is to say, Scotland.

Cathelus thus being advanced by such honorable marriage, liued all the daies of his father in law Pharaos Dns, in great honor. But after his deceasse, and in the third generation, an other king named Pharaos Chencres succeeded in his throne, who oppressed the people of Israel then abiding in Aegypt, with more bondage than euer his father or grandfather had done before him. Neither was there hope of anie redress, till Moses returned by Gods appointment from amongst the Adianites (where he had remained in exile) into Aegypt, and there declared vnto this Pharaos, Gods commandement, touching the deliuerance of his people.

But forsomuch as his words were regarded neither with the king, nor with his subiects, that land was plagued in most horrible manner, and moreover it was signified vnto such as sought to know what was meant by way of oracles, that forer and more grieuous plagues should after follow, if remedie were not found the soner. Cathelus therefore being certified hereof, and giuing credit to the oracles aforesaid, determined out of hand to forsake the countrie, and seeke him a new place of abode in some other parties of the world. Wherefore he caused a number of ships to be rigged, and all necessarie purueance to be provided, and when the same was once readie, and all things set in order, he toke with him his wife and childzen, and a great multitude of people both Grekes and Aegyptians, whom he imbarked in those ships, and hoisting vp sailes, departed out of the mouth of the riuer Nilus, in the yeare of the worlds creation 2453, when he had dwelled in Aegypt 39 yeares and more. Being thus departed, after some trouble in the voyage, they arrived first on the coasts of Punidia, which is one of the regions of Affrike, now called Barbarie: but being put backe from thence by the stout resistance of the inhabitants, they toke the seas againe, and landed in a part of Spaine, which long after was called Lusitania.

There be that haue written how it should be cleped port Cathelus of this Cathelus, and certeine yeares after Lusitania, and effsones againe in a manner to haue got the former name, being somewhat corruptly called Portingale. But who is able in a matter of such anciencie to auouch anie thing for truth?

C. li.

Cathelus

The citie of Thebes was given vnto Cathelus.

Scota daughter to Pharaos.

The credit of this historie of Cathelus we leane to the authozs. Israel oppressed.

Moses called out of Adian into Aegypt.

Moses not regarded. Exodus.

Cathelus leaving Aegypt, seeketh other countries.

Cathelus departing was, Anno mundi, 2453. W. H. 3643. H. B. He was repelled from Barbarie.

He landed in Portingale.

Cathelus.

Cathelus given to will his pleasure.

Cathelus went into Aegypt, Anno mundi 2416.

Cathelus returned to Pharaos.

Cathelus came against the enemies, Moses captaine generall of the army of Pharaos.

Cathelus his army was destroyed.

Cathelus was not a king.

Cathelus died.

The inhabit-
ants resist
Gathelus.

A communi-
cation.
Gathelus
buildeth the
cittie Brigantia.

A communi-
cation.

Gathelus left
Dorungale,
and went into
Galitia.
He builded a
cittie called
Brigantia,
and now
Compostella.

Gathelus.

He maketh
lawes and or-
dinances.

The Spani-
ards fight
with the
Scots in-
fortunatlie.

A peace con-
cluded.

Gathelus mi-
nistred iustice.
A description
of the seat.

Gathelus with his companie being thus come to land, sought abroad in the countrie for victuals, and such other necessarie things as they wanted (for their long being on the seas had waisted all their purueiance:) whose arrival being once knowne in the countrie, the people assembled together, and fiercely incountring with the strangers, after sharpe and cruell fight, in the end the Spaniards were put to the worst and chased out of the field. This victorie put Gathelus and his folks in hope of good successe to haue there a place for them to inhabit in, and so to end their long wandering in strange and vncertaine places. And to the intent they might bring their purpose the more easilie to passe, they found means by way of communication to ioine in friendship with the Spaniards, and obtaining of them a plot where they might build a place for to inhabit in; shortly after they began the foundation of a cittie nere to the banks of the riuer called of ancient time Spundus, and afterwards Brachara.

It chanced after this, that the Spaniards (perceiving these strangers to increase further in puissance than, as they thought, stood well with their securitie) sought diuerse occasions to fall at debate with them, and to make warres vpon them: but when they vnderstood that Gathelus was as readie to defend, as they were to invade, they oftentimes fell to a communication, & persuaded with Gathelus, that it should be best for him and his people, for the auoiding of variance, to remove vnto the northside of Spaine, lying vpon the coasts of the Cantabrian seas, now called Galitia (where he should find much void ground, by reason of the small number of inhabitants) adding that if they would so do, they would aid them to the uttermost against all such as should attempt to disquiet their indouours in anie manner of wise. This offer Gathelus gladly accepted, and causing publike sacrifice to be celebrated in honor of the gods, he departed with all his people into Galitia, and there concluding a league with the inhabitants, builded a cittie which he named Brigantia, but after it was named Spouium, and now Compostella.

Here Gathelus being intituled by the name of a king, deuised and ordeined lawes for his people to liue by, that the cittie might not onelie be fenced with strong walles, but also with good and holisome statutes and ordinances, the chiefest fortifications that may be for all citties and countries. And because he would not onelie haue his said people to liue vnder one law, but also to be knowne and called by one name, he gaue commandment that they should be all called Scottishmen (as before is said) of his wife Scota. In continuance of time, this nation grew to a wonderfull multitude, so that the Spaniards doubting the worst, determined to seeke remedie in time, and here vpon purposing utterly to destroye them, got them againe to armour, and with their whole puissance comming vpon the Scottishmen gaue them a fore battell, though in the end they were put to flight, the victorie remaining with the Scottishmen, albeit not without great bloodshed on either part, as the Scottish historie saith. At length a necessarie peace was agræd vpon betwixt both parties, the conditions wherof were these: that aswell Scottishmen as Spaniards should liue after their owne lawes, and neither of them to invade other.

Gathelus hauing peace thus with his neighbors, sat vpon his marble stone in Brigantia, where he gaue lawes, and ministred iustice vnto his people, thereby to mainteine them in wealth and quietnesse. This stone was in fashion like a seat or chaire, hauing such a fatall destinie, as the Scots say, follow-

ing it, that wheresoeuer it should be found, there should the Scottishmen reigne and haue the supreme gouernance. Hereof it came to passe, that first in Spaine, after in Ireland, and then in Scotland, the kings which ruled ouer the Scottishmen, received the crowne sitting vpon that stone, vntill the time of Robert the first king of Scotland. The inscription also of the stone, though ingrauen long time after, as should appeare, was this:

*Ni fallat fatum, Scoti quocumq; locatum
Inuenient lapidem, regnare tenentur ibidem.*

Which may be thus translated:

Except old fawes doo faile,
and wifards wits be blind,
The Scots in place must reigne,
where they this stone shall find.

But to returne where I left touching Gathelus. When he perceived that his people multiplied in such wise, as the countrie which was appointed him by the last agræment, was not able to susteine them, he was loth to breake the peace which he had established with the Spaniards, by seeking to enlarge the bounds of his dominion with breach of covenant: and therefore vnderstanding that there was an Island lying north ouer against Spaine, wherein were but few inhabitants, he caused all such ships as he was able to make, to be brought together into an haven nere vnto Brigantia, and commanding a great armie of his owne people and subiects to be assembled, he appointed his two sonnes whome he had by his wife Scota, the one named Hiberus, and the other Himecus, to conueie them ouer into that Island, which afterwards they named Hibernia, after Hiberns, but now it is commonlie called Ireland.

At their first arrivall there, they came into the haven of Dundalk, where getting on land, they first incamped themselves nere the shore, and then sent forth certeine of their folks to search if they could learne what people inhabited in the countrie, by whome at their returne, and by such as they had happened vpon and brought with them, they vnderstood how there was no great number of inhabitants in that Ile, and that they which dwelled there were verie simple, such I meane as liued onelie by milke and herbs, with other the like things as the earth by nature brought forth of hir owne accord, without mans helpe or vse of anie tillage. Here vpon Hiber with his brother Himecus, went not about with force, but by gentlenesse to win those people, minding to ioine them in friendship so with their Scottishmen, that both the people might be made as one. Neither was this hard to be done, sithens the inhabitants (perceiving the Scottishmen not to go about to harme them) came flocking in whole about them, submitting themselves into their hands with gladnesse.

When things were once set here in a stay, and that orders were given how the land should be converted vnto tillage, and manured for the better bringing forth of such things as serue for mans sustentance, Hiber (leaving his brother in charge with the gouernance of all those which were appointed to abide there in Ireland) with the most part of the ships and residue of the companie, sailed backe into Spaine, where finding his father Gathelus dead, he succeeded in his place of gouernement, to the great reioysing of all the people there.

This Hiber was a man of great courage, and more giuen to the wars than his father before him, so that where his father contenting himselfe with the bounds and limits of the countrie assigned him by composition, sought no further (as is said) to enlarge the

Gathelus sufficient
and the
Scots.

The Scots
take new
seats.

The Scots
arise in Ire-
land.

Irishmen
by milke and
herbes.

Irishmen are
gentle in-
creased.

Hiber.

Hiber return-
ed into
Spaine.

Hiber succe-
ded his father
Gathelus.

Under a con-
tract.

A peace.

Spaniards &
Scots becom
one people.

Himecus.
Himecus R.
of Ireland.

Dilection.

The Scots
find an an-
tiballad vnto
Gathelus in
Spaine.

His sent to
kill the
Scots in Ire-
land.

Himecus
returned into
Spain againe

His son
Hiber.

Hiberus
came into
Ireland.

the same: U-
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iccas, by rea-
parties: an
sahe for pea-
a league be-
Spaniards
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by marriage
together, be-
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long season
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the same: Hiber ceased not to conquer cities and townes nere adjoining to the borders of his subiects, by reason whereof his fame spred ouer all those parties: and in the end constrained his enemies to seke for peace, which he willingly granted: so that a league being concluded betwixt the Scots and Spaniards, the same took such good successe, that within certeine yeeres after, both the nations, that by marriage and other contracts, which they exercised together, became one. The succession also of kings continued after Hiber's decesse in his posteritie a long season; amongst the which, Metellus, Hermoneus, Ptolemeus, Hiberus, and Simon Brechus were of most worthie fame, as is recorded by such as haue written the histories of that nation more at large.

In the meane while that these things were thus a doing in Spaine, Himecus being left, as is before remembred, in Ireland, to haue the gouernance there, ruled both the people of Scottishmen, and the former inhabitants, with as much indifferencie as was possible: yet could he not ioine them so in one; but that after his decesse either of them would haue severall rulers of their owne nation to gouerne them: by reason whereof, falling eiesones at discord amongst themselves, there ensued sharpe and cruell warres betwixt them, which being ended sometime by truce (when both parties hapilie were throughlie wearied) they renewed notwithstanding their malicious strife againe, so loone as they had once recovered their decayed strengths, so that the one seeking the others destruction, they continued in great inquietnes for a long time. These Scottishmen being thus troubled in Ireland, finallie adressed an ambassage unto Metellus, who as then reigned amongst the Scottish men in Spaine, requirring him of aid and succor against their enemies, who went about with toth and naile to expell all the Scottish nation out of Ireland, which they were like enough to bring to passe, if in time there were not speedie remedie through his aid provided for the contrarie.

Metellus hearing these newes, as a man moued with a naturall zeale toward all the Scottish linage, gaue care to their request, supposing it should be his part to defend his kinsfolke from all wrong and iniuries: immediatlie therefore he sent his three sons, Hermoneus, Ptolemeus, and Hiberus, with a chosen power of warriours ouer into Ireland, where vanquishing the enemies with fierce and cruell battles, they set the Scottishmen in sure and quiet possession of all their lands and liuings. This done Ptolemeus and Hiberus remained there to rule and inhabit the countrie. But Hermoneus, who was the eldest brother, returned backe againe to Spaine, there to succed his father when time should serue thereto.

After this the Scottish estate continued many yeeres in good quiet in Ireland, the people still increasing in wealth and puissance, till prosperitie the mother of contention, stirred vp grudge and parcialities amongst them, which shortly would haue decayed the force of the Scottish nation, if the ancient lords had not provided redresse in time, which was to perswade the people to haue a king of their owne, who being partaker with none of them in their factions, might haue the absolute gouernance of the whole, so that by common consent they sent into Spaine for one Simon Brech, whose name was right famous amongst them in that season, both as well for that he was lineallie descended of the blood royal, as also for that he had shewed many proofes of his noble valiance in sundrie affaires and businesse. This Simon being glad of these tidings, sailed quicklie into Ireland, and brought thither with

him amongst other princelie jewels and regall monuments, the fatall stone of marble, wherein he caused himselfe to be crowned, in token of his full possession and establishment ouer that kingdome.

Brechus being thus crown'd, was the first king that reigned ouer the Scots in Ireland, who began his reigne there, in the yere from the creation of the world 3270, which time by maister Harlons account is after the flood 1616, from the first building of Rome 55, after the entrie of Brutus into Britaine 870, and before the incarnation of our sauiour 697. And hauing ruled his subiects with great iustice by the space of fortie yeeres or thereabout, he died, after whose decesse succeeded Fandufus, who had issue Ethion, and he begat Claucus, which Claucus begat Poitafilus, the father of Rothsay: all of them reigned successiuelie ouer the Scottishmen in Ireland, as in the description of that land more plainelie may appere.

This Rothsay (perceiuing the Scottish nation increased to a greater multitude in Ireland than the countrie was well able to susteine) transported ouer certeine numbers of them into the Isles ancientlie called Ebonides, afterwards Hebrides, but now by the Scots, the westerne Isles, because they lie on the west halfe of Scotland: and there they placed them to inhabit. He named also that Ile which he first began to possesse Rothsay, after his owne name. Which translation of these Scottishmen into those Isles was 133 yeeres after the coronation of Brechus.

This Rothsay had not bene long in those Isles, but that hearing of his fathers decesse, he returned into Ireland to succed in his place. Where the Scottishmen perceiuing the fertilitie of the Isles, and how the same serued well for the breeding of cattell, became so desirous to inhabit there, that they went ouer thither daillie in great numbers, with their wiues, children, and whole families, so that within a short time they multiplied in such wise, that the Isles were not large enough to find them sustenance, by reason whereof diuers companies of them got them ouer into the maine land of the north part of this our Britaine, called as then Albion, where they first inhabited a waste and desert portion thereof, lieng toward the west, ouer against the foreremembred Isles, by them already inhabited, Anno 3383. That part where they first began to settle themselves, they named Argathelia, after the name of their first capitaine and guide Cathelus, but the inhabitants at this day call it Arguile.

At their first comming, because they perceiued they could not liue without lawes and ciuill gouernment, they feuered themselves into tribes, or as it were into hundreds, or wapentakes, euerie of the same hauing a speciall gouernor to see their lawes minisred, and iustice mainteined: which gouernors were had in such reuerence, that they were as much afraid to sweare by the name of any one of them, as they were by the gods. In this state they continued many a yere, increasing in processe of time unto a mightie nation, and liued in good rest without trouble of warres or inuasion made vpon them by any forren enemy. In this meane time also, the Picts, which were a certeine people of Germanie, as most writers doe agree, came and set foot also in another part of Britaine, which now is comprehended likewise within Scotland.

Some saie that they came forth of the hether part of Scythia, and other there be which hold opinion, that they descended of the people named in old time Agathys, which inhabited in a part of Sarmatia, and were called Picts, because they vsed to paint and colour their faces, or (as some suppose) for that they

Brechus.

4504 H.B.
60 H.B.
696 H.B.
Fandufus.

Rothsay.
The Scots
ferrie ouer into
the westerne Isles.

They inhabit
the Ile of
Rothsay.

The Scots
inhabit the
maine land of
Scotland.

4617 H.B.
They inhabit
the countrie
called Arguile

They make
lawes and ordinances.
Gouernors
had in reuerence.

They liue in
peace.
The Picts
came into
Scotland out
of Germanie.

The Picts came first into Orkney, and changing their seats came into the maine land of Scotland, Pictland, Firth.

4867 H. B. The Picts make strong holdes.

The Picts require wome of the Scots.

A league made.

The succession of the gouernement.

Their alliance mistikied.

Dissention a present destroyer.

The Picts good husbandmen. The Scots giuen to hunting and fouling.

The Britains send

used gate apparell of diuers and sundrie colours; but the same writers generallie confesse, that they first came into Germanie or hither Scythia (that is to meane Denmarke) many yeeres before they entred into Britaine. Truth it is that they first came out of Germanie, into the Isles of Orkney, and there inhabiting for a season, seried ouer into Cathnesse, whereof it came to passe, that the streit there at this present is called Pictland firth: and so in continuance of time increasing in number, they passed further into the land, and got possession of Rosse, Murrayland, Sperrine, and Angule, and after that, entering into Fife and Louthian, they dyuie such Britains from thence as inhabited there before, which were but a simple kind of people, as those that applied nothing but onelie nourishing and breeding of cattell.

These Picts, as by conference of times may appere, entred first into Scotland, about the yeare after the creation of the world 3633, and being once arriued, they began to erect and build certeine forts, wherein they might defend themselves, if any force of enimies should chance to put them to such thists; but perceiving they could not continue any time without wiues to mainteine their stocke and progenie by bringing forth issue, they thought it expedient to require of the Scottishmen some number of women to marrie with, that thereby a sure alliance might be had betwixt both nations, & that if need required, they might the better defend them from their common enimies the Britains, whom they knew would be loth to see the increase of either Scots or Picts, as those that were strangers to them, and to surpers upon their confines.

This request was granted, and a full league ratified betwixt the Scottishmen and Picts, with covenants, that neither of them should take to blame any pece of that which the other held, but content themselves with their owne marches. And further, he that attempted to wrong the one, should be accounted an enimie to both: and against whom they should be readie to ioin their powers in either others defense. Also it was accorded, that if at anie time it were doubtfull who ought to succeed in the gouernement of the Pictish kingdome, some one descended of those Scottish women should be admitted to the throne.

This alliance was euen at the first mistikied of the Britains, who doubted, that if these two nations should once be ioined inseparablie together, they might in time to come increase to greater puissance than should stand well with the surtie of their estate. Therefore studieng how to prevent that danger, they thought the readiest meane to destroye both those nations was (if they might bring it to passe) to set them first together by the eares amongst themselves, that afterwards when their powers were by such means fore abated, they might the more easilie subdue them at their pleasures. This deuise the Britains kept secret for a time, till occasion serued to worke their intent. In which meane while the assinitie betwixt the Scots and Picts increased to the wealth of both nations, and for the issue sake great loue and friendship was mainteined among them. The Picts applied themselves to tilling the ground, and building of fortresses: the Scots set all their delight in hunting and fouling, bling about the same to go armed in iacks and light ieffernes with bow and arrowes, no otherwise than if it had bene in open warre: for in this exercise they placed all the hope of the defense of their possessions, lands and liberties.

At length, the Britains perceiuing happlie some grudge or enuie to be entred amongst them, they

sent soleimne ambassadoers vnto the Picts, declaring that it were more honorable for them to ioin in league with the Britains, than with the Scots: which Britains were knowne to be famous, both in peace and war, and inhabited a countrie most fruitful and replenished with all commodities necessarie hauing therein rich mines of diuers kinds of metall, where the Scots being a rude nation, wild and savage, inhabited a barren countrie, full of rough and fruitlesse mounteins, delighting thereto in nothing but in the slaughter of men and beastes. And herevnto they added that (which most moued the Picts) how it was foretold them by prophetes, that the Scots through treason should utterlie in time to come extinguisht and destroye all the Pictish blood. Which persuasions induiced the Picts at the last, to make a league with the Britains, who promised their aid at all times, in whatsoeuer enterprise the Picts should take in hand against the Scots, and as often as occasion should require.

This league thus being confirmed with the Britains, encouraged the Picts so, that they sought daile how to picke quarels, and fall out with the Scottishmen: whereupon making proclamation that no Scottishman should enter into their borders, vpon paine of death: some such as they took within the same, they cruellie slue; other they ransomed at excessive summes: whereupon the Scots being kindled with iust displeasure, on the other side requited them with the like, euer as they caught any of the said Picts by hap or otherwise amongst them, or in their walks.

The one nation seeking thus to be reuenged of the other, there ensued open war betwixt them: whereupon the Scottishmen, to the end they might be the better able to mainteine their quarell, sent ouer their ambassadoers vnto their kinsmen in Ireland, requiring them of aid in that present danger, as hauing now not onelie warres with the Picts, but also with the Britains, who minded nothing but the utter destruction of them and their linage, except speedie remedie were found. And for that they saw it needfull to haue one onelie head and gouernor, they made sate also to haue some capteine of honoz with them into Albion, vnto whom as to their king they would submit themselves. In that season amongst the Pictish Scottishmen, there reigned a king named Fergusus, who inclining to the petition of the Pictish Scots, caused an huge armie forthwith to be leuiued, and there to be appointed his owne sonne Fergusus to be generall of the same, a worthy young gentleman, and an expert warrioz: whome he sent ouer with his puissant companie, in such speed as was possible. He had also with him the marble stone, that he might conceiue the better hope to reigne there as a king, because he went forth vnto such a dangerous warre.

Such also as went with him in this tourtie, had their wiues, their children, and all their substance with them, as the maner of the nation then was, when they went forth into any forren countrie. Now it came to passe that this Fergusus was no sooner come into Albion amongst the Scottishmen there, but that in a parlement called and assembled in Argile for the purpose, they first consulted after what sort they might mainteine themselves against their enimies, and what order for gouernment should be obserued amongst them. Where finally for auoiding of such inconueniences, as might rise through manie gouernors, they decreed to chuse onlie one, whome in all things, as their king & head, they would from thenceforth follow and obeye.

But because there was none thought so meet to beare that office, as Fergusus, and that the

ambassadoers vnto the Picts.

A craftie suggestion.

Prophecies.

The Picts become enimies to the Scots.

The Scots reuenge their iurie done vnto them.

Scots sent for aid into Ireland.

They require a gouernor.

Fergusus king in Ireland.

Fergusus sent into Scotland. The marble stone.

Fergusus landed in Albion. A parlement.

A king is to be obserued.

Fergusus

The Britains and against the Scots.

The Britains are about to destroye the Picts.

Creation renewed vnto Argile.

Argile sent vnto the Picts.

A peace to be concluded.

The king of the Picts call to his countie and command.

Fergusus

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chaste of hope was also brought with him: they concluded by whole consent to commit that charge vnto him, and so to the great reioysing of the people, he was placed vpon his marble stone, and crowned king, being the first of the Scottish nation that euer ruled in Albion as absolute gouernor, who began his reigne in the yeare after the creation of the world 3640, which is (as Harison saith in his chronologie) before the incarnation of our sauour 327, after the building of Rome 420, and after the entring of Brutus into Britaine 790.

The kingdome of the Scottishmen being thus begun in Albion, Fergus took vpon him to rule as king, making provision on all sides to resist his enemies: who whilest these things were a doing in Argile, had assembled their powers: vnto whom also the Britains had ioined themselves, and were now entred into the Scottish borders. Fergus hauing herof knowledge, speedilie got together his people, and came with banners displayed to encounter his enemies. In king Fergus banner, there was a red lion portraied rampant, with his taile folded towards his backe, as though he did beat the same, which is the maner of them when they be moued to displeasure. Fergus was the first that bare this cognisance in Albion, which euer since hath bene borne by those kings that haue successiuelie reigned after him there.

Both the armies were now come within sight of other, and readie to haue giuen the onset, when there went a murmuring amongst the Picts, that their companions the Britains were gotten to a hill a little beside them, minding to see the end of the battell before they did stir, and then if occasion serued (as their hope was it should) they purposed to fall vpon both parties, as well Picts as Scots, and so to destroye them both, the vanquishers together with the vanquished, as they found them out of arae in following the chase. The like report was brought vnto Fergus by one that fled to his side from the enemies campe, touching this treason of the Britains, conspiring the exterminion of both the people.

By reason whereof, either part being put in feare of that which might issue through the malicious purpose of the Britains, they kept their tents certene daies together, without making any hast to battell. And in the meane while Fergus sent a messenger vnto the king of the Picts, requiring him to come to a communication before they should fight, for that he had to informe him of such matters as pertained no lesse to the safeguard and preservation of the Picts, than of his owne people the Scots. The king of the Picts willinglie gaue eare to this message, and so a little beside both the armies standing in battell arae, the two kings accompanied with a few of their nobles met together, where in the end the danger in which they both stood, being plainelie disclosed and throughlie weied, they condescended to haue a further treatie of peace, which the king of the Picts alleged he might not conclude without the publike consent of his subiects; and therefore he appointed on the daie following to returne to the same place againe, there to giue a resolute answer, after he had vnderstood the minds of his lords and commons in the same.

Herevpon therefore returning to his campe, he called his counsell afoze him, declaring the substance of the communication which had bene betwixt king Fergus and him, which was in effect tending to this end. First considering the present troubles of the Britains, there was nothing more expedient than a peace to be agreed vpon, as well for the commoditie of the Picts as Scots, if they would yield withall to auoid the imminent perill of their

better ruine and common destruction intinded by the Britains.

Herevpon also he required their aduise what they thought good to be done; declaring that according as they counselled him, he would worke therein. This matter being thus proposed, as there were diuerse heads, so were there sundrie opinions. Some iudged that in no case they could enter friendship againe with the Scots, who had so cruellie slaine and murdered a great number of the Pictish nation; and had shewed such tokens of a brauillie furious nature, that there was no hope to continue long in amitie with such a raging kind of people: and hereto they held that it was not vnknowne how the prophesie went, that the Scots should in the end destroye all the Pictish progenie. So that it were wisdom to keepe their power vnder, so long as was possible, and not to increase the same by ioining with them in friendship.

Other were of a contrarie mind, esteeming that in no wise the Scottish mens friendship ought to be refused, vnlesse they would determine to seke new dwellings in some other foraine parties; sith the Britains would not faile, but vpon occasion take what vantage they could to expell them both, as well Scots as Picts, out of the countries now by them possessed. And as for that, which was alledged touching the prophesie, if the gods had so determined, then might no policie of man preuent it: and if there were no such thing appointed by the same gods, what follie then were it to cast such dreadfull doubts where no cause was? Duer and besides this, they had taken them wiues of the Scottish nation, and thereby ingrafted their seed (the hope of their posteritie) in that stocke, which is the nearest meane and forceablest occasion to nourish friendship amongst people, that is or may be deuised; therefore it should not be onelie profitable but necessarie also to haue peace with the Scots, to renew againe with them the former league, to the perpetuall strengthening and aduancement of both the nations.

Whilest the Picts were thus in debating the matter, their wiues also being present there in the armie, came in amongst them with their children, and in most lamentable wise besought their husbands to haue pitie vpon them, in their so sorrowfull case, and not to suffer their hands to be defiled with vnnaturall murder, sith it were lesse discomfort to them with their sillie little ones to die anie kind of death whatsoeuer it were, rather than to behold their husbands with their fathers, their brethren, and their kinsfolke ioine together in battell, and there to kill one another without all mercie and compassion. The nobles and gentlemen of the Picts hearing the cries of these women, and being now somewhat moued to pitie, consented at last to haue peace with the Scottish men, and to renew againe the old league that was heretofore betwene them: and for mutuall iniuries heretofore committed, that there should be a mutuall recompense, according as might stand with equitie and reason. So that where the Britains had bene the chiefe procurers of all that mischief and discord betwixt them, in hope thereby to destroy both the parties, they should now be reputed from henceforth as common enemies to them both. As for all other articles & conditions of agreement, it was ordeined that their king should doe therein as vnto him might seeme good.

In the morning therefore, as was appointed, the king of Picts meeting with king Fergus, declared what his subiects were agreed vpon; and further opening his mind touching the establishment of the peace, thought it conuenient to haue a day of meeting betwixt them to ratifie the same. Wherewith Fergus

A prophesie.

The Picts admonished by their wiues to peace.

The Picts are moued to pitie.

Britains reputed as enemies.

The meeting of the two kings.

In other day taken for the ratification of the peace.

The Britains go home-ward disap- pointed of their purpose.

The Scots and Picts re- turne home in peace.

This Coillus by the circum- stance of the time, and o- ther conside- rations, should seeme to be the same whome the Britains name Gutte- line.

Coillus his subtiltie.

The Britains rob the Scots and the Picts for to stirre discord.

The Scots and Picts in- uade the Bri- tains.

Coillus entred into Scot- land with an armie.

Fergusse as- sembled a great power of Scottish- men.

Fergusse being well contented & glad that through his motion a peace should thus ensue, a day was appointed betwixt them and kept accordingly, so that comming together, the ancient league was in all points renewed, with some conditions added thereto, available (as was thought) for the stronger confirmation thereof. Before this, and after the first meeting betwixt the Scots and Picts, I meane so soone as the Britains had understanding of this agree- ment, they had no lust to tarie longer in the field, but raising their power, they departed their waies home wards, doubting least the said agree- ment might turne smallie to their gaine. The Picts and Scottishmen also after they had thus fullie rati- fied the peace and league betwixt them, brake vp their camps, euerie man repairing to the place of his abode.

The king also of the Britains named Coill (so- journiing in that season nere about Forke) being informed of this sudden renouation of the league be- twixt the Scottishmen and Picts, was nothing less full of the newes: for he doubted least in time to come their confederacie might be occasion of their further increasing in puissance, and after that some new occasion of his trouble. Wherefore studieng by what waies and means he might best prouide reme- die for such inconueniencies as might insue, he at- tempted nothing openlie for the space of two years, but onelie watched his time, to the end that if he might in that season chance (thorough the insolent courage of either nation) to espie anie occasion ser- uiceable for his time, he might set vpon and be a plague vnto them both.

At length also he caused his subiects (such I meane as bordered nere to the marches of both the people) to fetch pices and booties out of the Pictish confines. So that when the Picts sent thither with request to haue restitution made, it was by and by answered, that the Scots had done such trespasses (being a people inured vnto such feats by nature, and not the Britains, who were nothing guiltie in that kind of matter; and thus would the Britains do in like sort when they had robbed the Scots, so that with such in- iurious dissimulation, as well Scots as Picts be- ing not a little offended, they entred soone after in- to the British confines, robbing & spoiling the same, as their custome is, with all maner of crueltie. When Coill of Britaine had notice of these doings, he took greivous indignation thereat, and there- vpon determined to proue whether he might with open warres atchieue his purpose, which he could not bring to passe by his former cloaked practise. And herewith assembling an armie, he entred into the Scottish borders lieng towards the Irish seas, wa- sting & spoiling with fire and sword whatsoeuer he found in his waies, till he came euen to the riuer of Dunc, where incamping himselfe vpon the banks thereof, he sent forth companies of his souldiers to despoile the countrie, and to bring in all such pris- oners as they should lay hands vpon.

But in the meane time, and so soone as Fergusse heard of the approach of the Britains, he caused all the people in the countrie to get them with their goods & cattels vnto the mounteins, except such as were able to beare armour: whome he appointed to attend vpon him, to defend the countrie as occasion serued. Whereof Coill hauing knowledge brought by an espiall, he sent forth about five thousand nimble men, and such as had bene vsed to cline craggie hills, to go before and win the passages, purposiing the next day to follow himselfe with the whole armie. But the Scottishmen and Picts being now assembled together, and certified hereof also by their spies, they first fell in consultation what they

were best to do; and in the end agreed that the same night they should set vpon the British campe: Fer- gusse with his Scottishmen on the one side, and the king of the Picts on the other; so that in the dead of the night the Scottishmen killing the watch, were entered into the British campe, yet Coill had know- ledge of anie such thing.

Whereby it came to passe that whilst the Britains (awaked with the noise) drew vnto that part where the alarme rose, to beat backe the Scots; the Picts comming ouer the riuer of Dunc, by a certeine blind fowd, assailed them on the backs, to the great confusion of the whole armie, by reason whereof the Britains (seeing none other remedie but to saue themselves by flight) turned their backs and fled, in which turmoile they were trodden downe and fell by heaps one vpon another, and were not able to helpe themselves, nor yet to make shift to auoid the hands of their aduersaries. In this businesse also Coill himselfe chanced to be oppressed amongst the rest, so that he was found dead in the search of such as were slaine, and after solemne buried according to his estate in Troinuant, leauing the kingdome vnto his sonne Sisellus, who with his mother Per- tia gouerned the same together by the space of ma- nie yeares.

Such Britains also as escaped out of their enemies hands, got them together in the next morning, & per- ceining what losse they had sustained not onlie by the death of their prince, but also in the slaughter of a great part of their whole armie, sent an herald vnto the Scots and Picts to require a peace: which though the most part of the people were not in will to haue consented vnto, yet persuaded in the end by their princes, they were contented to yeld there- to: so that a generall peace was concluded, and speedilie published betwixt them.

Immediatlie herevpon, the Picts with their part of the spoile gotten at this iournie, departed to their homes, and Fergusse returned into Argile; where studieng dailie for the quiet aduancement of the Scottish commonwealth, he called a parlement of his nobles, and first declaring to the assemblie how much bound they were to the gods for giuing them this victorie over so puissant enemies as the Bri- tains were, he exhorted them to liue in frie-ndlie concord amongst themselves, and to abstaine from violatling the leagues now concluded, as well with the Britains as before hand with the Picts.

Also for the auoiding of enuious contention, and for the better assurance of euerie mans estate, he iudged it necessarie to haue a partition made of all the lands belonging vnto the Scottish dominion. For before they occupied the whole as in commune, without knowing to whome this peece or that did be- long. Which politike aduise of Fergusse, the Scottish- men praised most highlie, promising not onelie to follow his counsell herein in all that he should wish, but also in all that he should otherwise command.

Wherevpon shortly after there were chosen by his aduise seuen ancient personages, men of god- confience and great experience, which were appoin- ted to be surueyors of the whole countrie, and to di- uide the same as nere as they could into a set num- ber of equall portions (but with this consideration, that according as the fruitfulnessse or barrennessse of the soile required, so they should enlarge or diminish the circuit of their bounds.) When they had viewed the countrie, and according to their commission se- uered forth the same into parts, they returned into Argile, where Fergusse then sojourned, and there in his presence, the names of all his noble men that were reputed as gouernors were put in lots, euerie of them to haue such part of the realme for his owne,

Coill was slaine and his whole armie discomfited, whome Hector Boe- thich, their countrie of Coill took name.

Peace con- cluded.

A parlement

An exhorta- tion vnto que- tnesse and peace.

The land is parted.

Obedient subiects.

When diuide the land into portions.

The gouern- ment is giuen vnto the nobles by lots.

Statutes and laws are made.

Perigordius.

A place appoin- ted for iustice.

Fergusse went into Ireland and in his returne was wounded.

Moche Fer- gusse, other- wise knowne as Fergusse.

Edwards, Crithmuns, Camelonas.

This citie the Scottish wri- ters take to be Camelonas.

sum of the which there is so often mention made in the Roman writers: but I belieue herein they do great error.

Whence now called Dundee.

The castle of Spaldens.

The Scots consult about an other elec- tion of a king.

death- bled- chafe- spea- cing- guse- pon- ding- be el- selu- ther- tong-

A chie- not- cont- real- the- due

as thou- By chance people the coun- nerno- little- this- enue- subie- maint- theres- tutes- and ef-

Long gainst- to be- the Al- migh- of w- s- s- neigh- all m- ics- t-

arbitr- bles- force- was- he ha- Albia- thus- Ferg-

Brita- Edwa- Cam- bank- ters- the- a fai- in at- sozt, that- subu- shall- also- brou- nam- ters- strai- till- the-

death- bled- chafe- spea- cing- guse- pon- ding- be el- selu- ther- tong-

A chie- not- cont- real- the- due

as should fall to him by good lucke and present hap.

By this meanes each of them being placed as his chance fell, they inhabited their quarters with such people as they had the leading of, so that afterwards the countries took their names of those the first gouernors: which names for the more part (being a little changed) remaine amongst them euen unto this day. Fergus hauing thus without occasion of enuie diuided his countrie amongst his nobles and subiects, studied further more to deuise lawes for the maintenance of common quiet amongst them. And therefore amongst other ordinances he made statutes against murder, robbrie, burning of houses, and especiallie against theft.

He builded also the castell of Beregonium in Loughquahze on the west side of Albion, ouer against the westerne Isles, where he appointed a court to be kept for the administration of iustice: that both the Albion Scots, and also those of the same Isles might haue their accesse & resort thither for redresse of wrongs, and ending of all controuersies. The residue of his life he past in rest and peace with his neighbors the Brits and Britains, endeavouring by all meanes to knit and couple the hearts of his subiects in one friendlie bond of inward loue and amitie. Finally, sailing afterward into Ireland to be arbitrator in a matter of variance betwixt the nobles of that land, as he returned homewards by force of tempest, the ship wherein he was imbarked, was diuened upon a rocke, where he perished, after he had reigned as king amongst the Scottishmen in Albion about 25 yeeres. The rocke where he was thus cast away, hath bene euer since called rocke Fergus, after his name.

In the same season there reigned amongst the Brits one Enantus, named by Hector Boetius Eudodus, and amongst the Picts one Cruthneus Camelonus that builded a famous citie vpon the bankes of the riuer called Caron, as the Scottish writers affirme, appointing it to be the chiefe citie of all the Pictish kingdome, where in times past there was a faire commodious haven apt to harbour ships in at all seasons, but now it is dammed by in such sort, that vnderneath there appeareth anie token where that haven was: and the citie it selfe was finally subuerted by Kenneth king of Scotland, as after shall appeare. The fozenamed Cruthneus builded also the towne of Agneda, afterwards called Edenbrough, of Ethus king of the Picts, the castell was named the castell of Spaidens, for that the daughters of the Pictish kings were there kept vnder strait custodie, appointed to learne to sow & to weake, till they came to yeeres of marriage.

But now to returne to the Scottishmen. After the death of Fergus, the nobles of the realme assembled together, to take counsell whome they might chuse to succede in his place. Manie of them, in respect of the high benefits which their nation had receiued by the politike gouernement of king Fergus, would not in anie wise that his sonnes, though young of yeeres, should be forgotten; but that according to reason and equitie, the eldest of them should be elected, sith they might not otherwise deliuer themselves of the note of ingratitude towards his father, vnto whome they were more bound than with long can be well exprest.

Other hauing a speciall regard to the quiet of their commonwealth, doubted least if they crowned a child to their king, during his minority, it could not be but that there should follow strife, enuie, and contention for the gouernance of his person and realme amongst the nobles; and that in such wise, as the people being diuided into sundrie factions, the due administration of iustice should be neglected,

the nobles bearing and bolstering by all kinds of iniuries done or committed by anie of their partakers.

And though it might so happen that they agreed vpon one speciall gouernor, as reason was they should; yet should he seeke to aduance his kinfolks more than reason happily required, and peraduenture do things otherwaies much displeasing to no small number of them by that his priuate authoritie. And againe, the king should no sooner come to yeeres of anie discretion, but one or other would put him in mind to take vpon him to rule the whole him selfe, before he understood what charge he had in hand; and by reason of his fraile youth he lightlie would not follow the counsell of anie, but such as consented vnto him in his sensall lusts and inordinate fantasies, which commonlie reigne in such princes as take vpon them gouernance of realmes, before they know (through want of sufficient yeeres) how to gouerne themselves.

For these and the like considerations, alledged by some of no small authoritie amongst them, it was agreed in the end, that one Feritharis the brother of the late deceased Fergus should be crowned king, and haue the gouernance of the realme during his life: and herewith in the meane time to see his nephues king Fergus his sons brought vp in princelie nurture and discipline, as appertained to the sons of a king: that after his deceasse, if he liued till anie of them were come to ripe yeeres, they might succede him in the estate and kingdome.

This ordinance also they decreed to be obserued as a law from thenceforth euer after, that if the king died leauing no issue, but such as were vnder age to succede him, then should one of his neereest cousins, such as was thought meetest to occupie the rowne, be chosen to reigne as king during his life, and after his deceasse the crowne to reuert vnto his predecesors issue without controuersie, if the same were once growne vp to lawfull age.

By this meanes then were children excluded from obtaining the crowne, least the publike libertie of the realme might chance to be put in danger. But yet was it afterwards perceiued that this deuise for choosing of kings, ministred occasion sometimes to the vncke to seeke the destruction of the nephue, and likewise to the nephue to procure the dispatch of the vncke and vnckles sonnes, with the committing of manie heinous murders of right worthy princes, to the no small danger of ouerthrowing the whole state of the commonwealth, so that finally that ordinance was clearelye abrogated, as you shall heare hereafter.

But now to my purpose. After Feritharis with the full consent of all the people was thus elected king, he was inthronized with all solemnitie in receiuing his kinglie ornaments, as his two edged sword, his scepter roiall, and his crowne of gold fashioned in forme of a rampire made for defense of a towne or fortreffe, signifieng that he took vpon him to preserve the libertie of his countrie, to see offenders duly punished, and the execution of lawes with equall punishment trulie ministred.

These ornaments of inuesture remained vnto the Scottish kings, without being in anie point changed, till the daies of Archaius king of Scotland, who establishing a perpetuall league with Charles the great, emperor and king of France, to indure for euer betwene the Scots and Frenchmen, added vnto the crowne four flower de lices, together with foure crosselets, diuided in sunder with equall spaces, rising somewhat higher than the flower de lices: that thereby the obseruing of the christian religion, and sincere faith, mainteined by the Scottish nation, might

Feritharis
chosen king.

The choosing
of kings was
not allowed.

Feritharis

A two edged
sword.

The crowne
changed.

the custodie of a graue conncelloz, who by a common consent should haue the interpretation of those lawes if anie doubt arose, and that when anie offendor should come before the iudge, and heare the sentence read by him, the same offendor might understand that he receiued nothing but right at the iudges hands: by reason whereof it came to passe, that such offendors without repining willinglie were contented to suffer anie punishment whatsoeuer it was that the law did so appoint them. This custome grew into such force, that it neuer might yet be abrogated amongst them of the wessterne Isles, but that euen vnto this day they haue their lawiers amongst them, without whose denuntiation or decree taken out of the register, no iudgement is reputed lawfull.

These were the acts and doings of king Dozua-
bille, who in the 28 yere of his reigne departed this world at Berregonium, now called Dunstaffe, leaving behind him a sonne called Keuther as yet not of sufficient age to succeed in the estate. By reason whereof Pothatus the brother of Dozua-bille, a man of comelie personage and wit, apt (as was thought) to haue a realme in gouernance, was crowned king by force of law aboue remembred, debarring children vnder age to inherit the succession of the crowne.

This Pothatus had vneath reigned two yeres, when all the people began to crie out vpon him, for such tyrannicall parts as he practised as well against the meane estates as the high. And forsomuch as he being admonished of his ductie, and required to reforme certeine dishonorable vsages by him exercised, he would giue no eare thereto: therefore one Doualus gouernor of Brigantia, conspiring with other nobles of the realme to depose him, intised Keuther king Dozua-billes sonne, to take part with them, and to claime the crowne as due to him by descent from his father. And so assembling a companie of their faction sufficient for their enterprise, they entered the palace where Pothatus lay, and after reasoning with him of certeine points touching his misgouernment in the estate, diuers of their companie not fasteing till they were commanded, rashlie fell vpon him, and murdered him together with diuers of such nobles and gentlemen, as they knew to be enemies to Doualus and his friends.

After this they proclaimed Keuther king, and crowned him with all due solemnitie, diuers of the nobles of the realme being highlie displeased therewith, for that they iudged it not onelie a great offense to haue the king thus traitorously murdered, but also saw hereby the ancient ordinance of chusing their king through consent of the people, to be broken by the wicked attempt of a priuat person, and withallfull young man aduanced to the crowne, contrarie to the decree of an autentike law. Among other one Ferquhard the sonne in law of Pothatus gouernor of Lozne and Cantire, called an assemblee of the people, and began to declare what enormities were like to insue through this tyrannicall attempt of Doualus. Doualus hearing whereabout Ferquhard went, hastilie came to the place where this assemblee was made, and there slaing diuers of the chiefe, he did put Ferquhard also in great hazard of his life, who by being yet escaped his hands, and got him ouer into the Ile of Ila, whither resorted vnto him diuers of the nobles (that fauored not Douale) with a great number of the commons.

In the end, Ferquhard perswaded his companions to set all feare apart, and to returne with him into Scotland to take reuenge of Douale and his complices, being traitors and enemies to the realme and common-wealth, so that first joining hands, which they did wet in mans blood (according to the

custome then vsed) they promised one to another to liue and die in the quarell, and after imbarcking themselves in certeine vessels, they entered the sea, and passed ouer into Scotland, where gathering together no small number of such as willinglie resorted vnto them to their aid, they encountered with Douale in battell, whose host twice in one daie was put to flight nere to the citie Berregonium with the losse of eight thousand men.

The night parted the fraie, but in the next morning, Douale and his partakers through great indignation conceiued, for that they were so beaten backe by Ferquhard (hauing in all his host not past 10000 persons) fiercelie came forth of their tents to giue battell afresh, and finding their enemies ready to receiue them, there was fought so cruell a battell betwixt them, that in the end either part being sore trauelled with slaughter and long fight, was glad to giue place to the other, not passing an eight hundred of all those that were present that daie in the field as then being left aliuie. Upon Douales part there was Iaine Gethus king of Picts, whose daughter king Keuther had married, with a great number of his people: also Douale himselfe with diuers of the nobles of Scotland, beside gentlemen & commons that took part with him. On the contrarie side there died also Ferquhard himselfe with diuers gouernors of tribes, beside the residue of the nobles, gentlemen & commons of Rosse, Cathenesse, Darne, Argile, Cantire, and Lozne, with them of the wessterne Isles which were there with him.

Keuther escaping with life from this bloudie encounter, in the night following departed his waies with such of his people as were left aliuie. Whereof his enemies being aduertised in the next morning, pursued after him with such diligence, that in the end they took him within a castell in Cathenesse whither he was fled for succor: he was pardoned of his life, partlie in respect of his fathers merits, and partlie againe for that it was knotone how his tender youth was such as had not deserved death by any fact, other wise than in that he had followed the counterfeit of malicious persons. By this cruell murder and huge slaughter thus committed betwixt these two nations of Scottishmen and Picts, both their forces were so greatlie infeebled, that they became an easie prey to their ancient and common enemies the Britains, who in such oportunitie of occasion thought not to sit still till the same might haplie be past and gone.

First therefore with a mightie armie the Britains invaded the Picts: the nobles of which nation perceiving themselves not able to make resistance, fled with their wiues, their children, and the most part of their goods, ouer into the Isles of Orkenie, and there assembling together, they created them a new king to haue the gouernance ouer them, who was also named Gethus, and brother to the other Gethus a little before mentioned. Here also they remained certeine yeares after, liuing in peaceable manner with the former inhabitants, whom they found there, wronging them by no iniurious dealing at all (if the Scottish historie be true). Whereof moreover as some suppose it came to passe, that these Islands of Orkenie are named by diuers writers the ancient kingdome of the Picts.

In the meane while the Britains seizing vpon such countries as these Picts had forsaken, that is to saie, the Pers, Louthian, and others, they left in diuers places where they thought expedient, garisons of men of war, to keepe the same in due subiection: and after entered into the confines of the Scottish kingdome, burning & waisting all afore them, where with such Scots as yet remained aliuie, being high-

Douale is slain.

Ferquhard is slain.

Keuther the king fled.

Keuther pursued & taken. He is pardoned of his life.

Gethus king.

why Orkenie was called Pictland as some suppose, but the truth should seeme to be that they were so called because the Picts inhabited there before they set foot in Brittain.

D. J. lie

The Scots
ouerthrowne.

He moued to indignation, came stoutlie into the field to defend their countrie, and incounting with their enemies nere to Kalendar wood, they lost two thousand of their companie: the residue also being sore chased, fled into sundrie parties for safegard of their liues.

This discomfiture put the Scottish nation into such feare and terror, that they bitterlie despaired of all recouerie, where contrariwise the Britains were so aduanced (in hope bitterlie to expell all aliens out of their Ile) that pursuing the victorie in most earnest wise, they forced Keuther and all the nobilitie of the Scottish nation that was yet left alieue, to flee for safegard of their liues into the castell of Wreggonium, where they held themselves as in the surest helde. The Britains being certified of the repaire of their enemies to Wreggonium, enuironed the castell with a strong and vehement siege, untill that the Scots within were constrained through want of vittels to eate each other, according as the lots fell by a common agrement made amongst them.

But when it came to passe, that euen those that were reputed as heads and gouernours, and in whom consisted the hope of their whole defense, did now and then come to the shambles as well as other of lesse reputation, they thought it best to trie by fleeing forth, if any of their haps might be so good as to escape the danger present, whereas by tarrying still within the fortresse, they should but deuoure one another without any reuenge for losse of their liues had vpon their fierce and cruell enemies. Whereupon by common consent there issued forth, first one Colane lord of Cantire with an hundred of his owne souldiours, and fiercelie skirmishing with the Britains, defended himselfe a good space right manfullie, though in the end both he and his whole band were bozne downe and slaine with pzease and multitude of his enemies that assailed him on each side. In the meane season, whilste he thus occupied the Britains in fight on one side, Keuther with the residue of his people brake forth by another waie, and escaping to the sea side, got ships and fled ouer into the westerne Isles, where he found a great number of other Scottishmen that were gotten thither, being scottil by Denus king of the Britains to auoid forth of the countries, which they before inhabited.

Keuther remained not long in the Isles, but passed ouer into Ireland. The Britains not a little moued for his escape with the other of the Scottish lords, reuenged their displeasure on such commons and other meane people as fell into their hands, so that such as might escape, got them into the mounteins, and liued there by roots, berries, & other wild fruits in summer, and in winter by such benefon and fleshy of wild beasts as they killed in the wilbernesse: and sometimes they came downe and made raisses vpon the Britains that occupied their houses and latus, fetching great booties verie often from amongst them.

This cruell warre lasted twelue yeres, untill in manner all such Scots and Picts as remained in Albion were brought vnder seruitude to the Britains. In which meane while, Cethus king of the Picts kept his siege roiall in Pomonia the chiefe Isle of the Orkenies. Keuther also begot of his wife a sonne named Thereus, and shortly after being procured by letters and messengers sent vnto him from the foresaid Cethus and such Scots as were yet remaining in Albion, he assembled a number of ships together, and first with a chosen power of warriors sailed to the westerne Isles, where increasing his numbers, he passed ouer into Albion, landing on the west halfe of Kosse at Lough Bruum, and there

comming on land, the first person that they met with (according to a custome vsed amongst them in those daies) they slue, and wetting the points of their weapons in his blood, they first tasted thereof after their manner, then holding by their weapons into the aire, they desired of the gods that they might reuenge the blood of their elders with happie battell against the Britains their enemies. After this, hearing that Cethus king of the Picts was also entered the land with a mightie power of Germans, which were come to his aid, and was not past thirtie miles off, he staid there abiding for his comming, to the intent that joining their powers together, they might be the better able to furnish their enterprise.

The third daie after they met together with great ioy and congratulations, vnto whom with all speed a great number also of those Scottishmen and Picts that had still continued in the countrie (during the time of the persecution by the Britains) daile resorted and came flocking in from each side vnto them. Skillus king of the Britains, who succeeded after Denus, as then lately deceased, hauing knowledge hereof, assembled a great armie of his subiects, and hearing that the Scots and Picts were entered into the borders of his realme, he hasted forth to encounter with their powers, and so joining with them in battell, after long and cruell fight, in the end the victorie remained with the Scottishmen and Picts, by the great valiance and manfull prowesse of Keuther: whereupon the place where that battell was fought hath bene euer since called Keutherdale, as ye would say Keuthers ballie.

This victorie was not very pleasant to any of the parties, by reason of the great numbers of men slaine on both sides, insomuch that they were glad to fall to agrement immediatlie after, and concluded a peace, with conditions that the Scottishmen and Picts should be restored againe vnto their ancient possessions and lands in Albion. This peace continued a long time after inuolate betwixt these nations. The yere that Keuther returned thus into Albion, was before the birth of Christ 216, after the building of Rome 529, and from the creation of the world 3750. Keuther by Beda in his ecclesiasticall historie of England is named Keuda, who also supposeth him to be the first of all the Scottish princes, that set any foot in Britaine there to inhabit: his comming thither was (as seemeth to some) long after the supposed time here before alleged. And verelie there is great cause to moue a doubt of the truth of that which Hector Boetius hath written, in following (as he saith) other authors, touching the first comming into Britaine, as well of the Scots and Picts. For if it were true, that so long before the comming of the Romans into this Ile, they were here planted and growne to such puissance; it is strange that no mention is made of them in any of their writings, till about the yere 360 after Christ; as in place conuenient it shall more plainelie appere. Keuther passed the residue of his daies without any further warres, forren and ciuill, and so departed this world at Wreggonium, in the 26 yere of his reigne.

After Keuther his deceasse, his vnckles son called Keutha succeeded in the kingdome, chosen thereto by the common agrement of all the states, because that Thereus sonne to Keuther vnneth come to the age of ten yeres, was thought vnable to take the charge vpon him. Keutha therfore being thus elected to reigne as king ouer the Scottishmen, ordeined that such noblemen as had atchieued ante notable exploit in defense of their countrie, should be had in perpetuall memorie, and buried in solemne wise in sepulchres aloft vpon hills or mounteins, vpon

Scots belie-
ged deuoure
one another.

The Scots
come forth
and fight.

Keuther escape-
th.

Keuther pas-
sed into Ire-
land.

They inhabit
the mount-
eins.

Keuther is
sent for out
of Ireland.

T. C. C.

The Cir-
man and
of the Picts.

Keuther and
Cethus met
and ioyne
their powers
together.

The Picts
are
discomfited
by the Scots
and Picts.

whereof the
first daie is
the name.

A peace
concluded.

240 H.R.
499 H.R.

Keutha by
Beda is na-
med Keuda.

499 H.R.

Keutha.

An opinion
for buriall
of their pri-
ues.

Keutha is
pointed out.

The nobles
conspire a-
gainst the
king.

upon the
pointed
toars: wher
to this daie.

This Ke-
all manner
as were ex-
great num-
for, to inha-
fruct them
as vnto oth-
pointed ho-
be receiue
euerie ma-
further, ech
and backe
yet the vse
Scottishmen
their beast
sed in the

Keutha
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and diseas-
ordeined b-
that none
physician,
practised a
time they
sicke or o-
pen place
as came th-
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with the l-
ped the da-
For no m-
passe by
was accep-

Keuth
common
estate to
himselfe
well in th-
he cause
presence
ged of th-
be comm-
was not
but also
opinion
prowesse
Keutha
to a priu-
vnto th-
suasion
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Thereus.

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But he
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upon the which were set so manie obelisks or long pointed stones, as they had slaine enemies in the wars: thereof some remaine there to be seene even to this daie.

This Reutha also vnderstanding of the lacke of all manner of craftsmen in his realme, and of such as were expert in the liberall sciences, caused a great number of most perfect artificers to be sent for, to inhabit amongst his people, the better to instruct them in their occupations. Unto these also as vnto other professing anie liberall art, were appointed honest livinges, by way of fees, assigned to be received of such oxen and beestes as were killed, to euerie man of science and artificer his part. And further, each of them had certeine measures of otes and barlie in stead of yearelie annuities. For as yet the vse of coine was not known amongst the Scottishmen. The which custome of distributing their beastes, which they killed in this wise, is still vsed in the westerne Isles even to these our daies.

Reutha perceiuing furthermore that through vnskillfull surgians and physicians manie wounded and diseased persons were oftentimes cast awaie, ordeined by the aduise and consent of his counsell, that none should take vpon them as a surgion or physician, vnlesse they were by long experience well practised aforesaid in those sciences. For before that time they vsed to carie forth such persons as were sicke or otherwise hurt, and to lay them in some open place in the streets or market sted, that all such as came by, might according to their knowledge declare their aduise, and shew (if they had bene vered with the like disease) by what means they had escaped the danger, and recovered againe their health. For no man might without the note of high reproch passe by, keeping silence in this behalfe. And this was according to the custome of the old Egyptians.

Reutha thus studeing for the aduancement of the commonwealth of his subiects, continued in the estate with great prosperitie, till finally perceiuing himselfe farre growen in age, and not so able to traueil in the affaires of the realme as he was before, he caused a parlement to be assembled, and there in presence of all the estates, required to be discharged of the gouernement: and that the same might be committed vnto his cousin Thereus, who as then was not onelie of sufficient age to take it vpon him, but also of such towardnesse, as that in each mans opinion he was thought likelie to attaine vnto the prouesse of anie of his noble progenitoirs. Thus Reutha, after he had reigned 17 yeares, returned to a priuat life, resigning the whole rule of his realme vnto the aforesaid Thereus, being through his perswasion receiued as king of all estates by common consent there in that present assemblee.

This Thereus for the first six yeares was equall in all points of princelie gouernement to anie of his predecessors, but afterward he changed his copie in such maner, that iustice and all other kinds of vertue being set apart, he neither regarded the lawes of the gods, nor yet of men; but gaue himselfe to all sort of filthinesse and most detestable vices, so farre forth, that his subiects (as their custome is in following the maners and vsages of their princes) became so outrageous in their licentious liuings, and namelie the nobles and gentlemen, that thereof ensued theft, murder, rape, spoiling, and all kinds of oppression of those sillie soules that had no meanes to resist, so as in fine, diuers gouernours of the tribes perceiuing no hope of amendment while Thereus should reigne, conspired together, deuising meanes how to depose him of all kingly authoritie. But he hauing notice of their purposed intentions, and doubting the sequele thereof, conuied himselfe

out of the way in most secret wise, fleeing for succour vnto the Britains, vnto whome though he made earnest sute for aid to be restored home againe, yet could he purchase no such fauour amongst them: so that leding a miserable life a long time after within the citie of Dork, he finally there ended his daies. He reigned in Scotland about 12 yeares or more.

Immediatlie after this his auoiding the realme, the nobles and peres chose one Conanus lord of Galoway to rule the estate as gouernour, whose authoritie had bene euer great amongst the people. His studie was chieflie imploied how to reduce the lords and nobles of the realme into concord and friendlie amitie, where before through the negligence of Thereus each sought others destructions. Also he caused due punishment to be executed vpon all such as liued by robbing and reuling; of whome in the beginning of his gouernement there was no small number: but he wooded them forth, in such wise that yet he left off, there was not one of them to be found. At length, after it was vnderstood that Thereus was dead, this Conanus renounced the administration in presence of all the estates assembled in parlement at Berregonium, where by common consent, Josina brother of Thereus was chosen to reigne as king, for that Thereus had left no issue behind him to succeed.

This Josina being proclaimed king, renewed the ancient leagues with the Brits and Britains. He had physicians in great estimation; for that during his abode in Ireland, he was nourished of a child amongst them, and by reason thereof had some knowledge in the facultie, speciallie he vnderstood the vertues and properties of herbes, where with in those daies the Scots vsed to heale and remedie all manner of sores and diseases, which as then were set in number, in respect of the sundrie kinds which are now known amongst vs; and all by reason of the superfluous feeding and exesse of meats and drinks vsed in our time, whereas our elders sufficed with a little, liued without surfeiting, the chiefest breeder of such strange and manifold sicknesses. In this Josina his daies it chanced that a storming gale ship was driven and drowned by force of a streinable tempest nere vnto the shore of one of the Scottish Isles, where diuerse of those that were within the same ship, mariners and other escaped to land, amongst whome were two ancient and fatherlie old men of right reuerend aspect and countenance.

These two in companie with some of the inhabitants of that Ile came ouer into Berregonium, where the king as then sojourned. They were Spanishe priests of the pagane religion, whose purpose was to haue gone vnto Athens in Grecia (as some write) but whence soeuer they were, and what purpose soeuer they had, certeine it is they were philosophers; and therefore the king receiued them most tofullie, doing them all the honoz he could deuise, and commanding that they should be lodged within his owne palace, where they had all things needfull, and accordinglie ministred vnto them.

These philosophers, after they had refreshed themselves at their ease for the space of 14 daies, the king caused them to come before him, requiring them to shew their opinion what they thought by the nature of the soile, the maners and customs of his people, so far forth as they had seene and heard. They without pausing for answer declared, that as yet they had not had time to learne those things, but onelie thus far by coniecture they supposed, that the ground was more like to be fruitfull of mettall mines, than of coine and graine, as containing far more riches vnderneath the earth than aboue; this they said that

Thereus fled to the Britains.

Conanus.

Conanus is chosen king.

Conanus persecuteth offendours.

He renounceth the estate.

Josina elected king.

Josina.

Surfeiting the cause of strange diseases, which so commonlie now reigne.

Two ancient philosophers through shipwreck arrive in Scotland, and are tofullie receiued of the king.

Reutha.

An opinion for buriall of their prince obelisks or pointed stones.

Reutha resigneth the estate vnto his cousin Thereus.

Thereus negligent and vicious.

Philosophers arrive at Berregonium.

The Scottish
religion re-
proued.

Uprightlik-
ing well re-
warded at
Gods hands.

Josina depar-
ted this life.

Finna-
mus.

Prelats orde-
red in reli-
gion.
Druides in
the old Sco-
tish tong cal-
led Durceglis.

The Scots
mistake Man
for Angleſe.

The authori-
tie of the
Druides in-
creased.

they gathered by the influence of the heauens vnder the which it laie. And as for the rites and vsages of the people, in one point they could in no wise commend them, for that in religion they followed the superstitious rites of the Egyptians, worshipping the immortall gods in the shape of beastes and fowls; whereas God was euen the same that did comprehend both heauen and earth, with the waters and all things in them contained, whome they named nature, and as it were the primordially cause of beginning of all things, vnto whome it was not possible to deuise anie similitude of liuing thing that might in anie wise represent him. Therefore (said they) men ought to worship the liuing God with fire and deuout prayer, building him a temple for that purpose, and onelie vnto him to burne incense, and to performe vowes: at whose hands such as liued chastly, vprightlie, and according to the rules of iustice, ought euer to looke for some high benefit, where other that liued contrarie might euer stand in doubt of contrarie reward.

With these their sensible instructions they perswaded manie of the Scottish nation vnto their opinion, though the greatest part would by no means followe anie other kind of religion, than that which they had receiued from their elders: neither could anie of them be brought to thinke otherwise of the sun, the mone, and stars, but that there was a certaine diuine power or godhead in euerie one of them. And thus much of these strangers briedlie and by the way, who came into Scotland at this present: but now to proceed with our purpose. When Josina had reigned 24 yeares, he departed out of this world at Berregonium, being a man of verie great age. He left behind him a sonne named Finnanus, who a little before his fathers deceasse was by consent of the people proclaimed king of Scotland.

This Finnanus had the nobles of his realme in such estimation, that he ordeined that nothing should be decreed or practised touching the publike affaires of the realme, except they were first made priuie and of counsell in the same. He sought also to win the fauour of his people by mekenesse and gentle intreating of them, insomuch that though he went about to restore the old religion somewhat defaced by his father through information (as is said) of the two aboue mentioned sage philosophers, yet did he not constrain anie man to worship the gods, otherwise than his fantasie serued him. He was the first that instituted those prelats, which gouerned after the manner of bishops, in all matters pertaining to religion, and were called in the Scottish tong Durceglis in Latine Druides. These Druides were appointed to be resident within the Ile of Man, as the Scottishmen hold opinion: but other thinke rather that they were resident in Angleſe, in the British tong called Mon. Vnto these also hauing great liuings assigned them, were the inferiour priests subiect, as receiuing at their hands all iniunctions and orders for the vse of their sacrifices and other ceremonies.

These Druides afterwards applied themselves so earnestlie to the studie of philosophie, as well naturall as morall, that they were had in no small reuerence of the people, as they that were both accounted and knowne to be men of most perfect life and innocencie: by means whereof their authoritie daillie so far forth increased, that finallie iudgements in most doubtful matters were committed vnto their determinations, offenders by their discretion punished, and such as had well deserued accordinglie by their appointments rewarded. Moreouer such as refused to obey their decrees and ordinances, were by them excommunicated, so that no

creature durst once keepe companie with such, till they were reconciled againe, and cleaue by the same Druides absolved.

Plinie, Cornelius Tacitus, Strabo, and Iulius Caesar, with diuers other approued authors, make mention of these Druides, signifying how the first beginning of their religion was in Britaine (which some comprehend all whole vnder the name of Albion) and from thence was the same religion brought over into France. Finnanus was not onelie praised for his setting forth of that heathen religion, but also for his politike gouernement of the estate in so full rest and quietnesse. Neither was his fame a little advanced for the marriage concluded and made betwixt his sonne Durfus and Agasia daughter to the king of Britains, for by that alliance he won diuers of the British nation vnto his friendship. Finallie, this Finnanus died at Camelon, being come thither to visit the king of Picts as then soe diseased, after he had reigned about the space of thirtie yeares. His bodie was conueied vnto Berregonium, and there buried amongst his predecessors.

After him succeeded his sonne the forenamed Durfus, farre differing from his noble father in all vertuous demeanour, as he that was altogether giuen to banketting and excessive drunkennesse. Such of the nobles as his father had in high reuerence he made light account of; accepting onelie those that of their wicked deuiſes could find out new kinds of voluptuous pleasures, through whose persuasions some of his peeres he confined, some he spoiled of all their substance & inheritance, other he put to death without iust cause or anie kind of lawfull means. Furthermore he forsooke the companie of his lawfull wife Agasia, causing hir to be forced and abused by diuers vile persons in most villanous manner.

With these and the semblable inordinat practises he procured the indignation of his people so far forth against him, that those of the westerne Isles with them of Cantire, Lozne, Argyle, and Koffe, conspired together in the reformation of such disorders as were daillie vsed in the administration of iustice, by the wicked suggestion of euill disposed counsellors, against whome they pretended to make their war, and not against their king. There were also so manie that fauoured them in this quarrell, and so few that leane to the king to aid him against them, that he was constrained to dissemble with them for a time, in promising not onelie to remove from him such as they would appoint, but also to be ordered in all things according as they should thinke good. And to put them in beleefe that he ment as he spake, he committed some such counsellors as he had about him vnto ward, and other some (of whome he little passed) he sent vnto them as prisoners, to receiue such punishment by death or otherwise, as they should thinke conuenient.

He further also in presence of Dozo the gouernour of Cantire, sent to him for that purpose, swore in solemne wise afore the image of Diana, to performe all such promises and covenants as he was agreed vpon, and had made vnto the conspirators. With which cloked dissimulation they being deceived, came without suspect of further guile vnto Berregonium, where at their first comming he was ready to receiue them (as seemed by his seiued countenance) with glad some hart and most friendly meaning; but they were no sooner entered the castle, but that a number of armed men appointed for the purpose fell vpon them, and slue them all without mercie.

This heinous act being once signified abroad in their countries amongst their friends and kinfolke,

How to
kill Dur-
fus being
diseased.

Durfus is
diseased.

Durfus.

Ewin is cho-
sing.

Ewin.

Howeering of
his first be-
gins.

Craftie and
cloked dis-
simulation.

Howeering of
his first be-
gins.

The battle of
Godwine.

A notable op-
portunitye.

A craftie and
cloked dis-
simulation.

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trauell, as
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themselves
and to bear

caused a new commotion, so that within a few daies
after, manie thousands of men in furious rage
came before the castell, and besieged the king most
straighthlie therein. When perceiuing himselfe in such
danger as he knew not well how to escape, came
forth with such companie as he had about him, and
incountering with his enemies, was straighthwaies
beaten downe among them, and so at once lost there
both kingdome and life in the ninth yeare of his
reigne. Durstus being thus dispatched, his children
doubting the indignation of the people conceived a-
gainst them for their fathers fault, to auoid the
perill fled ouer into Ireland, and immediatlie the
nobles of the realme assembled themselves together
for the choosing of a new king, in no wise minding
to haue anie of Durstus his race to reigne ouer
them, least they would seeke by some means to re-
uenge his death: howbeit at length when they were
at point to haue fallen at variance in suffering of
contrarie opinions about the election of their prince,
through a twittie oration made by Coranus gouer-
nour of Argyle, who alledged manie weightie rea-
sons for the auoiding of sedition, they all agreed to
commit the free election into the same Coranus,
promising firmelie to accept whome soeuer he should
name. Hereupon Coranus consulting a little with
the pères of the realme, named one Ewin the vncle
les sonne of Durstus, who as then remained in
Ireland, whether he had withdrawn himselfe in
Durstus his daies, being banished the realme by
him, for that he could not atwaie with his corrupt
manners. This election was acceptable to all estates,
for that thereby the administration of the kingdome
continued in the line of their former kings.

And Ewin shortly after was brought forth of
Ireland with all regall solemnitie, and at Ber-
regonium placed vpon the stone of marble, to the
great reioysing of the people there assembled. Here-
with also the nobles of the realme, putting their
hands in his, bound themselves by oth to be loiall
and faithfull subiects vnto him in all points, which
custome of swearing fealtie then first by Ewins
commandement, begun and continued manie hun-
dred yeares after amongst his and their posteritie;
in somuch that the capitaine of the tribes also re-
quired the same kind of oth of them that inhabited with
in their liberties, which in part remaineth yet vnto
this day amongst those of the westerne Isles, and
such as inhabit in the mounteins. For at the crea-
tion of a new gouernour, whome they name their
capitaine, they vse the like ceremonies; which being
ended, at the next saire kept within that countrie,
proclamation is made, that no man inhabiting with
in his iurisdiction, shall name this new gouernour
by anie other name from thenceforth, than by the
ancient & accustomed name as such rulers afortime
haue bene called by. And that so oft as they heare
him named, they shall put off their caps or hats, and
make a certeine courtesie in signe of honour due to
him, in such maner as we vse in hearing diuine ser-
uice, when anie holie myserie is in doing, or anie
sacred name of the almightie creator recited.

But now touching king Ewin, his chiefest stu-
die was to mainteine iustice throughout his domi-
nion, and to weed out such transgressours as went
about to trouble the quiet estate of his subiects. Fur-
thermore, considering what inconueniencies procé-
ded through the vse of voluptuous pleasures & wan-
ton delites, he ordeined that the youth of his realme
should be trained to endure hardnesse, paine, and
trauell, as to lie vpon hard boards without anie sea-
therbeds or pillows vnder them. Also to exercise
themselves to throw the dart, to shoot, to wrestle,
and to beare armour aswell in time of peace as of

warre; that when need required, trauell and such
kind of exercises should be no paine but pleasure
vnto them; where otherwaies lacke of vse might
make the same intollerable. Whilist Ewin is thus
occupied about the setting forth of necessarie ordi-
nances for the wealth of his realme, the king of the
Picts did send vnto him ambassadours to require
his aid against the Britains, who were entred his
countrie in robbing and spoiling the same.

Ewin consenting quicklie to that request, lent
an armie forthwith, and with all speed passed forward
to ioine with the Picts, in purpose to reuenge the
old iniuries done to his nation by the Britains, who
likewise were as ready to receiue battell, as the
Scots and Picts were desirous to giue it, so that
both the armies incountering together (the Scots
and Picts on the one side, and the Britains on the o-
ther) there ensued a sore conflict betwixt them, con-
tinued with vniuersall slaughter till night parted
them in furdor; no man as then able to iudge who
had the better, but either part being pricke to their
owne losses, withdrew themselves further off from
the place of the battell, so that the Scots and Picts
the same night got them into the mounteins of Pic-
land, and the Britains so lone as it was day made
homewards with all speed towards their countrie,
leaving no small preie and botie behind them, which
the Scottishmen and the Picts recovered, coming
downe with all speed from the mounteins, when
they once heard that their enemies were departed.

King Ewin being returned from this iournie,
determined to passe the residue of his life in rest and
quietnesse, appointing iudges in euerie part of his
realme, for the ministring of iustice and executing of
lawes, according to the due forme and ordinance of
the same. He appointed also such as should watch for
the apprehension of theues and robbers by the high
wayes, assigning them linings of the common trea-
surie to liue by. And there be enen vnto this day that
hold still such linings, though the office be waie out
of vse and forgotten.

After this, he builded a castell not farre distant
from Berregonium, which he named after his owne
name Ewinum: but afterwards it was called
Dunstaffage, which is as much to say, as Steuenes
castell, which name it beareth at this present. Final-
lic, this Ewin, after he had reigned to the great
weale of the realme, about 19 yeares, he departed
this life, leaving behind him a son base begotten, na-
med Gillus, who causing his fathers funerals to be
executed with all solemn pompe and ceremonies,
raised by some after sundry obelisks about his graue
nere vnto Dunstaffage, where he was buried.

There were present also at the buriall, two of
Durstus his sonnes, whome Ewin in his life time
had reuoked home out of Ireland, where they were
in exile. Both these, as well the one as the other, be-
cause they were twins, and not knowne whether of
them came first into the world, looked to be king af-
ter Ewin: their names were Dathan and Dorgall.
And such malicious emulation and enuious spite
rose betwixt the two brethren, for the attaining of
their purpose, that greater could not be deuised, which
Gillus, like a craftie & subtil for, by couert means
sought still to augment; and in the end causing them
to come together for some conclusion of agreement,
at length when he had set them further at ods than
they were before, he procured a number of souldiers
appointed for the purpose to raise a tumult (as
though it had bene in taking of contrarie parts) and
there to slaue them both.

Thus Gillus hauing brought to purpose that he
came for, shewed in countenance as though he had
bene much offended therewith, and done what he
could

A doubtfull
battell.

Dunstaffage
is builded.

The craftie
swoyking of
Gillus.

Durstus two
sonnes are
slaine.

D.ij.

could

could to haue appeased the matter; and herewith he cometh running forth with a high voice, declaring to his companie, that if he had not made good thist for himselfe, he had bene slaine by the hands of Dothan and Doggall, who fell into such mischance themselves, as they had prepared for other. Whereupon also he required his friends and seruants most earnestlie to conueie him into some sure place, where he might be out of danger, and in better securitie: in so much that manie of those that heard him, giuing credit to his words, went with him with all speed vnto Dunstaffage, where being receiued into the castle with diuers of the nobles that followed him, he got him into a gallerie, and there making an inuective oration against the sonnes of Durstus, and touching by the way what perill might insue to the commonwealth by ciuill diuision, he perswaded them to commit the rule into his hands, vntill it might be certeinlie knowne, vnto whome the same of right appertained.

Those that were present, perceiuing to what issue his painted processe tended, and doubting lest if they should seeme to stand against him at that instant in this his demand, they might happilie be the first that should repent the bargaine, consented to proclaim him king: whereupon he required all such as were present, to sware vnto him fealtie, and to doe him homage according to the custome. And herewith agreeable as he had before promised, and according to his fathers will (as he alledged) he distributed among them all such cattell as belonged to his said father. Wherby he wane the greater fauour of manie, but yet not iudging himselfe altogether in suertie, by reason that Dothan had left behind him three sonnes, as then remaining in the Ile of Man, in the bringing by of the Druides, he purposed therefore to dispatch them also for the better assurance of his estate, and thereupon he made a iournie thither himselfe, feigning as though he meant nothing but all loue and frendlie affection towards the children, by which meanes he gat two of them into his hands, the one named Lismorus, being about twelue yeeres of age, and the other Comacus that was two yeeres younger. The youngest of the three named Ederus, being about seven yeeres old, as his better hap was, chanced to be sicke at that time, by reason whereof he escaped his hands: Gillus feigning as though he wished to haue the other two brought by like the children of a prince, he led them away with him into Scotland, leauing certein of his seruants behind him, to rid Ederus the youngest out of the way at leisure; and as for the other twaine, the night following after his coming home to Dunstaffage, he caused them to be murdered, euen in their tutors armes, whose aid most pitifullie they besought and required. But the woman that had the keeping of Ederus now in his sicknesse, provided more warlike for his safeguard, for the smelling out what was the kings purpose, in the dead of the night got hir selfe together with Ederus into a ship, and passed ouer into Argile, where being set on land, she caried him on hir shoulders by into the mounteins, and there with in a secret den sustained his languishing life for certein moneths in great care and miserie.

Gillus notwithstanding these his cruell acts, shewed yet in outward apperance that no man was more desirous of the quiet state and prosperous successe of the commonwealth than he: ever reasoning among his nobles, and that in the presence of his commons touching the maintenance of iustice, & punishment of misdoers, whereas he himselfe thirsted continually, and most of all after the blood of those whom he doubted anie thing likelie to attempt the reuenge of his wicked misgouernance: in so much that he cau-

sed in one place and other, all such to be murdered and slaine as bare anie good will toward the lawfull line of Durstus.

Now the people seeing the daillie slaughter of the nobilitie, and at the last growing to be verie sore moued against him, namelie those of Galloway, Bile, Carrick, and Coningham, with them of Cantire, Lozue, and Argile, they assembled their powers together, and with all speed marched forth towards the place where they thought to find the tyrant: who hearing of this their conspiracie, assembled such assistance as he could make, & hauing no other refuge but to trie the matter by battell, made towards his enemies with more speed than good successe: for yet the two armies came to loining, a great number of Gillus his friends fled to the contrarie part, so that hereupon doubting the issue if he were constrained to fight, he stole priuilie from amongst the residue of his folks, and getting into a fishers bote, conueied himselfe ouer into Ireland: whose departure being once knowne, his souldiours yielded themselves vnto Cadall gouernoz of Galloway, who was capitaine generall of all the conspirators, and now by the consent of all the estates created gouernoz of the realme till they had chosen a king.

This Cadall, immediatlie vpon the great authoritie giuen him, gat first all the best fortresses into his hands, as Beragonium, Dunstaffage, and other: then he passed ouer into the Ile of Ila, to prouide the better for the resisting of Gillus, if he shuld attempt anie thing by purchasing aid amongst them of the weserne Isles. Whither was brought vnhimto also, the young Ederus (by such of Durstus his friends as had escaped the cruell hands of Gillus) whome Cadall caused to be honorablie conueied vnto Episke the chiefest cite of Galloway, there to be brought vp in princelie nurture, that comming to full age, he might the better be able to take vpon him the gouernance.

In which meane while Gillus made all the friends in Ireland that he could, in so much that vpon such golden promises as he made vnto the chiefest gouernors there, they consented to aid him with all their forces. Wherof Cadall being aduertised, he thought it best that a king should be chosen, and thereby an vnitie to be framed amongst all the estates of the realme, whereupon causing a counsell to be assembled for the same intent, by common agreement, one Ewin, a man of worthie fame, nephew to king Finian by his brother Douall, was in the end proclaimed king: who was latelie come from the Ile of Gowere into Albion, in companie with Cadall, and kept himselfe close hitherto within the said Ile, for doubt of Gillus that sought amongst other to haue destroyed him also.

This Ewin, being the second of that name, made great prouision in the beginning of his reigne to resist the said Gillus his enimie. And hearing that he had bene in the Ile of Ila, and put the same to fire and sword, he prepared an armie and ships also, to transport therewith ouer into Ireland, there to reuenge that iniurie vpon such as had aided Gillus therein to the hinderance of his countrie. The forenamed Cadall gouernoz of Galloway, was appointed also to haue the leading of this armie: who taking the sea at Dunstaffage, directed his course straight ouer vnto the coasts of Ireland, where taking land and encountering with his enemies, he put them to the worse, in so much that Gillus fearing to fall into his aduersaries hands, fled out of the field into the next wood, where he thought to haue saved himselfe. His souldiours also perceiuing him to be fled, gaue ouer the field, and yielded themselves vnto Cadall, who took them to grace, and forthwith sent

The nobles
the high seare
consented to
create Gillus
king.

Gillus goeth
about to mur-
der Dothan's
sonnes also.

A detestable
murder.

Dothan
is slain.

Gillus com-
mends a
seale to iustice.

Gillus ta-
ken.

Gillus be-
headed.

A shipwreck
by a tempest.

Cadall for his
good & faithful
service is re-
warded.

Gillus depar-
teth secretly
and getteth
ouer into Ire-
land.
Cadall of Ga-
loway is then
sen gouernoz
of the realme.

An interblew
between the
king of
Scots and
Ireland.
The people of
Dykeney in-
uade Earle
Earle.

Ireland and
other take
Episke north
to be so farre
north.

Gillus pur-
cheth all
Ireland.

Dothan's king
of Dykeney
slayeth himselfe.

Ewin the
cond of the
name chosen
king.

Ennerio-
ship is built
up.

Ewin.

Ennerne
headed.

Cadall with
an armie
sent into Ire-
land.

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sent out certeine companions to seeke Gillus, who found him in a den closed about with thicke woods and bushes, where he had lien hid certeine daies, and was almost starued for hunger. Those that found him immediatlie strooke off his head, and presented the same vnto Cadall, to the great reioicing of all the companie.

Thus after that Cadall had atchiued his enterprisse with good successe, he took the sea againe to returne into Scotland, but by meanes of a greuous tempest, he lost the greatest part of his armie, with all the spoile and riches that they had gotten in that voyage. Which mischance sore blemished the glozie of so famous a victorie, so that the reioicing of manie was turned into dolefull mourning for the losse of their friends and kinsfolke, but namelie Cadall toke it to greivouslie, that nothing could be more offensive vnto him. Howbeit, after he was come on land, the king and other of the nobles recomforted him in all that they might, and the king gaue him also much faire lands, with diuers castels in Galloway, in recompense of his good faithfull seruice at sundrie times shewed in defense of his countrie, and made him gouernor of Galloway also, which he verie thankfullie accepted.

After this king Ewin came to an interuiew with the king of Picts in the borders of Galloway, and there renewed th' ancient leage betwixt the Scottish men and the Picts. For more corroboration wherof Siora the daughter of Oethus the third king of the Picts, was ioined in marriage with Ederus, the solemnization being kept at Epiake. These things thus accomplished, Ewin returned to Duffasage, where being certified by letters from the lieutenant of Rolfe, that the Islanders of Orkney had passed Orkney firth, and were entred into Cathnessie, robbing and spoiling that countrie with a great part of Rolfe, he leuied an armie with all speed, and hastened towards the enemies, constraining them by his sudden coming to fight whether they would or not, hauing no leisure to get awaie, so that with small resistance they were vanquished and chased, some into the mounteins, and other to the sea side: of whom part escaped by boates ouer into their countries, the residue of them in this their sudden overthrow being either slaine, drowned, or taken. But Blasius the king of Orkney, for that he would not come into his enemies hands, slue himselfe. And thus ended this enterprisse against the enemies of Orkney: greatlie to the increase of Ewins fame amongst the Scottish nation.

After this he visited the west parts of his realme, and at the mouth of the riuer of Lochtey he builded a citie which he named Enuerlochtey, infranchising the same with a sanctuarie for the refuge of offenders. This citie afterwards was much frequented with merchants of France and Spaine, by reason of the great abundance of samons, herrings, and other fish which was taken there. The old ruines of this citie in part remaine to be seene in that place where it stood, euen to this day. He likewise built an other citie in the east part of the realme nere to the water called Lochnessie, which he named Enuernessie, after the name of the water. Whither in times past there resorted manie merchants of Germanie, with such merchandize as the inhabitants of the countrie there stood in need of, exchanging the same with them for marterne skins, and other such fures, wherewith they made their returne. This citie is as yet remaining, and beareth the old name, rich and well stored with diuers kinds of merchandize, so that this Ewin proued a most famous prince for his warlike exploits right fortunatelie atchiued both in peace and warre. And finallie vnderstan-

ding the death of his verie deere and intrelle beloued friend Cadall, he repaired vnto Epiake, as well to giue order for the pacifying of his sones being at variance for their fathers inheritance, as also to doe the more honor to his friend now deceased, by erecting some monument nere vnto his sepulchre. Comming therefore to Epiake, and setting an accord betwixt the young men, he caused an image to be made in all points resembling the personage of Cadall, as nere as might be: which he placed in the midst of the market stee, commending the same to be honozed with burning of incense and other dutie ceremonies. Within a few daies also, through inward sorrow, as was thought, for the losse of so deere a friend, he began to wax sicke himselfe, and at length perceiuing he should not escape present death, he caused Ederus (of whom before mention is made) to be brought vnto him, into whose hands with manie wholesome aduertisements how to vse himselfe in gouernement of his subiects, he wholie resigned the estate, the which after his deceasse he knew to be due vnto him without all question and controuersie: and afterward departed this world, when he had reigned seuentene yeares continuallie for the most part in high wealth and felicitie.

After the deceasse of Ewin, Ederus was, in manner before expressed, receiued for king by the whole assent of all the Scottishmen. Whose cheefe delight was altogether in hunting and keeping of hounds and grethounds, to chase and pursue wild beasts, and namelie the wolfe the heardmans so, by meanes wherof his aduancement was much more acceptable amongst the nobles, who in those daies were wholy giuen to that kind of pleasure and pastime. In the beginning of his reigne there was no trouble towards, the publike state of the realme being maintained by vpright iustice, and all transgressions through terror of due punishment politikelie repressed.

The first that went about to put him to any notable trouble, was one Bredus of the Isles, nere of kin to Gillus that usurper and murderer, who with a power of Irishmen, and other of the western Isles landed in Argile, wasting & spoiling the countrie with fire & sword, wherof Ederus being aduertised (who was at the same time in those parts hunting amongst the mounteins) gathered an armie with all speed, and hastening to the place where his enemies shipt late at anchor, he first burned the same, to take awaie all meanes from them to escape by flight. The morning next following he did set vpon them also at vnwares: of whom some he slue, and the residue being taken, either in the fight or chase by his commandement were hanged, and cruellie executed to the example of all others.

After this, he passed ouer into the western Isles, where he did execution vpon such as had aided Bredus, putting some to death, and causing other to fine at his pleasure, and depriuing some bitterlie of all that euer they had. At his returne againe into Scotland, there met him ambassadoys sent from Cassiblane kings of the Britains, requirring him of aid against Julius Cesar, who (as the same king had perfect vnderstanding) was appointed verie hostile to passe the seas from France, ouer into this Ile, with a mightie power of Romans, to subdue the inhabitants vnto the feigniozie and iurisdiction of Rome.

Ederus receiued these ambassadoys verie courteously: and forsomuch as their maisters request required counsell, he caused his lords which were then present, to assemble together the next daie, afore whom he willed that Androgeus, cheefe of the British ambassadoys, should declare the effect of his message,

Cadall deceased.

Ewin resigned the estate.

Ederus deceased.

Ederus.

Bredus invaded the Scots.

Ederus burnt his enemies ships.

Cassiblane king of the Britains requirreth of the Scottishmen aid against the Romans.

Androgeus cheefe ambassador of the Britains declared the effect of his message.

The Scots
grant to aid
the Britains
against the
Romans.

Cadallane &
Donald with
ten thousand
Scottishmen
send to aid
the Britains.

c 129 H.B.
60 H. B.

The Brit-
tains refuse
aid being of-
fered them.

Julius Cesar
inadeth this
land the se-
cond time.

The Brit-
tains are ouer-
throwne.

Julius Cesar
his message
to the Scots
and Picts.

The answer
of the Scots
and Picts to
Cesar his
ambassadors.

sage, which he did so eloquentlie, and uttering such sensible matter, how it stood the Scottishmen vpon to aid the Britains against such common enemies to all nations as the Romans were, that in the end it was concluded by the king, with the aduise of his nobles, that he should not onlie send a power to aid the Britains against the Romans, but also send some of his lords with Androgeus and his associates vnto Cethus king of the Picts, to moue him to doe the like: who hearing how reasonable their demands were, promised further to accomplish the same.

Thus the British ambassadors hauing sped according to their desires, repaired homewards: immedialtie vpon whose departure, both the kings Ederus & Cethus leuied their armies, & sent them forth towards London, whereas then Cassibilane sojourned. I find that the Scots were ten thousand men vnder the leading of Cadallane gouernor of Galloway, the sonne of Cadall before remembred, and one Donald gouernor of Argile. But what successe followed of this first iourne which Cesar made into Britaine, ye shall find the same in the historie of England more at length expressed. The yeere that Julius Cesar came to invade Britaine, was the fourth of Ederus his reigne, from the creation of the world 3912 complet, which is after Quassier Harilons account 54 before the coming of our Saviour, and 692 after the building of Rome.

The Scottishmen and Picts hauing their part of the spoile which the Romans at their departure left behind them, were sent home to their countries with great thanks and rewards for their pains, but the Britains were so exalted in pride by the departure of the Romans, that they beleued verelie they should haue no more to doe with those enemies, or if they had they thought themselves strong enough to repell them without aid of other. By meanes wherof when king Ederus was informed how the Romans prepared to invade them afresh, and had sent them word thereof, offering to them his aid: they made no account of that offer, but answered that it was not necessarie, for euerie light inuasion of forren enemies, to seeke helpe at other mens hands, being of puissance sufficient of themselves to resist the same well enough.

But of this refusall of so friendlie an offer, it was not long per the Britains fore repented them. For shortly after Julius Cesar with a farre greater power than that which he brought with him at the first time, landed here in this Ile amongst them againe: and being at thre sundrie times fiercelie incountred by king Cassibilane, at length he put the same Cassibilane with his Britains to flight, slaying and taking a great number of them. Amongst other of the prisoners were thre of their chiefeest captaines, Androgeus, Cilentoriges, and Tenantius. By reason of which ouerthrow Cassibilane was so discouraged, that doubting further mischefe, he yielded himselfe vnto Cesar, accepting such conditions of peace as were appointed him, and for performance of covenants, deliuered sufficient pledges.

Cesar hauing thus conquered the Britains, sent his ambassadors vnto the kings of the Scottishmen and Picts, requiring them to submit themselves as Cassibilane had done, or else he had them looke for open warres at the Romans hands, which they might assure themselves they should in no wise be able to susteine, considering their mightie and huge puissance, hauing the most part of the whole world at their commandement already. Wherevnto aswell the one king as the other made this or much what the like answer, that they were bent soner to lose their liues than their libertie. Which their resolution, if they were put to the trial, should be euidentlie

proued by the deed it selfe.

Cesar hauing receiued this answer from these two nations, he sendeth new messengers vnto them with a more rough message, who not onlie by threate but also by great reasons went about to persuade them vnto submission. But they persisting in their former opinion for defense of their liberties, and utterly refusing all manner of bondage, would incline by no meanes to come in any bond of friendship with the Romans. After the returne of these last messengers, Cesar was fullie resolved to enter into their countries, to force them vnto that by dint of sword, wherevnto by treatie he might not induce them: and had set forward on that iourne shortly after indee, if he had not bene called backe into France, to pacifie sundrie commotions there raised by the revolting of the people inhabiting in those countries, where the Picards and Normans, with other the inhabitants nere about Chartres doe now dwell.

The common Scottish chronicles record, how Julius Cesar came as far as Kalendar wood, and there wan by force the citie of Camelon, where the Pictish kings vled most to sojourn. Herevnto the same chronicles adde, that Cesar builded a great stone-house of 24 cubits in heighth, & of 12 cubits in bredth, of square beuen stones, right workemanlike framed, which house they saie Cesar caused to be vled in stead of a iudgement hall, and here placed it nere the river of Caron, ouer against the forenamed citie of Camelon, as a witnesse that the Romans armie had bene so far forward within that countrie. Such an house there remaineth to be seene euen vnto this daie, and is called Julius hoff, that is Julius hall, or Julius court. Howbeit, other more agreeable to the likelihood of a truth, write that this house was sometimes a temple builded to the honor of Claudius Cesar, and of the goddess Minerva, by the Romane capteine Vespasian, at such time as he made wars in that countrie, before his aduancement to the empire.

But to returne vnto Ederus. About the same time, in which he looked to be inuaded by Julius Cesar and the Romans, and for that purpose had sent for them of the westerne Isles to reinforce his host, he was now inforced to conuert it another waie, for there was one Murketus, nephue vnto the aboue remembred Gillus, that came with a nauie out of Ireland to rob and spoile those Isles, being destitute as then of men to resist him. But Ederus hearing thereof, dispatched Cadallanus with an armie into those parties for defense of his subiects: which Cadallanus behaved himselfe so politikelie in this exploit, that setting vpon the enemies as they laie at anchor, he took them in the night season, without making any great defense, and after hanged them by along the shore side within the Ile of Galloway: Murket himself being honored with an higher place to hang in than all the rest, as due to him that was their chiefe head and leader in that voiage. The remnant of Ederus his reigne passed without any other notable trouble: and so after he had reigned 38 yeeres, he deceased a verie old man, about the 23 yeare of the empire of Augustus Cesar. He was buried also at Dunstaffage with all due pompe & solemnitie, hauing diuers obelisks (as the custome then was) erected and set vp about the place where he was so intumulate.

After him reigned his sonne Ewin, the third of that name, nothing like in any princelie qualitie vnto his noble progenitors, but contrariwise infamed by all kind of vices. In the first yeeres of his reigne he was wholly drownd in lasciuious lecherie, abandoning himselfe altogether to lie weltering

Cesar sendeth new messengers vnto them with a more rough message, who not onlie by threate but also by great reasons went about to persuade them vnto submission.

Kalendar wood, and there wan by force the citie of Camelon, where the Pictish kings vled most to sojourn.

Julius hoff.

Murketus nephue vnto Gillus came with a nauie out of Ireland to rob and spoile those Isles.

Murketus hanged with manie more by along the shore side within the Ile of Galloway.

Ewin.

He was wholly drownd in lasciuious lecherie.

Partie lawes

Ewin is par-
tied and for-
saken his
subiects.

Ewin con-
demned to per-
petual prison

Ewin is
strangled.

32 H.B.

Bluetella-
ous.

Donald
king of the
Britains.

Bluetellanus
concometh
vnto the
Romans.

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sed to b
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in signe

amongst a sort of vile strumpets, his lust being neuer throughlie satisfied, though neuer so often wearied. The nobles of the realme he had in no regard at all, of whom some he confined, and some he caused to be murdered, onlie because he might the more frelie without gainesaying haue his vile trade of liuing with their wiues and cosins. Such delight he had also in his filthy and abhominable ribaldrerie, that he made lawes for maintenance of the like amongst his subjects, as thus: That it might be lawfull for euerie man to marie diuers & sundrie wiues, some six, some ten, according to their substance and qualitties. And as for poore mens wiues, they were appointed to be common vnto the lords of the soile: and further, that the same lords should first deflowre the bride after hir marriage: which last ordinance toke such effect, that of manie hundred yeeres after it could by no meanes be abrogated, though the two former liberties were by authoritie of the kings succeeding, shortly after this Ewins deceasse, taken awaie and reuoked.

But now to conclude touching the doings of this Ewin, ye shall vnderstand, that at length such lords as greatlie abhorred his vile conditions & vsages, conspired against him, and raising an armie of their friends and partakers, incountred with him in the field, and there toke him prisoner, being destitute of all aid and succours: for such as he brought with him, not once offered to strike one stroke in his quarrell. Ewin being thus taken, was by and by condemned to perpetuall prison; and Cadallan, of whom ye haue heard before, immediatlie proclaimed gouernor of the realme. Howbeit the night following, after that Ewin (according to the iudgement pronounced against him) was committed vnto ward, a presumptuous young man, in hope to haue thanks of Cadallan, entred into the chamber where he was inclosed, and there strangled him. But in stead of thanks he was recompensed with death: for Cadallan detesting such a wicked deed, caused him to be hanged in open sight of all men. Such was the end of Ewin, being thus dispatched in prison, in the seventh yeere after he began his reigne ouer the Scottishmen, being the 9 yeere of Augustus Cesar his gouernment of the Romane empire.

After Ewin succeeded Metellanus, son to one Carren, the brother of Coderus a prince of most gentle behauiour. This Metellanus maintained his subjects in great quietnesse and rest, without anie manner of wars, either foreyn or ciuill. Such wicked lawes as his predecessor had established, he did what he could to abolish. But such young gentlemen as delighted in sensuall lust, and licentious libertie, stood so stiffelie therein against him, that in the end he was glad to leaue off his purpose. About the same time also there came vnto Kimbaline king of the Britains an ambassadoe from Augustus the emperor, with thanks, for that entring into the gouernment of the British state, he had kept his allegiance toward the Romane empire: exhorting him to keepe his subjects in peace with all their neighbors, with the whole world, through meanes of the same Augustus, was now in quiet, without all warres or troublesome tumults.

These ambassadoes went also vnto Metellanus the son of the Scottishmen, exhorting him to acknowledge a superiortie in the Romane emperor, vnto whome the people inhabiting in the furthest parts of the east, had sent their ambassadoes with rich iewels to present his person withall. Wherewith Metellanus being partly moued to haue a frendlie amitie with the Romans, he sent vnto Rome certeine rich presents to the emperor, and to the gods in the capitoll, in signe of honour, by which means he obtained an

amitie with the Romans, which continued betwixt them and his kingdom for a long time after.

Thus a generall peace as then reigning through out the whole world, it pleased the giuer and author of all peace to be borne at the same time, of that blessed virgin Marie, in the citie of Bethlem in the tribe of Iuda. Which most blessed and salutiferous birth did come to passe in the 12 yeere of Metellanus reigne, and in the 42 of Augustus his empire: from the first establishing of the Scottish kingdom by Fergusius 324 yeeres, and after the creation of the world 3966, as Harison in his chronologie doth manifestlie conclude. After this, Metellanus reigned certeine yeeres in continuall peace and quietnes, euermore readie to doe the thing that might be to the contentation and the weale of his people. Finally, he passed out of this life in the 29 yeere of his reigne, which was the 28 after the birth of our Sauour, and 13 of Tiberius the emperor. Howbeit he left no issue alieue behind him to succeed in the gouernment of the kingdom: for those children which he had begotten, he buried in his life time, by meanes whereof, one Caratake, sonne to Cadallan, and nephue to king Metellanus by his sister Euopeta, was proclaimed king: as he that excelled in riches and puissant authoritie aboue all other the yeeres and high estates of the realme, and had not a litte to doe in the administration of publike affaires in the latter daies of his vncle Metellanus.

The first thing he did after he was established in the estate, he sailed into the westerne Isles, to appease a rebellion moued by the gouernour there. Which done, and the authors punished, he returned into Albion, and came into Caritonium, which was sometimes a famous citie, and metropolitane of Scotland, situat within the countrie cleped Carrike, as it appeareth by the ruines there remaining euene vnto this day. In this citie was Caratake borne, & therefore fauouring it the more, he lay there most commonlie, and did what he could to aduance the wealth and state thereof. Whilest these things were a doing in Scotland, Kimbaline king of the Britains died, who for that he had bene brought vp in Rome, obserued his promised obedience towards the empire; but Guiderius succeeding, disdaind to see the libertie of his countrie oppressed by the Romans, and therefore procuring the Britains to assist him, assembled a power, and invaded the Romans with such violence, that none escaped with life; but such as saued themselves within castles & fortresses.

The emperor Claudius that then gouerned the Romane empire, aduertised hereof, sent two capteins, Aulus Plautius, and Cneus Suetonius to appease that rebellion. They landing in Britaine with their armie, vanquished Guiderius in battell, so that he was constrained to send to Caratake king of Scots for aid against the common enemies of both nations. Caratake hauing considered the effect of this message, gaue counsell to the Britains to send into France then called Gallia, to practise with the people there to moue some rebellion against the Romans, in hope of helpe, which they were assured to haue by the Britains. This counsell was followed, for immediatlie vpon the ambassadoes returne, there were sent ouer into France certeine intelligenciarie to moue some conspiracie which had taken effect (by reason of the generall hate of seruitude, wherein the Romans kept the people subiect to them in those daies) if Guiderius had not bene constrained to giue battell, and chanced to be slaine in the same, yea the Galls could be resolved vpon anie determinat purpose.

This ouerthrow being reported in France, caused the Galls to staie their intended rebellion. Shortly

The birth of our Sauour Christ.

10 H.B.
320 H.P.
5109 H.B.

Metellanus departeth this world.
29 H.B.

14 H.B.
Caratake is proclaimed king. This Caratake call the British and English writers take to be a Britaine, and inhabiting within that portion of the Ile now called England.

Caratake.

Caratake was borne in Carrike.

Kimbaline king of the Britains died.

Guiderius the British king rebelled against the Romans.

Plautius and Suetonius.

Guiderius sendeth to Caratake for aid.

France in those daies Gallia.

Guiderius slaine.

The emperor
Claudius
us cometh
into Britaine.

Claudius sail-
eth into the
Orkenies.

How Kirke-
Wale.

Claudius tak-
eth the king
of the Orke-
nies.

The doubt of
Claudius go-
ing into the
Orkenies.
Dion Cassius.

Arviragus
for sake his
lawfull wife.

Moada impris-
oned.

Moada is de-
livered out of
prison, and
conueied into
Wales.

Arviragus
giveth his en-
emies an over-
throw.

lie after Claudius himselfe came ouer into Brit-
taine, and receiuing the Britains vnder his obe-
sance, ordered things among them at his pleasure.
And after preparing his nauie and armie with all
purueiance conuenient, he set forth towards the
Isles of Orkney, purposing to conquere the same,
for that they had aided the Britains in these last
warres against the Romans. But approaching nere
to those Isles, he was in danger to haue bene cast
awaie by a tempest rising by chance, euen as he
was entred the streit betwixt the Orkenies and
Dungibie head in Cathness called Piceland frith;
yet at length getting to land, he found in that Ile
where he first arriued, no bodie at home, all the peo-
ple through feare vpon the first sight of the great
multitude of ships being fled to hide themselves in
caues and dens amongst the rocks & mounteins.

Claudius therefore leauing this Ile, passed into
Pomonia the chiefest of all the Orkenies, where
discomfiting such as appeared abroad to make resi-
stance, he besieged the king of those Isles named Car-
nus, within a castell where he was withdrawen, and
finallie causing him to yeeld himselfe prisoner, led
him with other nobles of Britaine (whome he had
for pledges) vnto Rome, the more to set forth the
glorie of his triumph at his returne vnto the citie.
¶ But whatsoeuer Hector Boetius and others write
of this passage of Claudius into the Orkenies, it is
not like that he came there at all, for if he staid not
past 16 daies in Britaine, as by Dion Cassius it
appeareth that he did not in deed; how should we
imagine that he could both pacifie the south parts of
Britaine, and after go into Orkenie and conquere
the same within so small a time, being readie to re-
turne towards Rome at the end of those 16 daies,
as the said Dion affirmeth: But this discourse haue
I made according to their owne histories, least I
should seeme to defraud them of whatsoeuer glorie
is to be gotten by errors, as the maner is of them
as well as of other nations, which to aduance their
antiquities and glorie of their ancestors, take the
aduantage oftentimes of writers scant worthe of
credit.

But now againe to our purpose. Arviragus be-
ing established in the kingdome of Britaine, vpon
some priuat displeasure forsooke his wife named Mo-
ada, the sister of Caratake king of the Scottishmen,
and married Genissa a Romane ladie, which act ma-
nie of the Britains disallowed; the more in deed, be-
cause he had faire issue already by Moada, as a son
and two daughters. But this was done, as all men
iudged, by the counsell of Aulus Plautius, there-
by to breake all friendship and aliance betwixt the
Britains and the Scots, to the end that in no case of
rebellion they should ioine their powers together.
Neither did he onelie refuse Moada, whome all
men knew to be his lawfull wife, but also caused hir
to be kept in prison, till that the Britains (hauing
indignation thereat) got hir out of the place where
she was kept, and conueied hir into Wales together
with hir children.

With which dealing Arviragus being highlie mo-
ued, determined with force of armes to punish them
that had thus misused him: but perceiuing that not
onelie those people which inhabited the countrie,
now called Wales, and other that aboined on the
north marches thereof were readie to defend the
queene against his malice, he was faine to requite
aid of the Romans, who with their capteine Aulus
Plautius assembling together with such of the Bri-
tains as toke part with Arviragus, set forward to-
ward the enemies, and ioining with them in bat-
tell, did giue them the ouerthrow. The next day af-
ter this victorie thus gotten, word was brought that

the people inhabiting in the countries which we
now call Lancashire, Dorsetshire, and Dorsetshire,
were by in armour against the king and the Ro-
mans, by reason whereof Arviragus and Aulus
Plautius withdrew towards London, that defend-
ing the sea coasts towards France, they might
yet haue the sea open at all times whatsoeuer chan-
ced. And to re enforce their power, Aulus Plau-
tius sent ouer for two legions of souldiers into
France, to come with all speed to his aid.

The Britains, who had gone so farre in the matter
that they could not well withdraw themselves, now
being certified of all their enemies doings, thought
best to make themselves so strong as was possible.
And to the end that they might proceed in some or-
derlie meane, all the greatest lords and estates as-
sembled together at Shrewsburie, in those daies cal-
led Cozimum, where they concluded vpon a
league to aid one another with all their might and
maine against the Romans & Arviragus, who went
about to bring them whole vnder scruile subiection
and thraldome of the same Romans. They being
thus agreed to make warres in this quarrell, and for
the same purpose to ioine their whole puissance to-
gether, there rose a doubt whome they might chuse for
their generall capteine, for that it was feared least
there might grow some secret enuie amongst the
nobles being of equall power, if one should be in
this case preferred before an other. For the auoi-
ding of which mischiefe, by the graue admonition of
one Comus a noble man of the parties of Wales,
they accorded to send messengers vnto Caratake
the king of Scotland, requirring him to aid them in
their right and iust quarrell against Arviragus and
the Romans, whereby he might reuenge the iniu-
rie done to his sister queene Moada and hir issue,
whome the father through counsell of the Romans
purposed to disherit, to the end such children as he
had by Genissa (for that they were of the Romane
blood) might inioy the kingdome. They further de-
clared, that all the British lords which were conse-
derat in this enterprise, had chosen him by common
assent to be their generall and chiefe leader, if it
might so please him to take it vpon him, as their
trust was he would: considering the iust causes of
their warre, and the suertie which by victorie gotten
might insue vnto all the inhabitants of the whole
Ile of Albion.

Caratake hauing heard the summe of their re-
quest, and thoughtlie weighing the same, promised
them to be readie with his whole puissance in the be-
ginning of the next spring, to come to their aid, but
to what place soeuer they should thinke expedient:
and thereof he told them they might be most assured,
willing them in the meane time so to provide for
themselves, as their enemies might haue no ad-
uantage at their hands. With this agreeable an-
swere the British messengers returned to Shrews-
burie to the confederats, who reioicing at the news,
made prouision against the next spring to go against
the Romans, in hope of good successe, speciallie
through aid of the Scots and Picts, who also with
their king called Conkist were willing to helpe to-
wards the deliuering of the land from bondage of
the Romans, whose nestling so nere their noses they
were loth to see or heare of. So some therefore as
the spring approached, all those three people, Britains,
Scots, and Picts, gathered their powers together,
and met in Dorsetshire, in purpose to encounter with
their enemies in battell, where soeuer they found
them.

Arviragus and Aulus Plautius hauing know-
ledge of all the doings of the confederats, libelously
assembled their power, & comming towards them,

Conuincit
against Ar-
viragus.

The Bri-
tains make
themselves
strong.

The Bri-
tains alle-
ge them-
selves at
Shrewsburie.

They con-
siderat them-
selves to-
gether.

Caratake
chosen to be
capteine of
the Britains.

Arviragus
would take
him his chil-
dren which
he had by
Moada.

Caratake
promised
to the Bri-
tains.

The Picts
to come with
the Scots and
Britains to
fight the Ro-
mans.

The Bri-
tains to be
drawn through
battell.

The Romans
are battell to
the Britains.

Eight par-
ty the fray.

Caratake re-
uengeth home
Caratake
sent vnto
Caratake
in Julius
Plautius.

Caratake his
power vnto
the embassa-
dor.

Arviragus
victorie.

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for a while forbare to ioin in battell, through counsell of Plandius, who perceiuing the most part of the Britains and Scots to be but new souldiers, taken vp of late to fill the numbers, knew that by protracting time they would be some out of heart, through watching and euill harbourogh, in such sort that in the end they should be easie enough to deale with; and euen so it came to passe. For the Romans refusing to fight a generall battell, yet scoured so the fields on eith side abroad, that neither the Britains nor Scots could go forth anie waies for forage or vittels, but they were still snatched vp, so that what through hunger, lacke of sleepe, and other diseases, manie of the Britains began to conuete themselves from the campe home to their houses, of whome some being taken by the enemies, declared that the whole armie of the confederats was in great distresse, and sore infiebled by such vnaccustomed trauell and diseases as they were enforced vnto in the campe. Whereupon Aruiragus and Aulus Plandius determined the next day to giue battell. And so in the morning they arraied their people, & marched forth betimes towards the campe of the confederats.

Caratake, who (as ye haue heard) was generall of all the confederats, understanding the enemies intent, was as readie to receiue battell as they were to offer it; whereupon there ensued right great and vnnecessfull slaughter betwixt them on both parts, without sparing any at all, till such time as the night parted the fraie, with such losse on either side, that after they were once got in sunder, neither part had anie halt afterwards to ioin againe: so that in the morning there appeared none in the field but onelie the dead bodies, those that were left alieue as well on the one part as the other being fled and scattered into the woods and mounteins. Aruiragus and Plandius got them vnto London: and Caratake commanding his people home each man into his countrie, he himselfe withdrew first towards Powke, and after vnto the citie of Carrike; whither shortly after there came vnto him ambassadoys from Aulus Plandius, sent to know vpon what occasion he did aid the Britith rebels against the Romane empire, declaring that if he would not be conformable to make a worthie amends for so presumptuous an enterprise, he should be sure to haue the Romans his enemies; and that in such wise, as he should perceiue it were much better for him to seeke their friendship, than to abide their enimitie.

Herevnto Caratake answered, that he had iust cause to doe that which he did, considering the injuries which his sister Uoadia with hir sonne Guiderius had and were like to receiue by their counsell and meanes: and therefore he was so little minded to make anie amends for that was done, that he thought it more reason that the Romans should clearelie auoid out of the whole possession of Britaine, either else they might assure themselves to haue aswell the Britains, as also the Scots & Picts to be their perpetuall enemies, and that onelie for the chalenge of their ancient liberties and freedome. The Romane ambassadoys being returned with this answer, Plandius toke no small indignation thereat, for menacing to be reuenged of so high and contumelious words pronounced against the maiestie of the Romane empire.

About the same time Aruiragus, vpon trust conceived by ioining his power with the other confederate Britains, to expell the Romans quite out of the realme, and so to recouer the intire estate, reuolting from them, fled into Shyewsburie, where, at the same time such Britith lords as were enemies to the Romans, were assembled againe in counsell, by whom Aruiragus was receiued with great gladnesse (ye

maie be sure) of those lords, trusting by his meanes to haue their force in maner doubled. His wife Genissa being at the same season great with child, toke such thought for this reuolting of hir husband, that traouling before hir time, she immediately died therewith. But Aulus Plandius, perceiuing now the roughlie how little trust there was to be put in the Britains, dispatched a messenger in all hast with letters vnto Claudius the emperor, who as then sojournd at Rome, signifying vnto him in what danger the state of Britaine stood, if timelie provision were not the sooner made.

Claudius weicng the matter by good aduise of counsell, ordeined by decree of the senate, that Vespasian (of whome ye haue heard before) should be sent thither with an armie, to tame the proud and lustie stomachs of the Britains, with their confederats the Scots & Picts. Vespasian herevpon departing from Rome, came into France, & increasing his legions, with a supplie of such souldiers as he found there, passed ouer into this our Britaine, where contrarie to the report which he had heard afore his coming, he found euerie fortresse so well furnished after the warlike order of the Romane vsage, and moreover all such companies of men of warre as kept the field so well appointed and ordered, that he could not but much praise the great diligence and politike gouernement of Plandius.

Now when Vespasian had a little refreshed his men, and taken order how to proceed in the reducing of the Britains to their former obedience, he set forward toward Aruiragus & other the enemies, whom he understood as then to be at Powke, making their assemble, not generallie of all that were able to beare a club, as they did the yere before; but out of all parties a chosen number of piked men were sent for, as out of Denonshire & Cornewall there came 6000, south of Wales and the marches 12000, and the like number out of Wendall, Westmerland, and Cumberland. Out of Oxfordshire and other the parties of Britaine subiect vnto Aruiragus, there came 35000. All which numbers assembled nere vnto Powke, euerie man bringing his provision with him to serue him for two moneths space. Vnto the same place came also Caratake with 30000 Scottish men: and Alithara otherwise called Charan, king of the Picts, with almost as manie of his subiects.

Vespasian being certified still from time to time of all the doings of his enemies, hastned with all speed towards them; and by the leading of trustie guides comming to the place where they were incamped within a marish ground not passing 12 miles from Powke, he cercelie vpon a sudden fettereth vpon them within their campe, yer they thought he had bene nere them. But yet notwithstanding they manfully stood to their defense: in somuch that those in the right wing of the Romans armie were like to haue bene distressed, if Vespasian perceiuing the danger, had not sent a legion to their aid in time, wherby the battell was newlie in that part restored. The capitains on either side did what they could to encourage their folkes to sticke to their tackle, without giuing ouer by anie meanes, considering what gaine came by victorie, and what losse ensued by receiuing the overthrow.

The Britains, Scots, and Picts, like enraged lions, ran vpon the Romans, with such cruell desire of reuenge, that euen when they were thrust through vpon the point of any weapon, they would run still vpon the same, to come vnto him that held it, that they might requite him with the like againe. But yet would not all that their fierce and desperate hardnesse preuaile, for fortune by fadall appointment being bent to aduance the Romans vnto the dominion

Genissa the wife of Aruiragus d. ch.

A messenger sent vnto Claudius the emperor from Plandius.

Vespasian commeth into Britaine.

The Britains gather an armie.

Acenl.

The Scots & Picts come to aid the Britains. Alithara or Charan king of Picts.

Vespasian assaileth the Britains in their campe.

The desperate hardnesse of the Britains and Scottishmen.

Fortune fauoureth the Romans.

The Brit-
tains receive
the overthrow

Caratake
escapeth.
Tharan king
of the Picts
is slain.

Messengers
sent by Aru-
ragus unto
Vespasian
with sub-
mission.

Aruragus
cometh in
unto Vespas-
ian.
Aruragus is
restored again
to his former
dignitie.
The Brit-
tains are par-
doned, but yet
deliuer new
hostages.
Their lawes
abrogated.
New lawes.

Camelon be-
sieged by
Vespasian.

Camelon
surrendered.
The kings
regall orna-
ments taken.

Camelon peo-
pled with
Romans.

nion of the whole world, shewed his selfe so fauourable vnto them in this battell, that in the end, though the Britains with the confederats did what lay in men to do for attaining of victorie, yet were they beaten downe and slaine euerie mothers sonne, a few onelie excepted, which escaped by flight.

Aruragus seeing the slaughter of his people, would haue slaine himselfe, but that some of his seruants caried him by force out of the field, that he might be reserued yet vnto some better fortune. Caratake escaping by flight, fled into his countrie, but Tharan king of the Picts, not coueting to liue after such losse of his people, thereto alway his armour with all his kinglie ornaments, and sitting downe vpon a stone, as a man past himselfe, was there slaine by such as followed in the chase. Aruragus being conueied out of danger, and gotten into Forke, considered how by reason of this great discomfort, it was impossible to resist the Romane puissance, and therefore with consent of the residue of his nobles that were escaped from the battell, he sent an herald vnto Vespasian, offering to submit himselfe in most humble wise vnto anie reasonable conditions of peace and agreement. Whereupon Vespasian commanded that Aruragus should in priuate apparell come in vnto him, for he would not talke of anie peace, except he had Aruragus present, and therefore he sent vnto him his safe conduct to assure him safetie both to come and go.

Aruragus seeing no other remedie, came in vnto Vespasian, according to his appointment, and vpon his submission was pardoned of all his trespasses, and placed againe in the kingdome. The cities and good townes also that were partakers in the rebellion, were in semblable wise forgiven without fining or other indemnitie, and so likewise were all the nobles of the countrie. Howbeit, for the better assurance of their loialtie in time to come, they deliuered new hostages. Their ancient lawes also were abrogated, and the Romane lawes in their place established. For the administration of the which, in euerie prouince was appointed a Romane iudge to see good orders obserued according to the forme thereof. By which means the Britishe nation effionnes returned vnto his former obedience of the Romane empire. All the winter following, Vespasian laie at Forke, making his appress against the next spring to go against the Scots and Picts. So sone therefore as the summer was come, Vespasian set forth with his armie, and entering into the marches of his enemies, he did put them in such feare that the Picts were glad to yeld themselves vnto him, a few of the nobles & some other excepted, which were withdrawne into Camelon, in hope through strength of that tolon to defend themselves from all assaults. Vespasian being certified thereof, came & besieged them within the same citie, not minding to depart till he had them at his pleasure. This siege continued till they within, being in danger to famish through want of vittels, surrendered themselves with the tolon into Vespasians hands. In this tolon were found all the regall ornaments, as the crowne & sword, with other iewels belonging to the kings of the Picts. The sword hauing the hilt of gold, & a purple scabbard very finely wrought & trimmed. Vespasian vsed to weare in all the warres wherein he afterwards chanced to be, in hope (I wot not) of what good successe and lucke to follow thereof. The Pictishe lords which were within Camelon, were commanded to deliuer pledges: and after licenced to depart with out anie other damage. Vespasian himselfe remaining at Camelon, take order for the peopling of the tolon with Romans, granting them the vse of the liberties and priuileges which the Romans inhabi-

ting in Rome inioied. Also ouer against the towne vpon the banke of the riuer of Caron, he builded a temple in honoz of the emperoz Claudius, wherein he set vp two images, the one representing Claudius, and the other the goddesse Victoria.

Whilist he was thus occupied, tidings came to him, that Caratake king of the Scottishmen had assembled in Galloway a great army of Scots, Picts and Britains, in purpose against the Romans, to reuenge the last overthrow. Whereupon Vespasian with all speed sent forth a strong power vnder the leading of Aulus Plautius to encounter the enemies. Plautius being approached within foure miles of them, incamped himselfe in a strong place, as though he minded not to passe further, till Vespasian with the rest of his whole puissance were come to his aid. Wherefore, night was no soner come on, but that he gaue generall commandement through his host, that euerie man should make him readie to depart at a certaine houre vnder the standards of their captains in order of battell.

Then in the second watch of the night he set forward, following certeine guides (which knew all the straits and passages of the countrie) till he came to the place where Caratake with his armie was lodged: and first killing the watch which stood to defend his entrance, till the armie was raised, he set vpon the whole campe, and though he found such resistance that the battell continued right fierce & cruell from the datoning of the day, till it was his name, yet in the end the victorie remained with the Romans; and the Scots with the Picts, & such Britains as were on their part, put to flight and chased. Caratake escaping out of the battell, fled into Argile, and got him to the castell of Dunstaffage. Diuerse of the Britains & Picts, which as yet had not submitted themselves, were put in such dread through hute of this overthrow, that immediatlie thereupon they came in and yelded themselves vnto Vespasian. And in semblable wise the people of Galloway bitterlie despairing any longer to defend their countrie against Plautius (who was now entred into their confines, and had taken the citie of Carrike) offered to become subiects vnto the Romans, which they might neuer be brought vnto before that time.

These newes being certified vnto Vespasian by a pursuant, he rode straightwaies vnto Carrike, & there receiued the oths of the nobles, and other the inhabitants of the countrie. That done, he sent ambassadors vnto Caratake, to trie if he might by anie means to become friend vnto the Romane empire, in acknowledging some manner of subiection therevnto: but this denise was to small purpose, for Caratake was determined rather to end his life as a free Scottishman in defense of libertie, than to become thrall vnto anie foireine nation, in hope to liue long time in seruitude, doubting least if he came anie waies forth into danger of the Romans, they would vsurpe the whole dominion vnto themselves. Whose mind when Vespasian vnderstood by his answer made to the ambassadors which were sent vnto him, he was minded to haue gone with an armie vnto Dunstaffage where Caratake lay, but that he was informed that dangerous passages he must needs thorough, all full of desert mounteis, bogs, and quatuernires, without anie prouision of vittels or forrage to be found by all the way as the armie should passe.

Leauing therefore this enterprize, he caused so manie vessels to be assembled, as could be prouided on all parts, purposing to haue passed ouer into the Ile of Man, into the which there were gotten together a great sort of Britains and Picts, that had escaped the Romans hands. But this iourne also was broken

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Plantius
left his govern-
ment, and
went to
Rome.

Caratake
went into
Dunfallage.

The people
of Galloway
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ken by another incident, for even at the same time, newes were brought that the Britains of the Ile of Wight, with the Kentishmen, and divers others the inhabitants upon the south coast, were revolted, and had slain divers Romans, which lay in gar- sons in those parts. Trespasian therefore, finding to cure this wound per it should through the fester, ha- sted thither with all speed; and with little ado pacifi- cing the rebels, caused the chiefe offenders to be pu- nished according to their deserts.

Wholie after being sent for by the emperor Claudius, he returned into Rome with great glo- rie for his noble and high achieved victories. Aulus Plautius was left in charge with the government of Britaine after Trespasians departure: whi- bearing that Caratake had assembled a great armie of Scots, and other such Britains and Picts as had not yet submitted themselves unto the Romans, in purpose to recover againe those countries which Trespasian had lately conquered, he likewise prepa- red to meet them, so that both the armies encounte- ring together, there was fought a right terrible bat- tle with great slaughter on both parties, till finally the victorie inclining to the Romans, more through skillfull policie than puissant force, the Scots, Picts, and Britains were discomfited and chased into the bogs and marishes; the common refuge in those daies for the Scots; when by anie adventure they chanced to be put to flight.

After this overthrow the warre was continued for two yers space, by robes and incursions made one upon another in the confines of Bile and Gal- loway. In which meane while Plautius fell sicke of the sick, which still continuing with him, brought him at length in such case, that he was not able to traueil at all in the publike affaires of his office. So that he wrote his letters unto the emperor Clau- dius, signifieng unto him in what case he stood, and thereupon required that some sufficient personage might be sent to occupie his roome. Claudius hauing received his letters, and understanding the effect of the same, sent one Drorzius Scapula, a man of high linage, and of good experience both in peace and war, to haue the gouernance in Britaine.

About the time of whose arriual into Britaine, Aulus Plautius departed out of this world at Ca- melon, where he then sojourned. His bodie was bur- ned, and according to the vse of the Romans in those daies, the ashes were closed in a chest, and bur- ied within the church of Claudius and Victoria, which (as is said) Trespasian builded nere unto Camelon, upon the riuers side there. Hereof was a custome taken by amongst both Scots and Picts (as some thinke) to burne the bodies of the dead, and to burie the ashes: whereof there haue bene found diuers to- kens and monuments in this our age. As in the yere 1521 at Findor, a village in Perne, five miles distant from Aberdine, there were found in an old graue two chests of a strange making full of ashes, either of them being ingrauen with Romane letters, which so soone as they were brought into the aire, fell to dust. Likewise in the fields of another towne called Kenbacten in Parre, ten miles distant from Aberdine, about the same time were found by cer- teine plowmen two sepulchres made of cut and squared stones, wherein were four chests, of worke- manship, bignesse and inscription like to the other two. Manie the semblable monuments haue bene found in diuers places in Scotland in times past: but it is to be thought, that in these sepulchres there were Romans buried, and neither Scots nor Picts.

But now to our purpose. Immediatlie upon the coming of Drorzius into Britaine, the people

of the west countries rebelled, procuring the no- therne men with the Scots of Galloway, and all the Picts to do the like. They sent also unto Caratake, requiring him in this common quarell against the Romans to put to his helping hand for recouerie of the ancient libertie of the whole land of Albion, considering it was like they should match well enough with this new Romane capteine Drorzius Scapula, that understood little of the maners and vsages of the Britains. But this notwithstanding, Drorzius being informed of all these practises, and remembering that furtherance it were for a cap- teine in the begining to win a name by some praise- worthy enterprise, he made first towards the we- sterne Britains, whom he thought to surpris per they should assemble with the other rebels, and so meeting with them, he chased and tooke a great num- ber of them, as they fled here and there out of all order.

After this, he went against the people called Ico- ni, which (as some thinke) inhabited the countrie now called Drfordshire, but other take them to be Dorset- shire men, who being gathered together, were gotten into a strong place, inclosed about with a great ditch as they vse to fence pasture grounds, that no hostile men should breake in upon them: yet this notwith- standing, Drorzius assailed them within their strength, & in the end breaking downe the rampire, with such aid as he had, burst in at length amongst them, sleaing and taking the most part of them: for few or none escaped, they were so kept in on eche side. But of this battell, and likewise of other enterpri- ses, which Drorzius and other of the Romane lieute- nants achieved here in Britaine, ye shall find more thereof in the historie of England according to the true report of the Romane writers, the which verelie make no mention either of Scots or Picts till the yere of our Lord 320, at the soonest. And as for the Silures and Brigants remoued by Hecfor Boetius so farre northward, it is euidentlie proued by Hum- frey Elhoid, and others, that they inhabited coun- tries contained now within the limits of England: The like ye haue to vnderstand of the Drdouicos where Caratake gouerned as king, and not in Car- rike, as to the well aduised reader I doubt not but it may sufficientlie appeare, as well in the descrip- tion as in the historie of England aforesaid.

But now to returne where we left: the brute of this late victorie quieted the buisie minds of such o- ther of the Britains, as were ready to haue revol- ted. But they of Galloway would not at the first giue ouer, but in trust of aid at the hands of Cara- take continued in their rebellion, till Drorzius came thither, and beate downe such as made resistance, whereby the other were some pacified. After this he entred into the confines of Bile and Cantire, spoi- ling and wasting those countries, and brought from thence a great number of captiues. With which in- surie Caratake being not a little kindled, he assen- bled a mightie armie, wherein he had at the least 40 thousand men, what of his owne subjects and other such as came to his aid. For after he was entred in- to Wialand, there came unto him out of all parties no small number, of such as desired either to be re- uenged on the Romans, either else to lose life and libertie both at once, for the tast of bondage was so bitter unto all the inhabitants of Albion in this sea- son, that they in maner were whole conspiring toge- ther to remoue that yoke of thraldome from their shoulders which so painefullie pinched them.

Caratake thus furnished with an armie, chose forth a strong place to lodge in, fenced on the one side with the course of a deepe fouldesse riuer, and on the other sides it might not be approached unto for the

The Bri- tains yet esta- blished their rebel- lion. The Bri- tains require aid of Cara- take.

The Bri- tains of the west part are chaied.

Cent. Drfordshire is assailed. Some take the Ico- ni to be the Dorset- shire men.

They of Gal- loway are be- ten and paci- fied.

Bile and Can- tire wasted and spoiled. Caratake as- sembleth an armie.

The strength of the place where Cara- take was in- camped.

Of this matter ye may read more in England. women in camped.

Women placed in order of battell. Caratake and his captains exhort their men to fight.

Offozius incourageth his Romans.

Caratake overthronne by the Romans. His queene taken.

Caratake be- traied by his stepmother.

Caratake is sent to Rome.

He is shewd to the people in triumph.

Caratake departeth this life.

54
Strange lights scene.

sharpnesse of the crags and such fencing as they had made with great stones, in places where there was any waie to enter. All such women as were some- what skilful in age, and came thither with them, in great numbers, were by Caratake placed on either side his battels, both as well to incourage the men to do valiantlie with shouting and hallooing unto them, as also to assaile the Romans with stones as they should approach. Other such as were young and lustie, were appointed to keepe arate amongst the men to fight in the battell.

Caratake hauing thus ordered his field, and hearing that Offozius was come to giue battell, exhorteth his people to stick to it like men, and so in semblable wise did all his captains and sergeants of the bands, going from ranke to ranke to incourage their souldiours, declaring how that this was the armie that must either bring libertie or thraldome to them and their posteritie for ever. On the other part Offozius minding to trie the matter by battell, set his people in arate after the ancient manner of the Romans, willing them to consider that they were descended of those parents and ancestors which had subdued the whole world: and againe, that those with whome they should now match, were but naked people, fighting more with a certeine manner of a furious rage and disordered violence, than with any politike discretion or constancie.

Herewith vpon commandement giuen on both parts, the battell began right hot, & for a good space verie doubtfull, till the practised knowledge of the Romans vanquished the furious violence of the Scots, Brits, and Britains: who being put to flight fled into the mounteins to escape the enemies hands who pursued them most egerlie. Amongst other of the prisoners there was taken Caratakes wife, with his daughter & brethren. He himselfe fled for succor unto his stepmother Cartimandua: but as aduersitie findeth few friends, she caused him to be taken and deliuered unto Offozius. This was in the ninth year after the beginning of the warres. Offozius bled him verie honorable, according to the degree of a king: finally he sent him unto Rome, together with his wife, his daughter, and brethren. His name was such through all places, that where he passed by, the people came flocking in on each side to see him, of whom they had heard so much report for his stout resistance made so long a time against the Romane puissance.

At his coming to Rome he was shewd in triumph, all the people being called to the sight: for the victorie and apprehension of him was iudged equall with ante other atchieued enterpryse against whatso- ever the most puissant enemies of former time. The Emperour Claudius vpon respect as was thought of his princelie behauior and notified valiancie, restored him to libertie, and reteining his daughter and eldest brother at Rome as pledges, vpon his oth received to be a true subiect unto the empire, he sent him home into his countrie againe, assigning unto him the gouernance of Galloway, with Kile, Car- rike, and Coningham. He liued not passing two yeeres after his returne into Scotland, studieng most cheeflie (during that time) how to preserve his people in peace and quietnesse. He departed this world one and twentie yeeres after the decesse of his uncle Metellan, in the yeere of our Lord 54.

A little before his falling into the hands of the Romans, there were sundrie strange sights scene in Albion, as fighting of horsmen abroad in the fields, with great slaughter, as seemed on both parts: and forthwith the same so vanished awaie, that no appearance of them could any where be perceived. Also a sort of woulues in the night season set vpon such as

were keeping of cattell abroad in the fields, and carted awaie one of them to the woods, and in the morning suffered him to escape from amongst them againe. Moreover, at Carrike there was a child borne, perfect in all his lims saving the head, which was like unto a rauen. These vniuersal signes and monstrosities put the people in no small feare: but after that Caratake was restored to his libertie & countrie, all was interpreted to the best.

After Caratakes decesse, his yongest brother Corbreid was chosen to succeed in his place, in the fiftie and eighth yeere after Christ, for his elder brother was departed at Rome through change of aire not agreeable to his nature. This Corbreid was a stout man of comach, much resembling his brother Caratake. In the first beginning of his reigne, he did his indeuor to purge his dominion of such as troubled the quiet state thereof, by robbing and spoiling the husbandmen and other the meaner people of the countrie, of the which robbers there was no small number in those daies, speciallie in the Westerne Isles, also in Kose & Cathnes. In the meane time the Brits hauing created there a new king called Conhast, gouernour of Mers and Louthian, they set vpon the Romans being about to make fortresses in those parties. And but that succours came in time from the next towncs and castles adjoining, they had laine all the whole number of them, & yet aided as they were, the maister of the campe, and eight other of the captains, with diuers officers of bands, besides common souldiours, lost their liues there.

Shortly after also, the same Brits overthrow a number of foragers, with such compantes of horsmen as came to defend them. Herewith Offozius being not a little moued, made readie his bands, and fiercelie incountred with the Brits, who defended themselves so vigozonlie, that the force of the Romans was nere hand discomfited. Which danger Offozius perceiuing, speedilie came to relieue the same, but preasing too farre amongst his enemies, he was sore wounded, and in great danger to haue bene laine. The night coming vpon parted the state, not without huge slaughter on both parts. After this, the warre continued still betwixt them with often incursions and skirmishes. At the length the Brits with such other Britains as were come unto them out of the Ile of Man and other parties, incountred with the Romans in battell, and vpon the first joining, of purpose gaue backe, training some of the Romans to pursue them unto such places, where they had laid their ambushes, and so compassing them about, slue a great number of them, and chased the residue into the streets of the mounteins, where they were also surprised by such of the Brits as returned from the battell.

Offozius vnderstanding how the matter went, withdrew with the rest of his people to his campe, and shortly after sent a pursuant unto Rome, to informe the emperor in what state things stood in Britaine, by reason of this rebellion of the Brits, who neither by force nor gentle persuasions could be pacified. The emperor determining to prouide remedie therefore, sent word againe that he would not that the Brits should be effrons received vpon their submission, if they were dzinen to make sute for pardon, but vterlie to be destroyed and exterminated. For the accomplishment wherof he appointed two legions of such men of warre, as sojourned in France to passe ouer into Britaine. But in the meane while Offozius departed this world, where of his hurts (as the Scottish chronicles make mention) or through sicknesse (as should rather seeme by Cornelius Tacitus) it forceth not. After whose

Offozius Claudius was with the Brits.

The Romans are discomfited by the Brits.

Julius Diodorus cometh into Britaine.

The Brits overcome the Romans.

The Brits sent to the Romans for aid.

Offozius wounded.

The Romans trained into ambushes and so destroyed.

Carlius Pa- centred with an armie into Gallo- way.

Arminius the husband of Cartiman- da.

Arminius re- solutely.

Carlius was wounded.

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whose decessie Marcius Valens had the chiefest charge, who bringing his armie forth to encounter the Picts that came to seeke battell, was fiercelie fought withall, notwithstanding the victorie had a- bidden on his side, if at the verie point there had not come succours to the Picts (that is to wit) 400 horsemen out of the countrie of Kendall, by whose fresh onset the Romans were discomfited and cha- sed unto their campe, there being slain about 3000 of them at that overthrowe, and on the Picts side there wanted 2000 of their number at the least.

About the same time there arrived in Britaine an other Romane capitaine to be generall in place of Marcius now deceased, his name was Aulus Didius, with him came the two legions afore remem- bered. At his first comming ouer he mustered the old crewes of the Romane souldiers first, much blaming them for their negligence, in suffering the enimies so to increase vpon them, to the great dan- ger of losing all that (through sloth and faintnesse of courage) which latelie before in Britaine had been wonne and conquered by high prowes and valiant conduct of his predecessours. In the end he exhorted them to put away all feare, and fullie to determine with themselves to recover againe the honor which they had latelie lost, which he said would easilie be brought to passe, if they would take vnto them man- full stomachs, and obeie him and such other as had the governance and leading of them. The Picts being informed that this Aulus Didius was arrived with this new supplie of men, & prepared to come against them, they thought good to send vnto Corbreid king of Scotland, to require his aid against the Romans, reputed as common enimies to all such as loved li- bertie, and hated to live in servile bondage. For which respect Corbreid was the sooner moued to con- descend vnto the request of the Picts; and thereupon assembling an armie entred into Galloway. Where of Aulus Didius being certified, sent an herald vnto him with all speed, commanding that he should depart out of those quarters, sith he had no right there, considering that Galloway was assigned vnto Caratake but for tearme of his owne life, by force of the emperours grant, and now by the death of the same Caratake was reuered againe vnto the empire.

The herald had vnnearth done his message, when word came vnto Corbreid how an armie of the Ro- mans under the guiding of Caesius Pasica was entred into the marches of Galloway, to the great terror of all the inhabitants, doubting to be spoiled and robbed on ech hand. These newes put the herald in danger of his life, had not Corbreid vpon regard to the law of armes licenced him to depart. The host which Corbreid brought with him into Gallo- way, he bestowed in castles and fortresses abroad in the countrie for more safegard, but he himselfe rode in all hast vnto Eptake, to haue the aduise and aid of one Vlenusius that had married the fornamed Car- timandua that vnkind stepmother of Caratake, as ye haue heard before. This Vlenusius was of coun- sell with his wife Cartimandua in the betraile of king Caratake, and therefore was growne into much hatred of the people for that fact, but through support of the Romans he was for a time defended from all their malices. Notwithstanding in the end being wearied of the proud government of the Ro- mans, he revolted from them vnto Corbreid. Where with his wife being offended, found means to ap- prehend both him and his brethren with certaine of his kinnsfolks, and laied them fast in prison.

But now Corbreid at his comming thither, did not onelie set them at libertie, but also toke & cau- sed Cartimandua to be buried quickie. In the meane

while a certaine number of Scots distressed a few foragers of the Romans, but following the chase somewhat rashlie, they were inclosed by the enimies and slain. This mischance put the Scots in great feare, and the Romans in good successe, so that Pa- sica was in purpose to haue assailed a certaine strong place, wherein a number of the Scottishmen were gotten, and had fortified the entrees, had not other newes altered his purpose, for hearing how an other armie of the Scots was ioined with the Picts, and were approached within three miles of him, he brought his host forth into a plaine where he ordered his battels readie to receiue them. Whereof the Scottishmen hauing knowledge, hastied forth to- wards him, and were no sooner come in sight of the Romans, but that with great violence they gaue the onset, most fierclie beginning the battell, which continued till sun-setting with great slaughter on both sides; at what time the Romans were at the point to haue discomfited their enimies, had not those Scottishmen which were left in fortresses (as is said) abroad in the countrie, come at that selfe instant to the aid of their fellowes, by whose means the battell was renewed againe, which lasted till the mirke night parted them in sunder. The Romans withdrew to their campe, and the Scots and Picts got by into the mountains.

Shortlie after a peace was concluded betwixt the parties, with these conditions; that the Romans should content themselves with that which they had in possession before the beginning of these last wars, and suffer Corbreid to inioy all such countries as his brother Caratake held. And likewise the Picts pay- ing their former tribut for the finding of such garri- sons of Romans as laie at Camelon, they should be no further charged with anie other exactions. Moreover it was agreed, that neither the Scots nor Picts from thenceforth should receiue or succour a- nie rebels of Frenchmen or Britains, nor should aid by anie manner of means the inhabitants of the Ile of Man, who had done manie notable displea- sures to the Romans during the last warres. This peace continued a six peares during the life of Aulus Didius, who at the end of those six peares, depar- ted this life at London, leauing behind him all things in good quiet.

After his decessie the emperour Nero, who succe- ded Claudius, appointed one Vlerannius to be lieutenant of Britaine, a man verie ambitious and much desirous of honor, by means whereof, in hope to aduance his name, he sought occasions to haue warres with the Scottishmen; and at length hearing that certaine of them being borderers had fetched booties out of Wiceland, he did send a great power of Romans to make a rode into the next marches of the Scots, from whence they brought a great spoile, both of men and of goods. With which iniuries the Scots being moued, sought daile in semblable sort to be reuenged, so that by such means the warre was renewed. But before anie notable encounter chanced betwixt them, Vlerannius died. His last words were full of ambitious boasts, wishing to haue liued but two peares longer, that he might haue subdued the whole Ile of Albion vnto the Ro- mane empire, as if he might haue had so much time he doubted not to haue done.

Paulinus Suetonius succeeded in his place, a man of an excellent wit, and verie desirous of peace. He first confirmed the ancient league with Cor- breid king of Scotland: a recompense being made in euerie behalfe for all wrongs & iniuries done on euerie part. After this (as Hector Boetius hath ga- thered) he conquered the Ile of Man; but for so much as by probable reasons it is apparant inough, that

The darke night parted the fraie.

A peace con- cluded.

Aulus Didius departed this life at London.

Vlerannius is made lieut- enant of Brit- taine.

Vlerannius departeth this life.

Anglesea and not Man was thus in- uaded by Suetonius.

fields, and and in the longst them was a child head, which signes and e: but after rtie & coun-

gest brother his place, in for his elder change of Corbreid was ling his bro- of his reigne, on of such as ing and spoil- aner people ere was no ic in the we- In the meane a now king and Louthi- bout to make hat succours ad castles ad- mber of them, of the campe, diuers offi- es, lost their

ouerthrow a nities of horse- with Marcius ie his hands, s, who defen- fore ward of fited. Which e came to re- amongst his great danger ing vpon par- ighter on both d still betwixt lthes. At the ains as were duffed.

matter went, to his campe, into Rome, to things stood in of the Picts, sions could be to prouide re- hat he would receiued vpon make late for and extermina- of he appoin- as sojournd

aine. But in his world, the onicles make s should rather eth not. After whose

Marcius Valens was the chiefest charge.

The Romans were discomfited and chased.

Aulus Didius was arrived with this new supplie of men.

The Picts were informed that this Aulus Didius was arrived with this new supplie of men.

Aulus Didius was arrived with this new supplie of men.

The Romans were informed that this Aulus Didius was arrived with this new supplie of men.

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it was not Span, but the Ile of Angleſcie which the Britains name Môn, and at this time was subdued by Suetonius, we haue here omitted to make report thereof, referring you to the place in the English chronicle, where we haue spoken ſufficientlie after that ſort Suetonius both attempted & atchieued this enterpriſe, which being brought to end, he was ſent for into Gallia, to reſſeſſe certeine tumults raiſed among the people there. In whoſe abſence the Britains thinking to haue a meet time for their purpoſe, moued a new rebellion. But by the relation of Cornelius Tacitus, this chanced whileſt Suetonius was buſie in requiring the Ile of Angleſcie, as in the English chronicle it likewiſe appeareth, with the ſtrange ſights and wonders which happened about the ſame time, whereupon the ſouthſaters (as Hector Boetius ſaith) declared that the Romans ſhould receiue a great ouerthrow. Upon truſt of whoſe wordes the Picts and other Britains inhabiting Camelon and in the marches thereof, ſet vpon ſuch Romans as inhabited there, and ſlew a great manie of them yer they were in doubt of a new rebellion. The reſidue which eſcaped, got them into an old church, where they were ſlaine echmothers ſonne.

The Scots and Picts kill the Romans.

Petilius Cerealis his men being ſlaine returned.

Catus the procurator of Britaine fled into France.

Queene Moada deſireth aid of hir brother Corbreid.

Charanach King of the Picts.

The Romans ſlaine.

Dutchmen arrive in Scotland.

Also Petilius Cerealis comming with a legion of footmen and a troope of horſemen to their ſuccours, was incountred by the Picts, & being put to flight, loſt all his footmen, hardlie eſcaping himſelfe with the horſemen to the campe. Shortly after he toke by his tents and returned towards Kent, where Catus the procurator or receiuer (as I may call him) of Britaine as then ſoiourned, who vnderſtanding how the whole Ile was on ech ſide in an vppore, fled ouer into France then called Gallia. This meane while queene Moada ſent vnto hir brother Corbreid king of Scotland, requiring his aid againſt the Romans, who had ſo viliſie vſed hir and hir daughters, to the great diſhonour of hir and all hir linage, and now was the time to be reuenged of ſuch iniuries, the whole nation of the Britains through the couetous dealing of the procurator Catus, being riſen in armes to recouer their ancient liberties.

Corbreid being highlie diſpleaſed towards the Romans for the euill intreating of his ſiſter, determined either to ſee hir ſatiſfied by wortheie recompence, or elle to be reuenged on them that had miſvſed hir: and hereof gaue ſignification vnto Catus the procurator that was as then returned into Britaine with a power of men of warre. Corbreid receiving but a ſcornfull anſwere from him, found meanes to ioine in league with Charanach king of the Picts, and gathering together a mightie armie of one & other, purſued the Romans and their associates, ſlaing downe a wonderfull number of them. He alſo burned and deſtroied diuers towneſ, ſuch as in keeping their allegiance to the Romans ſtood earneſtly to their deſeſſe, as Berwike and Carlell with others. About the ſame ſeaſon there arrived in the ſiſth a number of Dutch ſhips, fraught with people of Perherne or Poravia, a region in Germanie ſituate betwixt Boheme and Hungarie. They were driuen out of their owne countrie by the Romans, and aſſembling together vnder a famous capteine named Roderike, came downe to the mouth of the Rhene, where making ſhiſt for beſſels, they toke the ſeaſ to ſeeke them ſome new habitations; and thus arriving in Idaland, were ſoſullie receiued of the Picts and Scots, for that they were reputed right valiant men, and glad to reuenge their owne iniuries againſt the Romans. Namelie wiſth the Picts they were much eſtimated, for that they came forth of the ſame countrie from whence their anceſſors were deſcended.

Theſe huge bodieſ and mightie linſ did are allie commend them in the ſight of all men before whom they muſtered, ſo that comming to the place where the kingſ of Scots and Picts were incamped with their people readie to march forth towards the enemies, they were highlie welcomed, and vpon their offer receiued into companie, and appointed to go forth in that iournie, in aid of queene Moada againſt the Romans. With this Moada was aſſembled a mightie hoſt of the Britains, amongſt whom were ſiue thouſand women, wholie bent to reuenge the villanies done to their perſonſ by the Romans, or to die in the paine. And for this purpoſe were they come well appointed with armour and weapons, to be the firſt that ſhould glie the onſet. Moada hearing of hir brothers approach with the king of Picts and their armies, met them on the waie accompanied with a great number of the nobles of Britaine, and brought them to hir campe with great loy and triumph.

After taking aduiſe how to behaue themſelues in their enterpriſe, they thought it good to make haſt to fight with the procurator Catus, yer anie new power of men of warre might come to his aid forth of Gallia now called France. Whereupon marching towards him, they met together in the field, where betwixt them was ſtriken a right fierce and cruell battell; but in the end the horſemen of the Romans part being put to flight, the footmen were beaten downe on ech ſide; Catus himſelfe being wounded, eſcaped verie hardlie by flight, and shortly after got him ouer into France. The Scots and Picts with other the Britains, hauing atchieued this victorie, purſued their enemies from place to place, ſo that there died by the ſword, what in the battell and elſewhere in the chaſe, ſeuentie thouſand Romans and other ſtrangers, which ſerued amongſt them; and of Scots, Picts, and other Britains, were ſlaine thirtie thouſand.

The gouernour Suetonius being then in Gallia, hearing of this ouerthrow, & in what danger things ſtood in Britaine, by reaſon of the ſame, came ouer with two legions of ſouldiers, and ten thouſand of other Brigants as aiders to thoſe legions. Moada the queene vnderſtanding of his arrival, aſſembled againe hir people, and ſent vnto the Scots and Picts to come to hir aid: who together with the Poravians came with all ſpeed vnto hir. When they were thus aſſembled, Britains, Scots, Picts, & Poravians on one part, and Romans with their aidſ on the other, they marched forth to incounter together with deliberat minds to trie the matter by dint of ſword, being earneſtly exhorted thereto by their gouernours on either ſide. So that ioining puiſſance againſt puiſſance, they fought a right cruell battell, manie in the beginning being ſlaine and bozne downe on both ſides. But in the end the victorie abode with the Romans, the Britains with other the Albans were chaſed out of the field. There were ſlaine of them at the point of foure ſcore thouſand perſonſ, as Tacitus writeth. The more part of the Poravians, together with their capteine Roderike, were in that number. Moada the queene, doubting to come into the handſ of hir enemies, ſlew hir ſelfe. Two of hir daughters were taken priſoners, and brought away, even as they were found fighting in the battell, vnto Suetonius.

The eldeſt of them wiſthin a ſew monethſ after was married vnto a noble Romane named Marius, who had deſloured hir before time. He was alſo created king of Britaine by the emperours authoritie, that thereby the ſtate of the countrie might be reduced vnto a better quiet. He ſiſd to lie moſt an erid in the parties of Kendale, and named a part thereof

wherein were the Britains.

Women come South the queene in aid.

The Romans are put to flight and overthrown.

Catus was drowned.

70000 Romans ſlaine, and 30000 Britains.

Moada eſcaped an arrow againſt the Romans.

The Romans overthrew the Scots and Picts.

The Poravians ſlaine.

Moada ſlew hir ſelfe.

Marcius was made king.

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The Poravians ſlaine.

Moada ſlew hir ſelfe.

Marcius was made king.

(where he passed the most part of his time altogether in hunting) *Westmerland*, after his owne name, though afterwards, when the Romans were expelled, a portion of the same adjoining next unto the Scots was called *Cumberland*. The *Agroautians* which escaped from the discomfiture, had that portion of Scotland assigned forth unto them to inhabit in, that lieth betwixt the rivers of *Loyne* and *Speie*, called euen unto this day *Pursey land*.

Corbzeid being thus ouerthrowne, and hauing his power greatlie infeebled thereby, passed the residue of his life in quietnesse. For the Romans being troubled with ciuill warres, meebled neither with the Scots nor *Picts*, but onlie studied to keepe the south parts of *Britaine* in due obedience. Finally *Corbzeid* departed this world, after he had reigned 34 yeares, and was buried amongst his elders nere unto *Dunstaffage*, with manie obelisks set vp about him.

After *Corbzeid* succeeded one *Dardan*, which for his huge stature was afterwarde surnamed the great. He was lineally descended fro *Metellane*, who was his great grandfather. The nobles and commons of the realme chose him to be their king, onelie for the good opinion they had conceiued of him in his predecessors daies, by whome he was had in great estimation, and had atchiued vnder him manie worthie enterprises, so that he was thought most meetest for the roine, considering the sonnes of *Corbzeid* were not as yet come vnto ripe yeares to inioy the same. For the said *Corbzeid* had three sons in all, *Corbzeid*, *Tulcane*, and *Bzeke*. The eldest had bene brought vp with *Moada*, queene of the *Britains*, whereby he had learned the maners and vsages of the *British* nation, and thereupon was surnamed *Gald*; for so doe the *Scottishmen* vse euen vnto this day to name anie of their owne countrymen that hath learned the courtesie and maners of strange countries.

But to returne to *Dardan*, in the beginning of his reigne he gouerned the estate by good indifferent iustice, but after he had continued therein by the space of two yeares, he began to fall into all kinds of vices, remouing from offices such as were by right bearers of themselves in the same, and aduancing to their places bribers and extortioners. The nobles he had in suspect, fauoring onelie such as thorough flatterie were by him preferred. And where he was browne beyond all the terms of honestie in fleshlie and sinfull lust, yet was his couetousnesse so great, that all was too little which he might lay hands vpon. He also put to death diuers honorable personages, such as he perceived to grudge at his doings. He likewise purposed to haue made away the sonnes of his predecessor *Corbzeid*, but his traitorous practise being disclosed, the most part of the nobles and commons of the realme rebelled against him, and sending for *Corbzeid Gald* the eldest sonne of the former *Corbzeid*, remaining as then in the Ile of *Span* (where he should haue bene murdered) they chose him to their king. And at length beating downe all such as made resistance, they got that cruell tyrant *Dardan* into their hands, & bringing him forth before the multitude, they caused his head to be openlie stricken off. This was the 81 yeare after the birth of our Saviour, being the first of the emperor *Domitian*, & the fourth compleat of his owne reigne over the *Scottishmen*.

Corbzeid Gald being thus chosen (as I haue said) to succeed in the government of Scotland after *Dardan*, is called by *Cornelius Tacitus Galgacus*, a prince of comelie personage, and of right noble port. In the first beginning of his reigne he punished such as had bene furtherers of his predecessors mis-

gouernement, and afterwards he passed ouer into the *westerne Isles*, where he appeased certeine rebels, which went about to disquiet the state of the common-wealth there. From thence he sailed vnto the Isles of *Lewis* and *Skie*, and put to death certeine offenders that would not be obedient vnto their gouernors and iudges. After this he returned by *Kosse*, and set a stay also in that countrie, touching certeine misdeemeanors of the people there. To be short, he purged the whole realme of all such robbers, theues, and other the like offenders against the quiet peace of his subiects, as were hugelie increased by the contentious rule of his predecessor *Dardan*, and here vnto he was mightilie aided by the *Agroautians*, who pursued such offenders most earnestlie, and brought in vnto him no small number of them, euer as they caught them.

By this meanes was the state of the common-wealth brought into better quiet, and the yere next ensuing, being the third of *Gald* his reigne, he called a councell at *Dunstaffage*, wherein he laboured much for the abrogating of the wicked lawes instituted by king *Cluin*, as before is partly specified: but he could not obtaine more, than that poxe men from thenceforth should haue their wiues free vnto themselves, without being abused from time to time indifferentlie by their landlords, as heretofore they had bene. Whilste he was thus busied about the establishing of holome orders & statutes for the welth of his subiects, word was brought him that *Petilius Cerealis* a *Romane* capteine, being sent from *Caesar* the emperor to haue the gouernement of *Britaine*, was landed with a puissant armie in the countrie, and minded shortly to inuade the borders of his realme, as *Annandale* and *Galloway*.

With these newes *Gald* being somewhat astonished, thought good to vnderstand the certentie of the enimies doings, before he made anie stirre for the leuieng of his people, and therefore appointed certeine light horsemen to ride forth, and to bring certeine newes of that which they might heare or see: who at their returne declared that the enimies armie was abroad in the fields, vpon the borders of *Widdland*, and had giuen the *Picts* already a great ouerthrow; and further, how they were turned westward on the left hand, in purpose to enter into *Galloway*. *Gald* being thus certified of the *Romans* approach towards his countrie, determined to giue them battell, before they entered into the inner parts of his realme, and therefore with all speed he assembled his people, to the number of fiftie thousand men, all such as were able to beare armes, being ready to repaire vnto him in such present necessitie for defense of their countrie.

It hath bene reported, that as he marched forth towards his enimies, sundrie strange sights appeared by the way. An eagle was seene almost all a whole day, flying vp and downe ouer the *Scottish* armie, euen as though she had laboured hir selfe wearie. Also an armed man was seene flying round about the armie, and suddenlie vanished away. There fell in like maner out of a darke cloud in the fields, through the which the armie should passe, diuerse kinds of birds that were spotted with blood. These monstrous sights troubled mens minds diuerslie, some construing the same to signifie good successe, and some otherwise. Also the chiefe captiues amongst the Scots were not all of one opinion, for some of them weleng the great force of the *Romane* armie, being the greatest that euer had bene brought into their countrie before that day, counselled that they shuld in no wise be fought with, all, but rather to suffer them to wearte themselves, till vittels and other prouision should faile them, and then

See more of him in England.

Gald punished such as disturb the quiet state of his subiects.

The *Agroautians* helped to appease the theues and offenders.

Gald labored to abrogate wicked lawes.

Petilius Cerealis a *Romane* capteine sent by *Caesar* into *Britaine*.

The *Ordonians* and *Widdians* mistaken by the *Scottish* writers.

The plots ouerthrowne by the *Romans*. The *Romans* purpose to enter into *Galloway*. *Gald* determined to fight with the *Romans*.

Strange sights appeared to the *Scottish* armie.

The Scots not all of one mind.

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Westmerland.

Westmerland was the name of the whole of the *Agroautians*.

Corbzeid dead Anno Christi 71. H. B.

Dardan.

Corbzeid his three sonnes.

Dardan slain by his own people.

Marcius slain by his own people.

The common rebellion.

Dardan slain by his own people.

Corbzeid slain by his own people.

then to take the aduantage of them, as occasion serued.

The Scots agree to fight with the Romans.

The Scots are discontented.

The citie called Epiake is wonn by the Romans.

The Scots durst not fight any field with the Romans.

Touching all the doings of the Romans in Britaine ye shall find sufficientlie in the historie of England.

Moadicia renewed wars with the Romans.

The Romane campe assailed in the night by Moadicia.

Other twers of a contrarie mind, iudging it best (with the puissance of the whole realme was assembled) to giue battell, least by deferring time, the courage and great desire, which the people had to fight, should was faint and decate: so that all things considered, it was generallie in the end agreed vpon to giue battell, and so comming within sight of the enemies host, they made readie to incounter them. At the first the Scots were somewhat amazed with the great multitude of their aduersaries, but through the cherefull exhortations of their king, and other their captains, their stomachs began to reuiue, so that they bolliue set vpon the Romans, whereof ensued betwixt them a right fierce and cruell battell, holbe- it in the end the victorie inclined to the Romans, and the Scots were chased out of the field. Cald himselfe was wounded in the face, yet escaped he out of the battell, but not without great danger in deed, by reason the Romans pursued most egerlie in the chase.

There were slaine of the Scottishmen (as their chronicles report) about twelue thousand, and of the Romans about six thousand. This victorie being thus atchiued, the Romans got possession of Epiake with the greatest part of all Galloway, and passed the residue of that yere without anie other notable exploit: but in the summer following, Petilius the Romane gouernor went about to subdue the rest of the countrie, the Scots oftentimes making diuerse skirmishes with him, but in no wise durst ioine with them, puissance against puissance, least they should haue put their countrie into further danger, if they had chanced otherwise to haue received the ouerthrow.

Here haue we thought good to aduertise the reader, that although the Scottish writers impute all the trauels, which Petilius spent in subduing the Brigants, and Frontinus in conquering the Silures, to be imployed chieflie against Scots & Pias: the opinion of the best learned is wholie contrarie thereto, affirming the same Brigants & Silures not to be so far north by the distance of manie miles, as Hector Boetius and other his countriemen do place them, which thing in the historie of England we haue also noted, where ye may read more of all the doings of the Romans here in Britaine, as in their writers we find the same recorded. But neuertheless we haue here followed the course of the Scottish historie, in maner as it is written by the Scots themselves, not binding anie man more in this place than in other to credit them further than by conference of authoys it shall seme to them expedient.

In the meane time then, whilst Petilius was occupied (as before ye haue hard) in the conquest of Galloway, Moadicia the daughter of Arutragus (whom the Romans had before time misused, as before in this treatise is partlie touched) gathered together a crew of souldiours within the Ile of Man, partlie of the inhabitants, and partlie of such Scottishmen of Galloway as were fled thither for succor: with these shee toke the seas, and landing in Galloway, vpon purpose to reuenge hir iniuries in times past received at the Romans hands, she set vpon their tents in the night season, when they looked for nothing lesse than to be disquieted, by reason whereof they were brought into such disorder, that if Petilius had not caused such fierbrands to be kindled as he had prepared and dressed with pitch, rosen and tallow, for the like purpose, the whole campe had bene in great danger: but these torches or fierbrands gaue not onlie light to see where to make resistance, but also being cast in the faces of the enemies, staied their har-

die forwardnesse, whereby the Romans hauing leasure to place themselves in arrate, defended the entrees of their campe, till the day was sprung, and then giuing a full onset vpon their enemies, they put them quite to flight.

But Moadicia not herewith discouraged, hasted with all speed vnto Epiake, and taking that citie she set fire on it, and slue such Romans as she found there, whereof Petilius being certified, sent forth a legion against hir to withstand hir attempts. Those that had the charge of them that were thus sent, used such diligence, that laeing an ambush for hir in a place fit for that purpose, they so inclosed hir, that slaieng the most part of hir company, she was taken prisoner hir selfe, and being brought alieue vnto Petilius, vpon hir stout answer made vnto him, as he questioned with hir about hir bold enterprises, shee was presentlie slaine by the souldiours.

Anon after Petilius was certified, that the inhabitants of the Ile of Wight, with other southerne Britains, had raised a commotion against king Aparius, so that without speedie succors they were like to driue him out of his kingdome: wherevpon he hasted thither with all conuenient speed, and subduing the rebels, set all things there in good order and staie: and so remaining there till the next yere after, he fell sicke of the flux and died. Immediatlie wherevpon the emperour sent one Iulius Frontinus to succeed in his place. This Frontinus brought with him two legions of souldiours, and after he had taken order with king Aparius for the keeping of the Britains in due subiection of the empire, he purposed to bring such vnto obedience, as inhabited within and beyond the woods of Calidon, and as yet not banquished by anie man.

Therefore entring first into Galloway, and bisting such garrisons of the Romans, as Petilius had left there for the keeping of that quarter, he commended their loialtie and diligence, in that they had looked so well to their charge, that the enimie had gained no aduantage at their hands, whilst the armie was occupied in the south parts about other affaires there. He also sent an herald vnto the king of the Pias with letters, requiring him to renew by confirmation the former league betwixt his people & the Romans, & not by any means to aid the Scots as before they had done to their great losse & hindrance. Herunto the king of Pias much suspecting the matter, made a direct answer, that he saw no cause why he should in fauor of the Romans suffer his confederats the Scots to be subdued, and brought to destruction without all reason or equitie: and therefore he was determined by the aduise of his peres & counsellors, to aid the Scots against such as sought nothing but the meanes how to bring the whole Ile of Albion into thraldome and seruite bondage.

Frontinus little regarding this vntowardlie answer, set forward to subdue such Scots as were yet disobedient. And so entring into the borders of Kile, Carrike, and Coningham, had diuers skirmishes with such as king Cald had assembled to defend his countrie, but so much as he was diseased with sickness, he was at length constrained to withdraw himselfe into Argile, leauing his power behind him to resist the enemies attempts: but shortly after his departure from amongst them, they were sought with all by the Romans, and discomfited, three thousand of them being slaine in the field. By reason of which ouerthrowe those countries submitted themselves to the Romans, perceiuing no hope otherwise how to escape that present danger.

These Scots of Carrike, Kile, and Coningham, being thus brought into subiection, the armie was licenced to withdraw to their lodgings for the winter

Epiake is taken and burned by Moadicia.

Moadicia is slaine.

The Britains rebel.

The Britains are appeased.

Petilius the Romane is gat death.

Iulius Frontinus sent into Britaine.

The Silures mistaken for Scottishmen.

Frontinus purpoeth to pursue the conquest of the Silures whith the Scots make for Galloway men.

Frontinus requirith to ioine in amitie with the Pias.

The Pias king refuseth to be in league with the Romans.

Cald resisteth the Romans.

By reason of sickness he withdraweth to Argile.

Cald resisteth the Romans.

By reason of sickness he withdraweth to Argile.

They submit themselves to the Romans.

They submit themselves to the Romans.

They submit themselves to the Romans.

They submit themselves to the Romans.

They submit themselves to the Romans.

They submit themselves to the Romans.

Frontinus being bereaved with sickness returneth to Rome.

Iulius Agricola is sent into Britaine.

The Scots of Annandale beat the Romans.

Agricola pursueth to go against the Scots.

Marachach is of the Pias discomfited by the Romans.

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ter season, during the which, Frontinus fell sicke of superfluous abundance of flegme, which bereft him in such sort, that the emperor Domitian, who as then gouerned the Romane empire, sent for him home to Rome, and appointed a right valiant personage, one Julius Agricola to succed as lieutenant of Brittain in his roome. About the time of whose arrivall there, the Scots of Annandale slue a great number of the Romans, with which successe they procured also the Picts with the inhabitants of Galloway, Aile, Carrike, and Coningham to rebell.

These newes being reported vnto Agricola, he made his prouision with all speed to go against them, and first entring into the borders of Pictland, he reduced such as inhabited about the confines of Berwick to their former subiection, and after marching towards the citie of Camelon, Karanach king of the Picts incountred him by the waie, but being fiercely beaten off by the Romans, he fled backe into the citie, and within three daies after hauing reinforced his power, he effrones gaue battell againe to his enimies; but then also being vanquished, he lost the most part of all his men, and so immediatlie thereupon was Camelon twine by force, & a great number of the citizens slaine.

Agricola caused it to be netulie fortified, and further through fame of this victorious beginning, he recovered the most part of all the castles and fortresses of Pictland. The forenamed Karanach escaping out of that present danger, got him beyond the water of Firth, for the more suertie of his owne person. Agricola hauing sped thus in Pictland, marched forth against them of Annandale, who at the first making resistance for a time, at length were constrained to giue backe, and so fled to their houses, where in the night following by their owne wiues they were murdered each mothers sonne: for so the women of that nation bled to put awaie the shame of their husbands, when they at any time had fled out of the field from their enimies.

Agricola vnderstanding that by winning him fame in the beginning, it should be no small furtherance vnto him for the atchiuing of other enterprizes in time to come, determined to pursue his good fortune, and thereupon prepared to subdue the Ile of Man; but wanting vessels to conuey his armie ouer, he found meanes that such as could swim, and knew the shallow places of that coast, made shift to passe the golfe, and so got on land, to the great wonder and amazing of the inhabitants, who watched the sea coasts, to resist such ships as they looked for to haue arrived upon their shore: but now despairing to resist such kind of warriors as endangered themselves to passe the seas in that maner of wise, they submitted themselves vnto Agricola.

Who taking pledges of thein, and appointing certaine garisons to keepe diuers holds and places of defense within that Ile, passed ouer with the residue of his people into Galloway, where he sojourned all the winter following: which being passed, and summer once come, he assembled his men of warre againe, and visited a great part of that countrie with Aile, Carrike, and Coningham, the inhabitants whereof he put in such feare with the onelike show of his warlike armie, disposed in such politike order and wise conduct, that there was none to be found that durst aduance themselves to incountre him, so that he spent that summers season in keeping such of the Scots as had bene aforesaid subdued, from attempting any commotion. And when winter was come, he assembled the nobles of the countie, exhorting them by gentle persuasions, to frame themselves to a ciuill trade of liuing, as well in building of temples, houses, and other edifices after the Ro-

man maner, as also in wearing of comelie and decent apparell; and aboue all things to set their children to schoole, to be brought vp in eloquence and good nurture. By this meanes he thought to traine them from their accustomed fiercenesse, and to win them the sooner to be content with bondage, though he coloured it with neuer so faire a glose of humanitie.

The third winter being thus spent, and the next summer commen vpon, Agricola inuaded such countries as were yet undiscovered by the Romans, entering by the nether side of Calidon wood, euen vnto the dolorous mountaine, which afterwards by the Scots was cleped Sterling. It was called the dolorous mountaine, for that in the night season there was heard right lamentable noise & cries, as though the same had bene of some creatures that had bewailed their miserable cases: which undoubtedly was the craftie illusions of wicked spirits, to keepe mens minds still oppressed in blind errors and superstitious fantasies.

Agricola considering the naturall strength of this mountaine, with the site of an old ruinous castell that stood thereon, he caused the same with all diligence to be repaired, and a bidge to be made ouer the Forth there, by the which he passed with his whole armie ouer into Fife: and the daie after, hearing that the king of the Picts was withdrawn into a castell thereby, standing vpon an high mountaine cleped Benart, he inuironed the same with a strong siege, howbeit his hoped prey was not as then within it, for Karanach king of the Picts, informed of the Romans approach, got him forth abrode into the fields, and assembling his power, purposed by night to haue broken the bidge, which Agricola had made ouer the Forth at Sterling, but being repelled by such as were set there to defend the same, in his returne from thence he was incountred by Agricola himselfe, who being certified of this attempt of his enimies, had leuied his siege, and was comming towards them, so that both the hosts meeting together in the fields, there was fought a fore battell betwixt them, though in the end the Picts were discomfited, and their king the foresaid Karanach chased vnto the riuier of Tay, where he got a bote, and escaped to the further side of that water. By reason of this overthrow, Agricola brought in subiection those countries, which lie betwene the waters of Forth and Tay, as Fife, Forthlike, and Ornedall, and sojourning there all the winter following, he built sundrie fortresses in places most conuenient for the keeping of the inhabitants in their couenanted obedience, after his departure from amongst them.

In the meane while, the king of the Picts kept him at Dundee, whither resorted vnto him a great number of the Pictish nobilitie, such as had escaped the Romans hands. These comforted their king in all that they might, willing him to be of god chere, and to hope well of his recouerie of his losses againe by some good fortune; and meanes that might happen to come ver ought long, promising to the furtherance thereof all that in them late, as well for counsell as aduise hand: and hereupon they took aduise which waie to worke, in somuch that at length it was by great deliberation thought god to seeke for succor at the hands of their ancient confederats the Scots, and so incontinentlie there were certaine messengers dispatched with all speed vnto Gald the Scottish king, requiting him in that common jeopardie to soine in league with his ancient friends the Picts, against the ambitious and most cruell Romans, who sought nothing else but the utter subiection of the whole land of Albion, as manifestlie appeared by their proceedings, hauing already occupied and wrong-
fullie

Calendar
wood.
Agricola commeth
to Sterling.

Agricola buildeth the castle of Sterling with the bidge.

Mount Benart.

Karanach assaulteth Sterling bidge, which the Romans defended.

Karanach is effrones chased. Fife with other countie brought into subiection of the Romans.

Karanach comforted by his nobles.

The Picts send for aid to king Gald.

Gald prom-
ised to ioin
league with
the Picts
against the
Romans.

fullie surprisid a great part not onlie of the Pictish kingdome, but also of the Scottish dominions, minding still to go forward in such unrighteous conquests, if by timely resistance they were not staied. Gald upon this request and motion of the Picts gladly consented to ioin his power with theirs, in common defense of both the realmes (against such common enemies as the Romans were esteemed) having hereunto the assent of all his peers and chiefest counsellors.

The Scots
saw the Ro-
man souldiers
lying in cer-
taine garisons
The river of
Clide, other-
wise called
Clude.
Agricola re-
pelling the
Scots, could
not yet win
the castell of
Dunbryeton,
ancientlie
called Dowl-
cluch, or Al-
cluth.

Thus whilst the kings of the Scots and Picts were concluding a league together for defense of themselves and their countries, certaine Scots entered into the confines of Isle, Carrick, and Coningham, and wan divers fortresses, wherein certaine garisons of Romane souldiers sojourned, whome they slew downe right without all mercie, spoiling the whole countrie. Agricola having knowledge hereof, went straightwaies thither with a power, and pursuing them that had done those injuries, some he took amongst the hills and mounteines, whither they fled; and the residue he chased beyond the river of Clide, but the castell of Dunbryeton he could not by any means obtaine, though he assaied to win it even to the uttermost of his power. It was called in those daies Alcluth, that is to meane: All stone. The Scottishmen being thus driven backe, Agricola repaired such castles and fortresses as they had overthrowne and beaten downe.

Agricola
invaied
Lennox.

In the yeare following, being the first after the first coming of Agricola into Britaine, he caused his ships to be brought about from the Ile of Wight into the water of Lochline in Argile, thereby to put his enemies in utter despair of escaping his hands either by water or land: and thereupon passing over the river of Clide with his armie, and finding his naime there, he set upon the countrie of Lennox, in purpose to subdue the same. But after he had made sundrie skirmishes with the inhabitants, he was certified by letters from the gouernor of Camelon, that the Picts were ready to rebell, by reason whereof he left off this enterprize against the Scots, and drew backe into Pictland, leauing a part of his armie to keepe possession of the water of Clide, till his returne againe into those parties. At his coming into Pictland, he appeled the rebels with small adoe, punishing the chiefe authors according to their demerits. This done, he returned vnto the water of Clide, lieng all that winter beyond the same, taking order for the gouernment of those parties, in due obedience of the Romane empire.

Agricola re-
turneth into
Pictland, to
appeale a re-
bellion of the
people there.
He returneth
vnto Clide.

Agricola pur-
sueth his en-
terprize
against the
Scots.

The summer following he appointed his naime to search alongst by the coast all the hauens and creeks of Argile, and of the Ilands nere to the same. Whilst he by land passing over the water of Lenine, went about to conquer towne and castles, though halfe discouraged at the first, by reason of the rough waies, streit passages, high mounteines, craggy rocks, thicke woods, deepe marshes, fens and moles, with the great rivers which with his armie he must needs passe, if he minded to attaine his purpose: but the old souldiers being inured with paines and trauell, overcame all these difficulties by the wise conduct of their worthy generall and other the capteins, and so inuading the countrie took towne and castles, of the which some they beat downe and rased, and some they fortified and trusted with garisons of men of warre.

All the Scots
assemble.

About the same time by commandement of king Gald, and other the gouernors of Scotland, all the able men of Cantire, Loche, Murrayland, Lugenmarth, also those of the westerne Isles, & of all other parties belonging to the Scottish dominions, were appointed to assemble and come together in Atholl, at

a place not passing five miles distant from the castell of Calidon now cleped Dunkeld, there to abide the coming of Karanach king of the Picts, to the end that ioining together in one armie, they might work some high exploit. But he having assembled fiftie thousand of his men of war, as he marched alongst by the mountaine of Granzbene, in times past cleped Mons Grampius, there chanced a mutinie amongst his people, so that falling together by the eares, Karanach himselfe coming amongst them vnarmed as he was to part the fraie, was slaine presently at vnwares, by one that knew not what he was. By reason of which mischance that iourne was broken, for the Picts being bitterlie amayed and discomforted herewith, skaled and departed asunder.

Gald with his Scots now being thus disappointed of the Picts his chiefe aid, durst not leaue to trie the chance of battell with the enemies, but determined with light skirmishes, and by withdrawing of vittells out of their walke, to stop them from further proceeding in conquest of the countrie, & in the mean time to provide against the next summer new aid and succors to keepe the field, and so to encounter with them, with all the puissance against puissance, if they remained so long in the countrie. The Scots resting upon this resolution, thought good to send some honorable ambassage vnto the Picts to moue them vnto mutuall agreement & concord amongst themselves, whereby they might be able to resist the common ruine of their countrie as then in present danger to be oppressed by the Romans.

Those that were sent on this message, did so diligently behaue themselves, in bringing their purpose to passe, that the Picts in the end agreed to ioin in friendly amitie one with another, and to chuse one Carnard to their king to succede in the roome of Karanach. They also confirmed the former league with the Scots, and by their procurement sent messengers vnto the Norwegians and Danes, requiring them of aid against the Romans the common enemies of all such nations as loued to liue in libertie, wherefore the same were inhabiting in ante part on the whole face of the earth. There were also sent ambassadors vnto the Irishmen from the Scots for the same intent, and from both those places there was great aid promised, as from them that esteemed themselves halfe bound by a naturall respect, to succor such as were descended of the same ancestors and countries that they were of, and now like to be expelled out of the seats which their forefathers had got possession in by iust title of conquest, and left the same vnto their posteritie to enjoy for ever.

Whilst these things were thus in doing, Galdus diuiding his armie into sundrie parts, did what was possible to resist all the attempts of the Romans. Who standing in doubt of his puissance, rather through some thereof, than for any apparant sight or other knowledge had, durst not put themselves in danger to enter into Calidon wood, of all that summer; and the winter following was so extreme, by reason of frost, snow, and coldnesse of aire, that they were not able to enterprize any exploit on neither part: howbeit the summer was no longer come (being the seauenth after the coming of Agricola into Britaine) but that they prepared to inuade one another againe with all their forces.

From Ireland there came (according as was promised) a great power of men of warre, and loined with an armie of Scottishmen in Atholl, being there already assembled in great numbers out of all the quarters of the Scottish dominions. With them came also Carnard king of the Picts with his power. All which forces being thus assembled together by common agreement amongst them, Gald king of the

Karanach
king of the
Picts
slaine by
one of his
owne
subiues.

An ambage
sent from
the Picts
to the Scots.

The Picts
brought to
agreement
amongst
themselves.

Ambassadors
sent vnto
the Danes
and
Irishmen
for aid.

The same
of Gald
his
sance
with
the
Romans
in
scare.

In aid of
the
Irishmen
came
to the
succor
of the
Scots.

Gald chosen
to be
generall
against
the
Romans.

Gald setteth
upon one part
of his enemies
in the night.

Agricola com-
meth to the
succor of his
men.

Agricola dis-
cusseth his
enemies.

The Ro-
mans passe
the high Cal-
idon wood over
the river of
Emond.

The Picts
burne the
tine of
Lenine.
The place
where Tu-
lone and is
called by the
substantiue
at this date
Inchtylthill.

The Ger-
mans coming
to succor
the
Romans re-
sist against
their capitaine
and leaders.

Gald chosen
to be
generall
against
the
Romans.

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the Scots was chosen to be their generall, who hearing that Agricola with his host was entred into Balendar wood, diuided the whole armie into three battels, and so marched forth towards the enimies in purpose to encounter them. Agricola being of this aduertised by spies, parted his people also into three wards, doubting to be inclosed within some combersome place by reason of the great multitude of his enimies, that were esteemed to be in number about 50000 of one and other.

Gald on the other side vnderstanding by spies this order of the Romans, in the dead of the night setteth upon one of those legions, which was lodged next vnto him, and finding meanes to lea the watch, was entred into the enimies lodgings, before they had any knowledge of his comming, so that the fight was right fierce & cruell euen among the Romans tents and lodgings. But Agricola being certified of this enterprize of the Scots, sent forth with all speed a certaine number of light horsemen and footmen to assault them on the backs, & so to keepe them occupied, till he might come with all the residue of his people to the rescue. They that were thus sent, accomplishing their enterprize according to the deuise in that behalfe appointed, gaue a right fierce & stout charge vpon the Scots and Picts, greatlie to the reliefe of those that were by them assailed, and withall fore amazed and disordered by reason of the enimies sudden inuasion.

By this meanes the fight continued right fierce and cruell on all sides, till at length the daie beginning to appeere, shewed to the Scots and Picts the plaine view of the whole Romane armie, approaching vnder the conduct of Agricola, to the succour of his people, being thus in danger to be distressed. Herevnto were the Scots and Picts put in such feare, that immediatlie they fell to running awaie towards the woods and bogs, the accustomed places of their refuge. This querthow did so abash both the Scots and Picts, that they durst attempt no more the fortune of battell, till they had some aid out of Denmarke, but onlie did what they could to defend their towncs and countrie, by making sundrie raises vpon their enimies, as occasion and oportunitie serued. But the Romans, supposing nothing to be hard for their vndaunted valiancie, but that they were able to overcome whatsoeuer should stand at defiance against them, determined at length to find an end of the Ile of Albion, and so passing thorough Balendar wood, and ouer the riuer of Amond, they pitched their field nere to the riuer of Taie, not far from the castell named Calidon or Balendar.

The Picts, by reason that their enimies were lodged so nere to the confines of their countrie, doubting what might follow thereof, burned the citie of Tuline, least the same enimies chancing to take it, should furnish it with some garrison of men, to the great danger of the whole Pictish kingdome. This citie stood vpon the banke of Taie, right beautifullie built, with many faire castles and towers, as may appeere euen vnto this daie by the old ruines therof, strong rather by the workemans hands, than by nature. The Scottishmen in our time call the place Inchuthill. All their wiues and children they removed vnto the mountains of Granybene for their more suretie and safegard.

About the same time the Romans were not a little disquieted, by reason of a mutinie which chanced amongst such Germans as were appointed to come ouer to Agricola, as a new supplie to furnish by such numbers as were decayed in his armie. These haueing their capteine, and such other Romans as were appointed to haue the order of them for their training in warlike seats at the beginning, as the ma-

ner was, got certeine pinnesles which they happened vpon in the riuer of Thames, and sailing about the east and north coasts of this Ile, arrived in Taie water, offering themselves to the Scots and Picts to serue against the Romans, whose malice they dread for their offense committed if they should returne into their owne countreies, which laie about the mouth of the Rhene, and was as then subiect to the Romane empire, the inhabitants in those daies being cleped Alsipites, the which (as some suppose) inhabited Cleueland and Gullike.

Their offer was accepted most thankfullie, and places appointed for them to inhabit amongst the Hurraies, because they were descended as it were of one nation. Whilist these things were thus a doing, there came also the long wished aid from the Danes and Norwegians, to the number of ten thousand men, vnder the leading of one Gildo. This Gildo with his name first arrived in the strith betwixt Fife and Louthian, but for that the Romans kept him off from landing there, he cast about and came into the riuer of Taie, where he landed all his people, for provision wherof he had good store both of bittles and armour. Garnard king of the Picts hearing of their arrival there, forthwith vpon the newes departed from Dundee, accompanied with a great number of his nobles, and comming to the place where Gildo with his armie was lodged, receiued him in most iofull wise, feasted and banqueted him and his people, and shewed them all the tokens of most hartie loue and friendship that could be deuised. Gildo himselfe was led by the king vnto Dundee, and lodged with him there in the castell, his people were prouided for abroad in the countrie in places most for their ease, to refresh themselves the better after their painefull iourne by the seas.

Shortlie after there came vnto Dundee the Scottish king Gald, who for his part did all the honour that in him lay vnto Gildo, shewing himselfe most iofull and glad of his comming, yielding vnto him and his people such thanks and congratulations as serued best to the purpose, and receiued no lesse at his and their hands againe. After they had remained thus certeine daies together at Dundee, both the kings Gald & Garnard, together with this Gildo, went vnto the castell of Fofare, there to consult with their capteins and gouernours of their men of warre, how to mainteine themselves in their enterprize against the enimie. At length they resolved not to go forth into the field till the winter season were past, for doubt of the inconuenience that might in sue, by reason of the extreame cold intemperancie of the aire, whereto that countrie is greatlie subiect.

In the meane time they took order for the furniture of all things necessarie for the wars, to haue the same in a perfect readines against the next spring, and till then they did appoint onlie to keepe frontier warre, that the Romans should not strae abroad to fetch in vittels and other provisions to their owne gains, and to the vndoing of the poore inhabitants. Vpon this determination when the counsell was broken by, Gald withdrew into Athall, to defend those parties; and Garnard with the Danish generall Gildo, furnished all the castles and holds in Angus ouer against the riuer of Taie, to stop the passages of the same, that the enimies should enter no further on that side. Thus passed the winter for that yeare, without any great exploit on either part achieved.

In the beginning of the next summer, Agricola appointed his name of ships to saile about the coasts of the furthest parts of Albion, making diligent search of euerie creeke & haueu alongst by the same. The mariners, executing his commandement, sailed

These Alsipites first inhabited the parties betwixt the mountains of Hessen and the Rhene, now called Hochrug, from whence they removed into the nether countreies. Danes, and Norwegians, come to and the Scots and Picts. Gildo is kept off from landing by the Romans. Gildo arriveth in Taie water.

Cornelius Tacitus maketh no mention of this foraine aid to come to the succours of his enimies comprehending them all vnder the name of Britains. Garnard the king of Picts iofullie receiued Gildo. Gald commeth into Dundee to welcome Gildo. Gald Garnard and Gildo assemble a counsell at Fofare, where they deuise how to proceed in their warre.

They determine to rest all the winter, and make frontier warre onlie.

Agricola sendeth forth his name of ships, to discover the furthest point of Britaine northward.

the castell abide the to the end night work ed fittine ed alongst s past cle mutinie ather by the ngst them Karamach of the Picts name by mif. fortune of one of his owne subicaps.

Karamach of the Picts name by mif. fortune of one of his owne subicaps.

Gildo setteth upon one part of the enimies with night.

An ambassage from the Scots to the Picts.

The Picts brought to agreement amongst themselves.

Agricola distressed by his enemies.

An ambassage sent vnto the Danes and Norwegians for aid.

The Romans passe through Calidon wood ouer the riuer of Amond.

The same of Gald his purpose rather to fight or himselfe in all that summe extreame, by e, that they t on neither er come be Agricola in made one an

The Picts burn the citie of Tuline.

An aid of Britishmen come to the succour of the Scots.

The Germans comming to seeke the Romans re- against the captain and leaders.

Gald chosen to be generall against the Romans.

failed round about the north coast, discovering manie of the wessterne Isles and likewise those of Orkney, till at length they found out Orkney firth, being a streit of the sea of twentie miles in breadth, which separateth the Isles of Orkney from the point of Cathness, passing with so swift a course, that without an expert pilot the ships that shall passe the same are oftentimes in great danger, by reason of the contrarie course of the tides. The Romane mariners therefore, finding certeine husbandmen in the next Isles, constrained them to go a shipboard, & to guide them through that streit, promising them high rewards for their labour; but they upon a malicious intent not passing for their owne lues, so they might be reuenged of their enemies in casting away such a notable number of them together with their vessels, entered the streit at such an inconuenient time, that the ships were borne with violence of the streame against the rocks and shelues, in such wise that a number of the same were drowned and lost without recoverie.

The Romane ships through want of pilots are lost in Orkney firth.

Agricola making a bridge ouer Tay water, passeth by the same with his host, and encampeth nere to the foot of the mountaine of Granzbene.

Some of them that were not over-hastie to follow the first, seeing the present losse of their fellows, returned by the same way they came vnto Agricola, who in this meane time had caused a bridge to be made ouer the riuer of Tay, by the which he passed with his whole armie, and encamped on the further side thereof nere to the roots of the mountaine of Granzbene, leaving the bridge garnished with a competent number of souldiers to defend it against the enemies. The Picts being not a little troubled herewith, dispatched forth a messenger with all hast vnto Gald the Scottish king, signifieng vnto him the whole matter, and therupon requiried of him aid.

Gald hauing mustered his people aswell Scottish as Irish, assembled them together to the number of fortie thousand persons, what of one and other, and incontinentlie with all speed marcheth forth to come vnto the aid of the Picts, and so within a few daies passing ouer the mountaine of Granzbene, he arriveth in a ballie beyond the same mountaine, where he findeth the Picts, Danes, and Norwegians incamped together not far off from the host of the Romans. Here taking aduise together, & in the end determining to giue battell, king Gald (vnto whome as before is exprest, the gouernance of the whole was committed) assembling together all the number of the confederats, made vnto them a long and pithie oration, exhorting them in defense of libertie (the most precious iewel that man might inioy) to shew their manlie stomachs against them that sought onlie to deprive them of that so great a benefit. And sith they were diuened to the uttermost bounds of their countrie, he perswaded them to make vertue of necessitie, and rather chose to die with honor, than to liue in perpetuall shame & ignominie, which must needs inue to their whole nation, if they suffered themselves to be vanquished in that instant. With these words, or other much what of the semblable effect, Gald so moued the hearts of his people, that they desired nothing but to ioine with their enemies, & to trie it by dint of sword, which they vniuersallie signified according to their accustomed vse with a great noise, shout, and clamor.

On the other part Agricola, though he perceived a great desire amongst his souldiers to fight, yet he was not negligent on his owne behalfe to incourage them with most cheerefull words and countenance; so that both the armies being thus bent to haue battell, the generals on both parties began to set them in arate. Agricola to the end his armie being the lesser number should not be assailed both a front and on the sides, prouided (by disposing them in a certeine order) a remedie against that disaduan-

tage. On the other side, king Gald by reason of the aduantage which he had in his great multitude and number, ordered his battells thereafter with a long and large front, placing the same vpon the higher ground, of purpose to compasse in the enemies on eche side. At the first approach of the one armie towards the other, the battell was begun right fiercelie with shot of arrowes and hurling of darts, which being once past, they ioined together to trie the matter by hand-strokes, wherein the Scots & Picts had one disaduantage, for those that were archers, or (as I may call them) kerns, comming once to fight at hand-blows, had nothing but broad swords and certeine sorte light bucklers to defend themselves with, such as serue to better purpose for men to ride with abroad at home, than to be carried forth into the warres, though the same haue bene so used among the Scottishmen, euen till these our daies.

The Romans therefore being well appointed with armor and broad targets, flue downe right a great number of these Scots and Picts thus slenderlie furnished, without receiuing anie great damage a gaine at their hands, till king Gald appointed his spearmen to step forth before those archers & kerns, to succor them, and therewith also the bilmen came forward, and stroke on so freshlie, that the Romans were beaten downe on heaps, in such wise that they were nere at point to haue bene discomfited, had not a band of Germans (which serued amongst the Romans) rushed forth with great violence vpon the Scottishmen, where most danger appeared, and so restored againe the fainting stomachs of the Romans, whereby the battell renewed on both sides againe right fierce and cruell, that great ruth it was to behold that bloudie fight, and most vnnmercifull murder betwixt them, which continued with more violence on the Scottish side than anie warlike skill, till finallye the night comming on, toke the daies light from them both, and so parted the fraie. The Romans withdrew to their campe: and the Scots and Picts with their confederats the Danes, Norwegians, and Irishmen, such as were left alieue, got them into the next mounteins, hauing lost in this cruell conflict the most part of their whole numbers.

Cornelius Tacitus agreeth not in all points with the Scottish chronicles, in a booke which he wrote of the life of Iulius Agricola, where he intreateth of this battell. For he speaketh but of thirtie thousand men (which he comprehendeth vnder the generall name of Britains) to be assembled at that time against the Romans, making no mention of anie Scots, Picts, Irishmen, Norwegians, or Danes, that should be there in their aid. The number of them that were slaine on the Britains side (as the same Tacitus recounteth) amounted to about ten thousand men, and of the Romans not passing three hundred and fortie. Amongst whom was one Aulus Atticus, a capteine of one of the cohorts. But as the Scottish writers affirme, there died that day of Scots, Picts, and other their confederats at the point of twentie thousand, and of the Romans and such as serued on their side, as good as twelue thousand. Moreover, the night following, when Galdus with the residue of his people which were left alieue was withdrawne to the mounteins, and that the huge losse was understood by the wifes and kindred men of the dead, there began a pitifull noise among them, lamenting and bewailing their miserable case and losses.

But Gald, doubting least the same should come to the eares of some espials, that might lurke nere to the place where he was withdrawne, caused an huge shout and noise to be raised by his people, as though it had bene in token of some reioysing, till the

Gald king of the Scottish men cometh to the aid of the Picts.

The Scots and Picts determine to giue battell to the Romans. Gald exhorteth his people to fight manfullie.

Gald by reason of his multitude, thought to compasse his enemies.

The armies approach together to fight.

The Scots had one disaduantage, for those that were archers, or kerns, comming once to fight at hand-blows, had nothing but broad swords and certeine sorte light bucklers to defend themselves with.

A cohort of Germans serued amongst the Romans, which rushed forth with great violence vpon the Scottishmen.

The night severeth the armies in the betwixt the dayes light from them both, and so parted the fraie.

He moueth here of in the history of England.

The number of them that were slaine on this battell.

Domitian the emperor enueth the prosperous success of Agricola.

The Scots upon occasion of this battell, amongst the Romans, came forth against them.

The Scottish men's Picts break by their campe.

The Romans in pursuing vniuersallie are distressed.

Agricola laboureth to bring the north Ingles and to intereth them.

Agricola is terrified of the multitude of his name.

The Romanes set saileth about the north point of Britain.

Strange visions.

Ships bene in the aire, & rained eggs.

Domitian the emperor enueth the prosperous success of Agricola.

The Scots upon occasion of this battell, amongst the Romans, came forth against them.

the women bewailing thus the death of their friends, might be removed out of the way. This done, they fell to take counsell what was best to do in this case: and in the end all things considered, it was determined that somewhat before the dawning of the next morning, euerie man should dislodge and withdraw himselfe into such a place as he thought most meet for his safeguard, saue onelie such as were appointed to attend Gald and Gernard into Atholl, whither they munded with all speed to go.

Thus leauing a great number of fiers to dissemble their departure, they disloded and made awate with all speed possible. In the morning when their departure was once discovered, a great number of the Romans followed as it had bene in the chase, but some of them vnadvisedly aduenturing to farre forward, were inclosed by their enemies and slaine. Those that wrought this feat got them to the next hills and to escape. At length, when all the fields and countries adjoining were discovered, and the same appearing to be quite deliuered of all the ambushments of the enemies, Agricola caused the spoile to be gathered, and after marched forth vnto Angus, where (for so much as summer was past) he appointed to winter, and so comming thither and subduing the countrie, he toke pledges of the best amongst the inhabitants, and lodged his people about him in places most conuenient.

About the same time Agricola heard newes from his nauie (as then riding at anchor in Argyle) what mishap had chanced to the same in Midland frith. But herewith being not greatly discouraged, he gaue order that the ships that had escaped, should be new rigged and furnished with all necessarie provision, and manned thoroughlie, both with able mariners and men of war. This done, he appointed them effones to attempt fortune, and to take their course againe to come round about by the Dykenies, and so to p alongst by the east coast: which enterprise they luckilie accomplished, and in the water of Tait they burnt the Danish fleet lieng there in harbor.

Where is to be noted, that before the fore-reinembred ouerthrow of the Scots and their confederats at the foot of Granzbene, there happened manie sundrie vnketh and strange sights in this Ile. Amongst other there appeared sheng in the aire certeine fire bitions, much to be wondered at. Also a great peece of Kalendar wood seemed in the night time as it had bene on a flaming fire, but in the morning there appeared no such token. There was in like manner scene in the aire the similitude of certeine ships. And in Angus it rained frogs. At Tuline there was a child borne hauing both shayes, so filthie a sight to behold, that forthwith they rid it out of the way for offending others eyes. These prodigious things were deuertly interpreted, according to the variable fanisie of man.

After that the prosperous successe of Agricola was once notified to the emperor Domitian, he toke such enuie thereat, that shortly after, vnder a colour to send him into Syria to be lieutenant there, he countermanded him home vnto Rome, appointing one Cneus Trebellianus to succed him in the gouernment of Britaine, but the armie bearing more fauour vnto one Trebellianus being cousin to Agricola, caused no small trouble amongst the souldiours, so that in the end after certeine bickerings betwixt them, Trebellianus toke a sort of the best souldiours away with him, and went ouer with them into France.

The Scots taking occasion hereof, joined with the Picts, and entred into Angus. Whereof Cneus Trebellianus being informed, assembled his people, who perceiving no great forwardnesse in their lea-

der, created Caius Silius (brother to the forenamed Trebellianus) their capteine, but he would in no wise meddle with that charge, though they looe herie earnest in hand with him to take it vpon him. In the meane time came the enemies vnder the leading of Gald readie to giue the onset, wherewith the Romans being sore troubled, by reason of this discord amongst themselves, set forward yet right valiantlie, to giue battell to their enemies: howbeit in the end, because that Silius received a mortall wound, and so departed out of the field, they fell at length to running awate, the Scots and Picts following in the chase right fiercelie.

This atchieued victorie, after so manie vnluckie enterprises, highlie reioiced the appalled hearts of the Albions, hauing bene continuallie in maner noll for the space of fiftie yeeres through aduerser fortune grievouslie oppressed by the Romans, who being not a little discouraged by this ouerthrow, withdrew themselves wholie vnto Tuline, and shortly after for their more safeguard, they got them ouer the riuer of Tay, breaking the bridge which they had made there, to the end that by the same the Scots & Picts should haue no passage in that place. But Gald hauing got this notable victorie with the spoile of the Romans campe, thought it best with the aduise of his nobles, to pursue the Romans without delate, not suffering them to haue time to provide for resistance. And herevpon comming to the castell of Calidon other-wise Kalendar, they got ouer the riuer of Tay, by a bridge of wood laid ouer the same riuer, which in that place is but narrow, by reason of the rocks & cliffs forcing the banks on either side to a streinnesse.

The Roman captiues also not ignorant of the passage of the enemies, brought forth their armie, and made themselves readie to encounter them, but for that the forenamed Caius Silius was not able to stirre by reason of his wounds received in the last battell, they chose one Titus Celsus, a valiant gentleman of Rome to be their leader, and so vnder his conduct setting vpon their enemies they fought right fiercelie for a time, but yet in the end they were put to flight, & chased into Calidon. There were slaine of the Roman part in this encounter to the number of fne thousand, and of the Scots and other the confederats two thousand. After this victorie thus obtained by the Scots, a great number of the Britains revolted from the Roman obedience, as those that inhabit the countrie which we now call Wales, with the marches, slaieng & chasing awate such Romans as lay abroad in those parties.

This done, they sent vnto Gald king of the Scots, certeine messengers with rich iewels and gifts, in token of their reioicing and gladnes for his victories, promising him furthermore such aid as they were able to make against the Romans the common enemies of all the whole Albion nation. Moreover, in this meane while did the Romans within Calidon castell direct their messengers with letters vnto Marius king of the Britains, signifying vnto him the present danger wherein things stood in those parties by the cruell rage of the Scottishmen and Picts, whom fortune had aduanced with the gaine of two foughten fields, in so much that if timelie succours were not the sooner sent, the losse would be irrecoverable. Herevnto Marius answered, that as then a common conspiracie appeared to be in hand amongst his subjects, so far forth that he doubted greatlie the suertie of his owne estate; and as for hope of aid to be sent from Rome, he saw small likelihood; considering the slender provision there through the misgouernment of cruell Domitian, who by reason of the hatred which the people bare him, regarded nothing but how to keepe them from rising

The Scots set vpon the Romans.

The Romans are discouered.

The Romans withdrew hither to Tuline. They retire backe ouer the water of Tay and broke the bridge after them.

The Scots get ouer the water of Tay nere to Calidon castell. The Scots effones gine battell to the Romans.

The Romans are againe discouered.

The Britains hearing of the calamities vnto the Romans, revolted to their obedience.

The Romans send vnto Marius king of the Britains for aid.

Marius king of the Britains doubting rebellion of his subjects.

Marius com-
seileth the
Romans to
leave the
north parts
unto the ene-
mies, and to
draw unto
him into the
south parts
to keepe the
same.

The Romans
withdrew in-
to Cantire, &
after into
Galloway.

Gald pursu-
eth the Ro-
mans.

The Romans
determine a-
gain to fight
with the
Scots.

The Romans
fiercelie assaile
the Scots.

Strange dea-
ling in womē,
and contrarie
to their nature

The Romans
sue to their
campe.

The Scots
purpose to as-
saile the Ro-
mane campe.

The Romans
require a com-
munication.

rising by in armour against him, and therefore he thought it necessarie that leaving the north parts to the enemies, they should all withdraw towards him into the south parts, to keepe yet the more fruitfull portion of the Ile in due obedience, with their puissance might not suffice to retaine & rule the whole.

These newes greatlie abashed the Romane a-
mie, & so much the more, for that about the same time it was shewed them how king Gald with an huge armie of Scottishmen and Picts, was come within ten milles of them. Whereupon the Romans not knowing at that instant what was best for them to do, in the end they concluded to withdraw into Cantire, where being arrived, and perceiving them- selves as yet to be in no great libertie there, they went awaie from thence with speed into Galloway. In the meane time king Gald, supposing it best effeines to fight with them, per they might have anie space to reinforce their power, followed them with all diligence, not forcing though he left behind him diverse castles and fortresses furnished with sundrie garrisons of his enemies, so that he might discomfit and chase away their maine power, which he thought might as then easilie be done, considering the great multitudes of people which came flocking in on each side, presenting themselves with offering their service unto him, and shewing further more great tokens of ioy and gladnesse, for that it had pleased the gods at length yet to declare them- selves favourable in this their relieving of the oppressed Britains. Whereunto Galdus on the other side, giuing them heartie thanks for their trauell, receiued them verie gentle, mixing his talke with most comforttable words, therewith to put them in hope of such good and prosperous successe, as that thortlie they should thereby be restored interlie unto their former libertie, and perpetuallie deliuered from all forein servitude and bondage.

But to proceed, at length he did so much by his courties, that he came into Galloway, where the Romans with all speed (seeing none other remedie) resolved themselves to giue him battell, and there- upon exhorting one another to plaie the men, with their onelie refuge rested in their weapons points, they fiercelie gaue the onset, and at the first put the left wing of the Scots and Picts wholie unto the worst. In which wing, according to their manner in those daies vsed, there were a great number of women mingled amongst the men. Gald therefore perceiving the danger, succoured them with such as were appointed to giue the looking on till need requi- red, and then to go where they should be comman- ded. By which meanes the battell on that side was renewed afresh, the women shewing no lesse val- antie than the men, and therewith much more cruel- tie, for they spared none at all, though they offered neuer so much to haue their liues preserved.

In fine, the Romans being chased in the left wing, their overthrow gaue occasion to all the resi- due to flee backe to their campe, being pursued so e- gerlie by the Scots and Picts, that they had much ado to defend the entries of their trenches, where both parties fought right egerlie, till at length the night parted them both in sunder. Being parted, the Scots gaue not themselves to rest, but provided them of all things necessarie against the next mor- ning to assaile their enemies afresh, and namelie from the next wood they fetched great plentie of sa- gots and buzsh to fill the trenches withall. But this their demeanour and purpose being understood of the Romans, they required a communication, the which (though some perswaded Galdus to the contrarie) upon deepe considerations of fortunes fraile fauor, was at length granted unto them, and foure an- ci-

ent Romans clad in right honorable and verie rich apparell came forth and were admitted to the pre- sence of the kings [Gald of the Scots, and Gar- nard of the Picts] unto whom with humble submit- tion they acknowledged themselves as vanquished, and that by the just wrath and reuenge of the equal gods, which against them they had conceived for the wrongfull situation of that which in no wise of right appertained unto them. Therefore if it might please those kings to bide and reframe their displeasure against them, in licencing them vnder some reason- able conditions of appointment to depart, it should be a thing reuoluing so much to their fame and glo- rie, as nothing could bee more; considering so humble sute made to them by the orators of those people, who were reputed as vanquishers of the whole world.

Herewith falling prostrate at the feet of those kings, they besought them of pardon, in such pitifull wise, that the hearts of the hearers began somewhat to mollifie, and at length Gald toke vpon him to an- swer in name of all the residue of the Scottish and Pictish nations, and in the end concluded, that they were contented to grant a peace on these condi- tions: That the Romans should cease from that day forthward in anie wise to molest or disquiet by way of anie inuasion the Scottish and Pictish borders, and also to depart wholie out of those countries, resto- ring all such holds and fortresses as they held with- in the same: and further, to deliuer all prisoners, pledges, and fugitiues whatsoeuer as then remai- ning in their hands, together with such goods & spoiles as they had latelie taken.

These conditions being certified to the Romans by their orators, were gladlie accepted, with they saw no better meane how to deliuer themselves out of that present danger. And so deliuering sufficient ho- stages for performance of all the articles of agree- ment, they departed without protracting time, mar- ching southwards to come into Kent, where Pa- rius king of the south Britains sojourned as then. Agricola, as the Scottish chronicles report, left at his departure towards Rome, to the number of threescore thousand men in the Romane armie, what of one and other, but so at their departure out of Galloway, there remained thirtie thousand, the residue being dispatched by one meane or other. By this conclusion of peace then, the Scots and Picts got againe the whole possession of all such countries as the Romans had before womne and taken away from them, as the shires Lothian, the marches about Berwick, Fife, and Angus, with Kile, Cantire, Coningham, and Galloway: all the Romane garrisons departing out of the fortresses and holds, and leaving the same unto the former owners.

Galdus hauing thus ended the warres with the Romans, toke order to set good directions amongst his people for the quiet and peaceable gouernment of the commonwealth, visiting baslie the countries abroad, the better to vnderstand the state of them, and to reforme the same where it was needfull. Fur- ther considering that as warre breedeth god soule- ers, so peace by iustice riddeeth them out of the way, if they be not the better provided for. Such as had serued long time in the last wars, and had not anie trade now in time of peace whereby to get their li- uing, he placed in garrisons nere to the borders of the Britains for defense of the countrie. After this, hee came to an interuiew with Garnard king of the Picts at Calidon, or Kalendar, to respect cer- teine troubles raised betwixt their subiects being borderers, concerning the limits of their countie: where perceiving a sort of euill disposed persons to be

The Romans submit them- selves as vanquished.

The con- ditions of peace preferred to the Romans by the Scots and Picts.

The Romans depart out of Galloway.

The Romans giue by all their holds and fortresses which they kept within the Shire of Dunbarton.

Galdus toke order to set good directions amongst his people.

Such as had serued long time in the last wars, and had not anie trade now in time of peace whereby to get their li- uing.

he wholie scale, and trauell a shed the et, and friendly.

Thus to aduan his coun- tour of a seldom displea- than the reigne, & of Adria- and from buried in maner, with m of obel maner.

Galloway is the name Gald.

Agthake in ingrat- son suc- betw alter a fourthie year.

The inconti- nent of Agthake.

A small re- gard to the bodie. Many shewed men of bale emotion.

Offendours maintained.

Justice is punished.

Agthake is murdered with a number of his men.

Agthake is murdered with a number of his men.

Agthake is murdered with a number of his men.

Agthake is murdered with a number of his men.

Agthake is murdered with a number of his men.

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Agthake is murdered with a number of his men.

Agthake is murdered with a number of his men.

Agthake is murdered with a number of his men.

ble and verie rich
mitted to the pre-
Scots, and Cal-
th humble submi-
as banquished,
enge of the chiall
o conceived for, the
in no wise of right
e if it might please
ne their displeasure
nder some reaso-
to depart, if shoul-
their fame and glo-
re; considering so
the oazons of these
banquishers of the
at the feet of those
don, in such pittfull
ers began somewhat
oke upon him to an-
e of the Scottis and
concluded, that they
ace on these conditi-
ceasse from that day
a disquiet by way of
Ditch borders, and
sole countries, resto-
es as they held with
deliuer all prisoners,
foener as then remai-
with such goods & spoiles
tified to the Romans
accepted, sith they saw
ner themselves out of
liuering sufficient ho-
the articles of agree-
tracting time, what
to Kent, where Pa-
is sojournd as then.
vnicles report, lest at
e, to the number of
Romane armie, what
their departure out of
vnneath twentie thou-
atched by one meane o-
peace then, the Scots
le possession of all such
de before twonne and
the Mers, Lothian, the
iffe, and Angus, with
and Galloway: all the
ing out of the fortresses
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ood directions amongst
peaceable gouernement
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re it was needfull. Fur-
Calvus sub-
eth to pre-
his subiects
in good quiet-
now after the
warres were
ended.
Such as
ought to re-
ble the peace
Secre punit-

The Romans
submit them-
selves as van-
quished.

H.B.

H.B.

H.B.

The conditi-
ons of peace
prescribed to
the Romans
by the Scots
and Picts.

The Romans
depart out of
Galloway.

The Romans
give by all
their holds
and fortresses
which they
kept within
the Scottish
or Pictish
minions.

Calvus sub-
eth to pre-
his subiects
in good quiet-
now after the
warres were
ended.

Such as
ought to re-
ble the peace
Secre punit-

be holthe in the fault, vpon a naughtie intent to
scale, and trouble the peace, which they had with such
trauell and labour fought to restore, they puni-
shed the offenders, and set all things in good qui-
et, and so departed in sunder with great loue and
friendship.

Thus Calvus applieng all his studie and diligence
to advance the common-wealth and quiet state of
his countrie, liued manie yeeres so highlie in the fa-
mour of all his subiects, that the like hath bene but
10 selome heard of: finally, to their great griefe and
displeasure he ended his life, more deere to them
than their owne at Epiake, in the 35 yeere of his
reigne, which was about the 15 yeere of the empire
of Adrian, the 4098 yeere after the worlde creation,
and from the birth of our Saviour 131, and was
buried with great lamentation in most pompous
manner, and laid in a goodlie tombe which was raised
with mightie huge stones, hauing a great number
of obelisks set by round about it according to the
20 maner. Furthermore, to the end his memorie should
euer indure, the countrie where he fought last with
the Romans was called Caldia, after his name,
which by addition of a few letters is now called Cal-
loway, and before that time Brigantia, as the
Scots do hold: but how that seemeth to agree with
a truth, ye may read in the historie of England.

After this famous prince was thus departed
hence, his sonne Lughthake succeded in rule of
the Scottis kingdome, no lesse abhorred of all men
30 for his detestable and filthy vices, ioined with all
kind of crueltie and couetousnesse, than his father
was beloued for his noble and excellent vertues.
This Lughthake went so farre past the bounds of all
continencie in following his sensuall lusts, that he
forced and ransished not onelie aunt, naece, and sister,
but euen his owne daughters also. Such as were
honorable personages, and met to gouerne in the
common-wealth he nothing regarded, but commit-
ted the administration of things vnto vile persons,
40 and such as could best deuise how to inuent quarrels
against the rich, whereby they might be sliced of all
whatsoeuer they had: and oftentimes vpon some
forged cause cruellie put to death. So little did he
prouide to see offenders in anie wise corrected, that
contrariwise he mainteined them in such sort therein,
that iustice was quite banished, and nothing but
spoil and raine exercised.

Thus he continued aboue two yeeres, to the
great ruine of the common-wealth. Finally, when
50 he went about to put vnto death such as in an as-
semble called at Dunstaffage spake against the mis-
ordered gouernement of the realme, he was there
murdered amongst the people, with a number of
those also whom he vsed to haue attendant on his
person for safegard of the same. His owne bodie
was solennelie buried by appointment of the no-
bles, hauing respect to his fathers benefites, but
the carcasses of his gard were cast out into the
fields, there to bee deuoured of beasts and birds of
rauine.

After Lughthake was thus dispatched, one Apo-
60 gal the nephew of Calvus by his daughter was
admitted king in his place. His chiefe studie was
to reforme the decayed state of his countrie, and first
he caused such wicked counsellors of his predecessors
and vncle Lughthake, as had escaped with life (when
their maister was made a waite) to be put to death,
according to their iust desertings. He restored also
the due worshipping of the gods, in part as then neg-
lected, by the wicked counsell of their former rulers.
The Scottis men in like maner conceiuing an affi-
red hope of a good redresse in all their greifes and op-
pressions, by the means of such a well disposed prince,

began to beare him incredible loue and fauor, euen
the like as they had done his grandfather Calvus.
In the meane time came certeine ambassadoers from
the Picts, vnto this Apogall, requiring him of aid a-
gainst the Romans and Britains, who by a sudden
inuation had done much hurt in Pictland, to the great
distresse of the inhabitants.

At the same time thep of Galloway certified him
also by letters, that the same Romans had made a
rode into their countrie, and led awaie a great bootie
of gods and prisoners. Apogall hauing a mind no
lesse giuen to deeds of chivalrie, than to the studie of
ciuill gouernment and religious deuotion, reioiced
that he had iust occasion giuen him to shew some
prose of his balliant inclination, and so herevpon
sent an herald at armes vnto the Romans, requir-
ing to haue restitution and amends for the iniuries
thus by them committed. The herald doing his
message, receiued nothing but scornfull words, and
disdainfull menaces, whereby Apogall being thorough-
ly kindled with despite, assembled his polver tog-
ther forth of all the parties of his dominions, and
comming with the same into Galloway, visited his
grandfathers sepulchre, honoring it with great
reuerence and solenne supplications, requiring as
it were his aid against those enimies, which had vio-
lated the league made betwixt him and them, by so-
lemne oths and other accustomed means of ratifi-
cation. This done, he drev into Annandale, where
Winpanus as then king of the Picts abode his com-
ming. There ioining their powers together, they
marched forth into Cumberland, and so forward in-
to Westmerland, with fire and sword wasting and
spoiling those countries, as then belonging to the
Romans.

Lucius Antenus the Romane lieutenant, lieng
at the same time at Porke, being certified hereof by
such as fled for feare out of those parties thus inua-
ded by the Scots, gathered a mightie armie out of
all the countries of Britaine, and hasted forth with
40 the same towards his enimies; of whose approach Po-
gall hauing notice, he made a long oration vnto his
people to encourage them to fight manfullie against
the Romans, persuading them effectualle thereto
by manie familiar examples brought in of the val-
iant enterprises atchiued by their elders, in the de-
fense of their countrie and libertie of the same. In
like maner Lucius Antenus for his part exhorted
the Romans, and other his souldiers, to call to re-
membrance the victorious exploits of their predeces-
sors, and how that as then they should fight but with
a rude and barbarous people, running to battell
more vpon a furious rage and violent madnes, than
with any discretion or aduised order, saieing furth-
more, that it laie now in their hands with no great
adw to recouer that which through the negligent sloth
of Cneus Trebellius was before lost, whereby they
should attaine great honor and famous renoume
for euermore.

By this meanes the armies on both sides being
kindled with desire of battell, in hope of victorie, they
drev nere together, and began the fight right fierce-
lie at the first, with throwing and shooting of darts
and arrowes so thicke that one might vnneath see an-
other. The place was more for the advantage of the
Scots than of the Romans, because they were com-
pelled to fight as it were by companies and parts,
by reason of bogs and marishes, with such sliding
banks on the sides that they could keepe none arate:
yet all these impediments notwithstanding, this bat-
tell was fought so far forth to the bitterance, that in
the end, after a wonderfull slaughter on both sides
made, when their swords and other weapons were
spent, they buckled together with short daggers.

F. J.

Finally

Apogall is
beloued of his
subiects.
The Picts
desire aid of
the Scots
against the
Romans.

The Ro-
mans inuade
the Scottis
borders.

Apogall re-
quireth resti-
tution of
swornes done
by the Ro-
mans.

Apogall pre-
pareth to the
warres.
Apogall visi-
teth his grand-
fathers se-
pulchre.

The Picts
and Scots
ioine their
powers tog-
ther and enter
into the land
of their eni-
mies.

Lucius Ante-
nus lieuten-
ant of Brit-
taine.
Apogall ex-
horteth his men
to bee balliant-
lie.

The battell
beginneth be-
tweene the
Romans and
Pibions.

A cruell fight.

The Romans retire.

Lucius Antonius is wounded.
The Romans are put to flight.

Women as ready to the battell as the men.

Adrian the emperor prepared to go into Brittain.
Adrian transported into Brittain.

Adrian cometh to Forke

He passeth over the river of Tyne.
Adrian findeth nothing abroad in the countrie of his enemies.

What manner of people he had to do withall.

Finallie the violent charge of the Scots & Picts was such, that the Romans were constrained to retire, which their generall Antonius perceiuing, did what he could to staie them, and to bring them forward againe, but as he was most busie in the forefront to exhort them herunto, he was wounded with an arrow, and thereupon departed out of the battell, which gaue occasion to diuers other of his companie to follow him, by meanes whereof all the residue fell to running awaie, and made toward the next wood, there to saue themselves as well as they might, though some companies perceiuing that they could not reach thither without manifest danger, closed themselves together and departed by another waie, which they toke at aduenture, not knowing towards what parts they dzelt, so that they laie all the night following within two miles of the Scots and Picts, who for that the daie was in maner spent (before the Romans were put to flight) incamped themselves in the selfe-same place where the battell was fought, and in the morning, hearing that part of their enemies were lodged so nere them, & knew not which waie to draw, they sent a number forth of their campe to fight with them, & to kill them if they resisted, or to bring them captiue to the king if they should seeme willing to yield. Those that were thus sent, found the Romans in verie good order of battell for so small a band, not minding to yield themselves as prisoners. By reason of which their obstinate wilfulness, they were slaine in the end euerie mothersonne.

Lucius Antonius hauing thus receiued the overthrow, dispatched a post vnto Rome with all hast, signifieng vnto the emperor Adrian the whole manner of the discomfiture, and how that by reason thereof things stood in great danger here in Brittain, if speedie succors were not the sooner sent, for the enemies were neuer more cruell and fierce, than at this present, not onelie the men, but also the women (as in the last battell he saw plaine proofe) who cared not for the losse of their owne liues, so that they might die reuenged.

When Adrian vnderstood these newes, he purposed forthwith to go himselfe into Brittain. Causing therefore an armie to be leuiued, he passed forth with the same into France, then called Gallia, and coming to Calice, he transported ouer into Brittain, where he learned how the Scots and Picts were neuer more busie than at this present, hauing of late waisted and spoiled the countrie euen to the riuer of Tyne. Herewith Adrian being fore offended, ioined the powder which he had brought with him frō Rome, with the other which he had caused to be raised in France and Brittain. This done, he remoued to Forke, where sojournig certeine daies to refresh his people, he afterwards dzelt toward the borders, and coming to the riuer of Tyne, he passed ouer the same.

The fourth daie after, he came into a countrie wherein was left no kind of earthlie thing seruing to mans vse, and so passing forward a daie or two, he found neither corne, nor other prouision of vittell, nor any kind of liuing creature, all the people being fled into the mounteins and marish grounds, where no man might come vnto them, as commonlie in case of extreme danger they were accustomed to lie abroad in the same without house or any couerture ouer their heads. Howbeit, for all that he gaue not ouer to pursue them, but finding them out where they lurked in the hilles and woods, he graueously assailed them, and that in sundrie maner. In the end esping the barrennes of the soile, the rudenes of the people, and that there was no hope left to come by sufficient prouision for the maintenance of his armie, he determined not to spend anie longer time in

such a vaine and fruitlesse trauell, and therefore returned vnto Tyne, there to refresh the Scots and Picts from inuading such of the Britains as were subiect to the Romane empire, he caused a great trench to be cast ouerthwart the land from the mouth of Tyne to the riuer of Ouse, and a wall to be made on the inner side of the same, of turfe and sods. The Scottish chronicles make mention that it was begun by Adrian, but not finished till the daies of the emperor Seuerus, who made an end of it, and therefore the same chronicles name it the wall of Septimius Seuerus.

Adrianus hauing thus dispatched in the north parts of Brittain, in his returne visited Wales with the marches of the same, setting an order amongst such as had moued a commotion against the magistrats in those parties, the authors whereof he punished according to their offenses, & so then he came to London, whither at the same time a great number of the Brittain nobilitie resorted to do him honor, according to their duties. And he for his part shewed them such friendlie intertainment, that they could not with any better. After this he sailed into France, taking Lucius Antonius with him, because he could not alwaie with the aire of Brittain, in whose place he left one Aulus Aduianus lieutenant there, who disposed diuers garrisons of souldiers in places nere vnto the fore-remembered wall, for defense of the inhabitants against the violence of the Scots & Picts. Who seeing this demeanour of the Romans, diuided those lands and countries (which they had latelie waisted on the further side of Tyne) in such sort betwixt them, that all whatsoeuer laie towards the Irish sea, remained to the Scots, and the rest coasting vpon the Almane seas, fell vnto the Picts for their portion.

After this Mogall liued manie yeares in good quiet without anie trouble of enemies. But being puffed by in pride, by such notable victories as he had thus got of the Romans the conquerours of the world, he could not in time of peace maister his owne vnrulie appetites; but that drownded in the filthy lusses of the bodie, he spared neither maid, nor widow, nor wife. Againe, he was giuen to such vnquenchable couetousnesse, that nothing might suffice him, finding manie forged matters against the rich, whereby to bereue them both of life and substance. He was the first which ordeined that such as were banished or condemned for anie crime, should possess all their lands & goods without any consideration had either of wife or child, which is obserued at the full euen vnto these our daies, where before it was otherwise in that countrie. But these so notable vices in the prince could not long continue vnpunished, for at last a conspiracie was practised against him, whereof he hauing knowledge (whether by witcraft or otherwise by relation of friends, the certaintie is not knowne) in the dead of the night he armed himselfe, and with two of his seruants onelie fled to the next wood, not giuing notice of his departure to anie other of his household.

The morning being come, and knowledge had how he was thus departed, the conspirators pursued after him, who perceiuing them to approach, sought waies how to haue escaped their hands; but such was his hap, that he fell amongst other that were as ready as the first to wreake their malice vpon him, and so by them he was immediatlie murdered in the 36 yeare of his reigne, being the 4136 of the world, and after the birth of our saviour 169, Antoninus Pius then governing the Romane empire, and Philius surnamed Albus reigning amongst the Picts. His head being smitten off, was set vpon a poles end, and caried about in derision; but afterwards in respect of his linage it was buried

ried together in nobles, not without worth.

Mogall being his sonne (as is reported) sed against his ment by wicked selfe much what he began at the right colours, stration of publication and vile nature in banquet the ancient te his worthie an

In waiting such riotous require in an op to be granted, all there, as hane daile in rents that beleant to furnish contribution to rie person acceptance of su bled in excess to heare him dering witha spit to make th ded secretlie onelie to deni all kinglie go quired no less

The next d downe in the name of the r ring that the uelled not a l the king hau his treasure tallage for m his household; to rest in such to rule thing; did nothing h to spoile his sessions, the he) as they sh and so aduan other mens paire of gal shame, as a ten done bel ith his skill office, shoul ther, and su realme, as n lords most n

The king lowd voice if they went daetlie abin these words him betwir ned, where stance. In under him, the most pa their offens demerits.

ried together with the bodie by appointment of the nobles, notwithstanding the commons thought it most unworthie of anie such honor.

Maill being thus dispatched, as ye haue heard, his sonne Conarus was admitted king, who (as is reported) was pfitue to the conspiracie deuised against his father, and as he came to the gouernment by wicked means, so in the end he vied himselfe much what accordinglie in the same; for after he had for a time dissembled his naughtie nature, he began at the last openlie to shew himselfe in his right colours, committing first of all the administration of publike affaires vnto men of base condition and vile nature. His chiefe delight was altogether in banketting and costlie fare, not regarding the ancient temperancie in feeding, vied amongst his worthie ancestors.

In waiking therefore his kinglie reuenges vpon such riotous exerce, he was nothing abashed to require in an open assemble of his nobles, a subsidie to be granted, towards the maintenance of such roiall chere, as he iudged to stand with his honor to haue daillie in his house. And therefore whereas the rents that belonged to the crowne were not sufficient to furnish the charges, he requested a generall contribution to be leued through the realme, of euerie person according to their abilities, for the maintenance of such superfluous expenses, as he daillie vied in exccellue banketting. The lords maruelling to heare him moue anie such demand, and considering withall the occasion thereof, they asked respite to make their answer till the next day: which being granted, in the night following they communed secretly together, and in the end concluded, not onlie to denie his request, but also to depose him of all kinglie gouernement, with his naughtie life required no lesse.

The next day therefore when they were againe set downe in the councill-chamber, one of them in name of the residue toke vpon him to speake, declaring that the lords and commons of the realme maruelled not a little how it should come to passe, that the king hauing no waies therewith to consume his treasure, should yet be enforced to demand a tallage for maintenance of his estate and charges of his household; but the fault was knownen well enough to rest in such as he most unworthie had preferred to rule things vnder him, who being come of naught did nothing but deuise means how to cause the king to spoile his naturall subiects of their goods and possessions, therewith to enrich themselves, but (saith he) as they shalbe prouided for well enough yer long, and so aduanced as they shall not need to thirst for other mens liuings, that is to wit, even to a faire paire of gallowes, there to end their liues with shame, as a number of such other losengers had often done before them: so it is conuenient that the king his skill is so small in the administration of his office, should be shut vp in some one chamber or other, and such a one to haue the gouernance of the realme, as may be thought by common assent of the lords most meet to take it vpon him.

The king hearing this tale, started vp, & with a loud voice began to call them traitors; adding, that if they went about anie hurt to his person, they should derelie abide the bargain. But notwithstanding these words, such as were appointed thereto, caught him betwixt them, and had him forth to a place assigned, where they laid him vp, maugre all his resistance. In like manner, all such as had borne offices vnder him, were attached and had to prison, where the most part of them, vpon examination taken of their offenses, suffered death according to their just demerits.

When was the rule of the realme committed vnto one Argabus, a man of noble birth, and ruler of Argile, who vnder the name of a gouernour toke vpon him the publike regiment, vntill other aduise might be taken. His mans studie in the beginning was onlie to cleanse the countrie of all misdoers, and to see the peace kept to the quiet of the people; & finally in all his doings shewed himselfe a perfect patterne of an vpright iusticer. But with in a few yeares after (as it often happeneth) prosperous successe changed his former mind to an euill disposition, whereby he ordered things after his owne selfewill more than by reason, without the aduise of his peeres. And further, to the manifest ruine of the common-wealth, he nourished ciuill discorde and sedition amongst the nobles, supposing it to make for his welfare, so long as they were at odds. He also married a Pictish ladie, the better to strengthen himselfe by this his forren alliance.

Yet vpon the peeres of the realme, vnderstanding what mischiefe might insue by these manifold and sundrie abuses of the gouernour, caused a parliament to be called, where, in presence of the whole assemble, they laid vnto his charge, how that (through his misgouernement and presumption, not onlie in coupling himselfe in marriage with a wife of a strange nation, but also for attempting manie other things preiudiciall to the estate of the realme, without consent of the nobles or commons of the same) he had deserued grieuous punishment; his trespass being so much the greater, in that considering the meane how he came to that dignitie, he answered not their expectation, nor performed the trust and credit which was generallie committed vnto him.

Argabus hearing himselfe thus charged, and not able to late anie likelie excuse, fell vpon his knees, & partly confessing his fault with teares gushing from his eyes, besought them of pardon, whole submitting himselfe to be ordered at their discretion. The lords being moued with this humble submission of Argabus, vpon promise he should redresse all his former misdemeanours, were contented that he should continue still in the administration. But such as had bene his chiefeest counsellors were committed to ward. After this sharpe admonition and warning thus giuen, Argabus did nothing touching the gouernement of the common-wealth, without aduise of his peeres; and some after, amongst other things, he toke order for the limiting how far the authoritie of inferiour officers, as bailiffes, boroughmaisters, constables, and such other should extend. But especiallie he trauelled most diligentlie for the punishing of theues and robbers, of whome none escaped with life that fell into his hands. Moreouer, he ordeined by statute, that no man exercising anie publike office, should taste of anie drinke that might make him drunken. He also banished all such persons as vied with drelling of delicat meats, and (as I may call them) deintie dishes, or banketting chere, to allure mens appetites from the old rude fare accustomed amongst their elders, who sought not to follow their delicious appetites, but onlie prouided to suffice nature, which is satisfied with a little, & that void of costlie furniture. Argabus thus being occupied in reforming the state of the common-wealth, brought manie euill doers into good frame and order, and such as were vpright liuers of themselves, indured still to proceed forward to better and better. At length, in the eight yeare of his gouernement, Conarus being consumed with long imprisonment, departed out of this life, in the fourteenth yeare after the beginning of his reigue.

F. g.

After

Argabus is chosen to gouern the realme.

Argabus an vpright iusticer.

Prosperitie changeth conuitions.

Argabus is rebuked.

Argabus consesseth his fault.

Argabus is permitted to continue in his office.

Argabus amendeth his former misgouernance, and ruleth himselfe by better aduise.

A notable statute.

Fine cokerie banished.

Conarus departed out of this world. 162. H.B.

Ethodius.
Ethodius the
nephue of
Argodius is
chosen king.

Argodius is
created lord
president of
the councill.

Emill discorde
amongest the
lords of the
Iles.
Argodius is
sent forth to
apprehend the
rebels.

The Island
rebels are pu-
nished.

The Romans
inuaide the
Pictish and
Scottish bor-
ders.

Ethodius re-
quireth restitu-
tion of his
subjects goods
taken away
by the Ro-
mans.

Adrianne
answers to E-
thodius re-
quest.

Ethodius ex-
horteth the
king of the
Picts to
make warre
against the
Romans.

After whose deccasse, the nobles and other es-
tates of the realme assembling themselves to-
gether, chose one Ethodius, nephue to king Mogall
by his sister, to reigne ouer them. But Argodius
being highlie rewarded with lands and livings for
his faithfull & diligent paines taken in the aduance-
ment of the publicke weale, during the time of his go-
uernement, was thereto some after created as it
were lord president of the councill, thereby to be chie-
fest in authoritie next to the king, in ordering and ru-
ling of all publicke affaires & causes. Shortly after
Ethodius (as the custome of new kings in those
daies was) went ouer into the welterne Isles, there
to take order for the administration of iustice, where
immediatlie vpon his arrivall, it was shewed him,
that not passing two or three daies before, there had
bene a great conflict fought betwixt the nobles or
clannes of the countrie, by reason of a strife that was
stirred amongst their seruants, being a compaignie
of naughtie and unrulie fellows, to the great dis-
quiet of the inhabitants. Wherevpon was Argodius
sent forth incontinentlie with a power to appease
that businesse, and to bring in the offenders, that
they might receiue reward according to their deme-
rits. Argodius forthwith hastened towards the place
where he understood the rebels to be remaining, and
apprehending the whole number of them, some by
force, and some vpon their humble submission, he
returned backe with them to the king, who causing
the matter to be throughlie heard, such as were the
chiefest beginners and most in fault, were punished
by death, and the other fined at the kings pleasure.
The Island people being thus appeased, the king
returned into Albion, where as then lieng at En-
uerlochthee, a towne (as is said) in Louchquhaber,
word came vnto him that the Romans had broken
downe the wall builded by the emperor Adrian,
and made a great roade into the Scottish and Pictish
borders, where meeting with the inhabitants assem-
bled together in defense of their countrie (after a
foure conflict) the victorie remained with the Ro-
mans; by reason whereof they led a great botie of
cattell and other goods away with them to the places
where they sojourned.

Ethodius being moued herewith, sent forthwith
an herald vnto Adrianne the Romane lieutenant,
requiring that his subjects might haue restitution of
their goods wrongfullie taken from them, or else to
looke for warres within fiftene daies after. Adrianne
answered herewith, that the Scots and Picts
had first begun to breake downe the foresaid wall,
and to build a tower vpon the same, fortifying it
with a number of men of warre, who running dai-
lie into the British confines, fetched preies thence
from amongst the Romane subjects, and though
he had sent diuers times to the Scottish and Pictish
wardens for restitution, yet could he neuer haue a
nie forwardlie answer, so that he was constrained to
begin the warre in maner and fourme as he had
done already.

Ethodius not a little kirtled with this answer,
wrote streightwaies to the Is. of the Picts, exhor-
ting him in reuenge of such iniuries as his subjects
had lately receiued at the hands of the Romans, to
inuaide the wall on that side where it diuided his
countrie from the Britains, and to breake in vpon
the enemies by the same, and for his part he promi-
sed thortlie after to come, and to ioine with him in
such a necessarie enterprize against the common eni-
mies of both these countries. The Pictish king gi-
uing thanks to the messenger for his pains, promi-
sed with all speed to set forward according to the ad-
uise of Ethodius. The Romans in like maner ha-
uing knowledge of the whole intention of the two

kings, with all speed made preparation also for the
warre, but the Scots and Picts first breaking in v-
pon them, did much hurt abroad in the countries
next adioining. Which when the Romans perceived,
they passed by the enemies campe in the night sea-
son, and entred into the Pictish borders, waiking
and spoiling all afoze them.

When the two kings understood this, they hastened
forth towards them, and were no sooner come within
sight of them, but that they made ech towards o-
ther, and so incounting together, there was fought
a fere battell with doubtfull victorie, for the right
wings on either side vanquished the left, the brails
of both the battells keeping their ground, the one not
once shynking backe from the other till night. Scuer-
red them in sunder, but not without such slaughter
made on both sides, that being once parted, they
made no great hast to ioine againe together; for as
well the one part as the other being thus disloured,
drew incontinentlie homewards without abiding
for the morning. Neither did they attempt anie fur-
ther exploit of all that yeare following.

In which meane time Adrianne sent letters to
Rome vnto the emperor Marcus Antonius Aure-
lius, who as then gouerned the empire, signifi-
ing vnto him in what state things stood in Britaine, fur-
ther declaring, that if conuenient succours were not
sent in time, it would be hard to resist the furious
rage of the enemies, by reason of the small trust he
perceiued was to be had in the Britains, being no
lesse readie vpon occasion to make warres in reco-
uerie of their libertie, than the Scots & Picts were
to inuade vpon them. The emperor vpon receit
of these letters, thought in his mind that Adria-
nne was not so valliant a capitaine as the case requi-
red, and that therevpon the Scots and Picts became
the more emboldened to resist, therefore he sent for
him home, appointing one Agricola Calpurnius to
succeede in his roome, who was (as some haue left in
writing) the nephew of Iulius Agricola, the most
famous capitaine of the Romans that euer came in-
to Britaine.

This Calpurnius comming into Britaine with
an armie, ioined to the same the power which he
found there, as well of the Britains, as of other ser-
uing vnder the Romane ensignes. Which done, he
repaired toward the riuer of Tyne, where being ar-
riued, he marched forth into the borders of his eni-
mies, finding all the countrie round about him so
clearelie wasted and burned, that there was not a
house left standing, nor a graine of come, nor one hee
of cattell to be found therein. Yet notwithstanding
all this, forth he passed thorough Northumberland,
and entering into Pictland, wasted all that was be-
fore him with fire and sword. And for so much as
winter came vpon him, when he had done his will
in that behalfe, he returned vnto York, where he
sojourned untill the spring.

When summer was once come, hauing made his
provision to warre on the Scots and Picts, word
came vnto him that the Welshmen were revolted,
and began to raise warre against the Romans, so
that taking order for the repairing of the wall made
by Adrian, which the enemies in diuers places had
broken downe, and leauing a sufficient number of
men of warre for defense of the same against all in-
uasions that might be attempted, he turned the resi-
due of his power against those Welsh rebels, whom
in the end, though not without much adoe, he reduced
to obedience. Immediatlie after this, he heard
also how the Britains of the Ile of Wight were v-
pon in armour against such Romans as ruled there,
sundry noble men of the maine Ile taking their
part, but they also were at length brought againe

to their forme
bellion puni-
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Romans, da-
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Their

The name of
Agricola p
all to the
Scottishmen
and Picts.

Calpurnius
drew to re-
store the
state of Bri-
taine.
Calpurnius
returneth v-
to Rome.
Agricola
last as lieut-
enant into
Britaine.

Calpurnius
returneth
to Rome.

He is hated of
the Britains.

The Scots
and Picts re-
turne the warre
against the
Romans.

Calpurnius
returneth
to Rome.

Calpurnius
returneth
to Rome.

Calpurnius
returneth
to Rome.

Calpurnius
returneth
to Rome.

to their former subiection, and the authoꝝ of that rebellion punished by death.

In the meane time the Scots and Picts determined not to attempt any further exploit against the Romans, doubting the verie name and linage of Agricola in the lieutenant Calpurnius, by calling to remembrance the noble atchieved conquests of his grandfather Julius Agricola, of whose victorious exploits, besides that which ye haue before heard, the English historie also doth make a long rehearfall. Calpurnius being thus at quiet on that side, intended whole to reforme all misorders amongst the Britains, which being hysought to indifferent god passe, he was sent for home againe vnto Rome by the emperor Antonius Commodus, the sonne and successeur of the fore-remembred Marcus Aurelius sending one Publius Trebellius into Britaine, there to supplie his charge.

This Trebellius comming into Britaine, at the first vied himselfe verie brightlie in his office, shewing all honoz and loue towards the Britains, subiects to the Romane empire, and namelie to Lucius, who reigned as king of the land, vnder the name and authoritie of the Romane empire. But after that he had once woone him a peece of credit amongst them, he changed his manners, or rather discovered his naturall inclination, so whole giuen to couetousnesse, that his onelic studie was set which way to fill his bags, not caring how vntuall he forged accusations against the rich, so that either by death or banishment their goods might be confiscat, and so come to his hands. By this wicked gouernement, the Britains began so sore to hate him, that had it not bene for the loue of their king the foresaid Lucius (who holpe to appeale them) there had bene some rebellion practised against him in the south part. Now the Scots and Picts hauing knowledge of this misliking in the Britains towards the Romane lieutenant, thought it a time conuenient for them also to be doing, to the end they might reuenge their former iniuries; and hereupon leueng an armie, they came to the old remembred wall, and ouerthrowing the same in diuers places, they entred into the British confines with great spoile and crueltie. Trebellius being hereof informed, hasted forth with all the power he could make, to resist their insasions; but finding the enemies readie in the field, and incountering them sooner than he looked for, he was euen vpon the first ioining abandoned of the most part of his whole armie, which consisted of Britains and Frenchmen, then called Galls, so that the residue being beaten downe, he was glad to saue himselfe as well as he might, by setting the spurs to his horse and galloping awap.

After this, gathering together his people againe as they fled from the discomfiture, he retired backe with them vnto Forke, hauing lost in this bickering a great number of his best souldiours, and men of warre: for the Scots and Picts, missing no small number of their friends in that battell, were not satisfied with those whome they had likewise slaine in the fight, but also fell vpon their prisoners which they had taken, and slue them also in reuenge of their fellowes whome they had lost. Afterwards they harried the countries of Westmerland and Kenball in most cruell wise, Trebellius not being so hardie to fight with them againe for doubt of some traine that might be practised by the Britains. Neither was his suspicion groundd vpon the credit of any light information, as may appeare by that which followed: for immediatlie after, the commons of the countrie rose against the Romans, in purpose to haue driuen them all out of the land.

Their capteine was one Caldozus a Pict bozne.

There were also diuerse of the British nobilitie amongst them not knowne, for they were disguised in strange apparell, counterfeiting themselves to be of the bulgar sort. The furie of these people was great, but yet in the end the politike order of the Romans vanquished them, howbeit not without great slaughter on both sides. Caldozus rescoiled the hands of his enimies, fled into his native countrie of Pictland, not a little reioysing that he had procured such slaughter amongst the Romans and Britains, both being enimies to him and his countrie. Such prisoners also of the Britains as fell into the hands of the Romans, were hanged by vpon sundrie trees and gibets: whereat other of the Britains being offended, in the night season toke down those dead bodies, and hanged by as manie of the Romans in their places, the truth being neuer knowne who were the doers of that act.

The lieutenant Trebellius perceiuing thus what danger he stood in on euerie part, wrote vnto the emperor Commodus, that without some reformation were had, the Romans were not like to keepe so long season in Britaine, and therefore required to haue some aid sent ouer vnto him in time. But the emperor doubting least the fault rested most in the lieutenant himselfe, appointed that one Pertinax an ancient gentleman, and one for his high and notable vertues greatlie esteemed both amongst the men of warre, and also in the senat, should go into Britaine, to be legat there in place of Trebellius. This Pertinax comming into Britaine, according to the emperors appointment, toke vpon him the office: and first setting a staie among the Britains, by right prudent and well aduised gouernement, he afterwards made a iournele against the Scots and Picts, drining them by great slaughter beyond Adrians wall, and so constrained them to remaine within their owne confines, pursuing them no further, for that he was sent for home to Rome, where the emperor Commodus being murdered amongst his owne men, he was against his will preferred to his place.

About the same time the state of the Scottish commonwealth was brought into great danger through an other incident, as by reason of a rebellion stirred by them of the western Isles, who not quieted in their stomachs for the death of their friends executed by Argadus (as before ye haue heard) assembled themselves together, and comming ouer into Argile, spoiled and harried the countrie in pitious wise. For redresse whereof, Argadus was sent thither againe with an armie, and in the meane time Ethodius lay in campe nere vnto Adrians wall, to resist the insasion of the enimies on that side, if happilie they should attempt any new exploit against him in those parts. The Island-men hearing of Argadus his approach, drew themselves together to receiue him by battell, if he minded to offer it.

In which meane time two thousand Irishmen were landed in that countrie, in hope of spoile, and hearing that Argadus was comming that waies forth to fight with his enimies, they laid themselves secretly in ambush by the waite where he should passe, and when he was passed by them, they brake forth vpon his reeward suddenly, putting his people in such disorder by their violent impression at the first bunt, that though he did what in him laie to bring them againe into arae of battell, yet in the end he was there slaine with two thousand of his armie, the residue escaping by flight out of the hands of their wild and cruell enimies. Ethodius hauing knowledge hereof, with an armie of twentie thousand men hasted forth towards Argile, to reuenge

The same commons are vanquished. Caldozus recoiled at the slaughter as well of the one part as of the other.

The spite of the Britains shewed towards the Romans.

Trebellius writeth to the emperor Commodus for aid.

Pertinax sent as lieutenant into Britaine.

Pertinax driueth back both the Scots and Picts.

Pertinax is chosen emperor.

Argile infested by the Islandmen.

The Irish men land in Argile.

The Irish men lay an ambush to intrap Argadus.

Argadus is slaine.

The Island-
men yeld
themselves.

Execution.

Ethodius vi-
sited his coun-
tries, to see
iustice main-
teined.

He giveth him
selfe to hun-
ting, & causeth
the lawes for
the mainte-
nance of game
to be wel kept
& looked vnto.

Ethodius
murthered by
a musician.
194 H.B.

Septimus
Seuerus, H.B.

the death of his valiant capteine Argadus vpon the rebels. Who hearing of his coming, made towards the sea, and would gladlie haue bene gone, but by reason of a contrarie wind they were forced to stay against their wills, so that he finding them still in the countrie, wrought so warlike by closing them vp among the hills and mounteins, that finally constrained through famine, they submitted themselves vpon these conditions, that their head capteine with two hundred others of the chiefeft, should yeld themselves simple to the kings mercie, and the residue to be licenced to depart againe into their countries.

Those that were appointed to be deliuered to the king with their capteine, suffered death by sentence of the nobles and pæres of the realme. Whereat the other taking indignation, though they had already yelded by their weapons, yet began they to fall vpon the Scots with hurling of stones, and other such things as came to hand, till finally they were beaten downe by the armed soldiers, and a great number of them slaine: the residue escaping as well as they might, fled into the mounteins. The Island-men being thus vanquished, and the Romans attempting nothing against the Scottishe men or Picts, Ethodius visited all the parts of his realme, taking order for the due execution of iustice amongst his subiects.

And for that he would not spend his time in idleness, being now at rest from warres, he began to exercise himselfe in hunting, and for the better nourishing of game, he took order that all such ordinances as had bene deuised by his elders, should strictly be obserued and kept: as that no man should be so hardie to go about to destroye anie hares with nets, greys or hare-pipes: neither to kill them in their formes by anie meanes: nor after that they had bene once coursed and escaped, to follow the sute, to the intent to start them againe. Also that none should go about to kill anie hart or hind, during all the winter season, at what time they were accustomed for hunger to leaue the mounteins, forrests and woods, and to come downe into the fields and courtes, nere vnto the townes & houses.

He ordeined moreover therevnto, that no man should presume to kill anie hind-calues, detestling nothing more than to haue such game destroyed, as serued for the exercise and solace of him and his nobles. The other vacant time, whilst he rested from hunting, he spent for the most part in hearing of musike, hauing diuerse cunning plaiers of sundrie kinds of instruments attending in his court. At length setting all his pleasure in hearing of a musician being bozne in one of the west Isles, he was murdered by him in the night time within his owne chamber. The murdherer being apprehended, and examined vpon that occasion he did that heinous fact, for the which he had deserued the most extreme kind of punishment that might be deuised, he answered: that in reuenge of the death of such his kinsmen and friends as the king had caused to be executed in Argile, he purposed long before to do that deed, and now that he had accomplished his purpose, he was readie to receiue what kind of death they would adudge him vnto. For sure I am of this, saith he, that how terrible soeuer my execution shall be, yet can it not bee so painfull, but that I shall reioice euén in the very instant of my death, for that I haue in such notable sort reuenged the deaths of all my kinsmen & friends. Finally by commandement of the magistrates he was drawne in peeces with wild horses in most violent wise.

Ethodius reigned 33 yeres, vntill the latter dates of Caracalla the empero. He was buried at Dun-

stafage, with all such pompous ceremonies as was accustomed about the interment of kings in that age. In his daies Lucius the king of Britaine receiued the faith with a great part of his people, being the yere after the birth of our Saniour, as the Scots chronicles haue 187, but after the Britissh 177.

After the death of Ethodius, his brother Sathrahell or Serrahell (as some write him) was chosen to succeed by the common consent and voices of all the estates of the realme. For although Ethodius left a sonne behind him; yet because he was very young in yeres, he was thought insufficient to haue so great a charge as the rule of a kingdome committed vnto his hands. This Sathrahell was subtle of nature, and a great dissembler, whose purpose was to defraud the issue of his brother Ethodius from attaining at anie time vnto the rule of the kingdome, and therefore to bring his purpose the better to passe, he found forged matter against all such as were familiar friends vnto Ethodius, thereby to put them vnto death. Neither dealt he anie thing more sincerelie with a great number of other of his wealthie subiects, whose lands and goods he onelie sought to inioy at his owne will. By means whereof such mischance ensued through the realme, and such euill sedition daily rose amongst the people, that pittie it was to behold it: the king being not so bold all the while, as once to shew his face abroad for redresse thereof, by reason he understood well enough what hatred the people bare towards him, neither did his keeping within doores saue his life anie long time, for in the end his owne seruants found means to strangle him, and that before he had reigned full foure yeres.

His place succeeded his brother Donald, a prince of a farre contrarie nature and conditions, for he was free, courteous, and without all deceit, more righteous than rigorous, and afore all things desirous that peace and concord might prosper amongst his subiects. Neither bare he with offence, but such as were disobedient against the lawes and wholesome ordinances of the realme he caused to be duly punished: finally he took such order for reformation of things, that he reduced his subiects as it had bene from a wild and savage rudenesse, vnto a perfect ciuill trade of humanitie. About the same time Lucius king of the Britains being dead, the Romans perceiving that a kings authoritie amongst the Britains, did nothing else but diminish the maiestie of the imperiall iurisdiction amongst them, determined not to suffer any more of the Britissh nation to inioy that title.

This thing moued the Britains to such indignation, that by procurement of one Fulgentius, diuers of them rebelled, and choosing the same Fulgentius to their general, they directed a messenger with letters vnto Donald king of the Scots, requiring him to ioine with them in league against their ancient enemies the Romans, whose endeuor (as he knew) had euer bene from time to time, how to bring the whole Island vnder their subiection, and to extinguish all the nobilitie and ancient inhabitants of the same: adding furthermore, that if he would now put to his helping hand, the time neuer serued better for the dispatching of them whole out of the Ile, considering the sundrie rebellions attempted as well by the people of Germanie and France, as also of the easterlie nations and countries.

Donald receiued the messenger most friendlie, and being glad to vnderstand of these newes, he promised to aid Fulgentius with all the power he was able to make, and to meet him at such date and place as he should afterward appoint. The like answer was made also by the king of Picts, vnto whom in semblable

Ballena-
craned the
christian letters
in the yere
187.

Sathrahell.

Sathrahell
saith to
such as were
in fauor with
his predecessor.

Discord
ensued
amongst
the people
through the
kings
iniqui-
tation.

Sathrahell
strangled
death by his
owne ser-
uants.

397 H.B.

Donald.

Donald
saith to
such as were
his subiects
vnto all
the
Isle.

Lucius king
of Britaine
died.

The
Britains
rebell
and chose
Fulgentius
to their
captaine
whom
they
chose
for
their
captaine.

Seuerus
saith to
such as were
his
enemies.

Seuerus
saith to
such as were
his
enemies.

Donald
promised
to aid
Fulgentius.

The
Britains
come
to
Britains
wall, and
pull
it
downe
vnto
the
scots.
The
scots
men
& picts
came
to
the
aid
of
the
Britains.

The
scots
and
picts
made
the
Britains.
The
scots
helped
the
Britains
to
spoil
their
owne
countie.

Caracalla
saith
the
emperour
of
the
state
of
Britaine.

Fulgentius
incourageth
the
Britains
to
make
vnto
the
beginning
of
the
warre.

Seuerus
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enemies.

Seuerus
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Seuerus
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semlable wise Fulgentius had directed his letters. Thus the Britains (being confirmed with hope of great aid from the Scots and Picts) assembling their host together, resorted unto the wall of Adrian, which they ouerthrowe in diuers places, that their friends might haue the more free access and entrie vnto them by the same. Neither were the Scots and Picts slow for their part to make forward: so that they likewise comming thither, holpe to throw down that wall, and to fill vp the trench or ditch that went alongst the same.

This done, joining their powers together, they passed forth towards Poyke, in hope to haue found the Romane lieutenant Trebellius within that citie and to haue besieged him therein: but hauing knowledge how he was withdrawn into Bent, there to gather a power, they left their purpose of besieging that citie, and fell to spoiling & harrying of the countrie abroad on euery side, constraining the most part of the people to come in and yeld themselves vnder their obedience. Thus they continued in passing from one quarter of the countrie to another, till winter enforced them to breake vp their campe, and to licence the souldiers to depart home into their countreies, till they had new summons to assemble and meet againe.

In this meane time Trebellius certified the emperor Seuerus of all this trouble and rebellion in Britaine: wherupon he with all speed leuied an armie, & set forward with the same himselfe in person toward Britaine, as in the English historie more plainlie may appere. At his comming into Britaine, he slackened no time, but assembling his power, prepared to go against the enimies. Fulgentius doubting the force of his enimie, sent ambassadoys vnto him to treat for peace, but Seuerus would not grant to a nie, whereupon Fulgentius confirmed the minds of the Britains with all comfortable words, in the best wise he could, exhorting them to stick to their necessities begun enterprise, for recouerie of their long wished libertie, which he doubted not, but by vanquishing the emperor at that present they should assurelie attaine: and as for victorie, he was in no doubt, so that they would plucke their harts vnto them, and trie it forth manfully by dint of sword, like fellows and brethren knit in one faithfull band of trustie concord, considering the enimies armie being gathered of so manie sundrie nations & languages that consent in one opinion, the cheefest meane for the obtaining of victorie must needs be wanting among them.

The Britains moued herewith, promised him to liue and die in the quarrell. Whereupon he toke aduise with them, which waie to mainteine themselves against Seuerus, of whose comming they were already certified. For Seuerus hauing dispatched the British ambassadoys from him, set incontinentlie forward towards Poyke, leauing his yongest sonne Geta in the south parts to haue the gouernance of the same in his absence. His eldest sonne Antoninus he toke with him in his iourne against his enimies. At his comming to Poyke, he did sacrifice to the gods, according to the Ethnick custome, & also toke aduise with his captains how to proceed in his enterprise against his enimies.

This done he marcheth forth with his armie towards them, who being already joined with the Scots and Picts, were determined to abide him, in so much that those of the one side came no sone in sight of the other, but that they hastied forth to ioin together in battell, whereof ensued great slaughter betwixt them, though the British part (notwithstanding their aid of Scots and Picts) were not able long to endure against the great multitude and practised skill of the Romane souldiers, so that in the end

they were opened perforce and put to flight with the losse of thirtie thousand, what of Britains, Scottishmen and Picts.

Fulgentius himselfe, seeing the discomfiture and huge slaughter made of his people, had runne in amongst the thickest prease of his enimies, had not those that were about him led him awaie by force, and so at length he got him amongst the troops of the Scottishmen and Picts, and together with them passed ouer Tine, and so into the borders of his friends where he got together such souldiers as he could, that had escaped from the battell, and reteined them with wages so well as he might, in hope vpon occasion to imploye them effectually against his enimies. The Scots also sent into Ireland for aid, and the Picts into Denmarke and Norwaie. Such of the British nobilitie as fell into the hands of the Romans, Seuerus punished most grauously, but the commons he used more gentlie, as it were making excuse for them being procured thereto by their captains. After this, when winter was come, he appointed his men of warre to dray vnto places conuenient for them to lodge in, till the next spring. He himselfe wintered at Poyke.

In the next summer there was little done worthe to be spoken of, but that there were certeine skirmishes betwixt the Romans lieng on the borders, and the Scots and Picts, euer as occasion serued, either of the parties to worke any exploit for their aduantage. But for so much as the Scots had no aid sent them forth of Ireland, they were not minded to icopard againe in a foughten field, supposing it sufficient if they might defend their owne, though they gained nothing as then, considering the puissance that was readie bent against them. At length Seuerus fell sicke at Poyke, and his son Antoninus lieng on the borders beyond Tine, caused the wall afore mentioned, diuiding the Britains from the Scots and Picts, to be repaired. This wall was built (as is before recited) first by Adrian the emperor, to staie the Scottishmen from inuading the lands appertaining to the subiects of the Romane empire, & after ouerthrowne in diuers places as well by Scots and Picts, as by the Britains, in soot as before is partly mentioned. Antoninus caused it to be fortified with bastilions, one placed so nere to another, as trumpets being appointed in each of them, the sound might be heard betwixt to warne one another vpon the first deserting of the enimies approach.

Finallie Seuerus dieth, though not so sone as his son Antoninus wished, in hope after him to attaine the imperiall dignitie. Concluding therefore a league with the Scottishmen and Picts, and granting peace to Fulgentius, and other such British rebels as were fled with him into Ireland, he receiued sufficient pledges, and then returned towards London, where his mother with his brother Geta as then late, shortly after both the brethren departed forth of the Ile, & went to Rome, as in the historie of England it appereth. But now to retorne vnto Donald the Scottish king, ye shall vnderstand, that being deliuered of foren trouble, he studied the way to preferue his people in god peace and perfect tranquillitie. Which mind our Sauour Christ the author of all peace and concord had giuen vnto him, being latelie afore conuerted vnto the true faith from his wicked paganisme and heathenish idolatrie.

For as we find in Hector Boetius, in the daies of the aboue said emperor Seuerus, he sent a messenger with letters vnto pope Victor (Zepherinus saith Harison) being the 15 in number, as they saie, after saint Peter, declaring vnto him that he was fullie minded to receiue the christian religion, and vnto the forsake the superstitious seruice of the heathenish gods,

Fulgentius is put to flight and his armie discomfited.

Fulgentius withdrawneth into Ireland.

Seuerus wintereth at Poyke.

Seuerus sicketh. The wall is repaired.

Seuerus dieth.

Antoninus in hope to be emperor concludeth a peace with the enimies.

Donald studi-ous to mainteine his subiects in peace and concord.

Donald conuerted into christian beleefe in the daies of the emperor Seuerus.

The Britains come to Britains wall, and pull it downe in the place of the Britains.

The Scots and Picts come to the Britains wall, and pull it downe in the place of the Britains.

Trebellius certified the emperor of the rebellion in Britaine.

Fulgentius confirmed the minds of the Britains with all comfortable words.

Seuerus dispatched the British ambassadoys from him.

Seuerus commeth to Poyke.

Seuerus is accounted by his enemies.

Britaine received the christian faith in the year 187.

Satrabell.

Satrabell was the rule of the purpose the gainst all us, there hee anie r of other gods hee

Discord arise among the people through the things in gouernment.

Satrabell strangled to death by his owne seruants.

397 HB.

Donald.

Donald studi-ous to reduce his subiects vnto all ciuilitie.

The British nobilitie was punished most grauously, but the commons he used more gentlie.

Donald studi-ous to reduce his subiects vnto all ciuilitie.

Donald studi-ous to reduce his subiects vnto all ciuilitie.

Donald studi-ous to reduce his subiects vnto all ciuilitie.

gods, and therefore instantlie required him to send over into Scotland some godlie learned men, to instruct him in the right belefe. The pope hearing this, and being glad to increase the faith of Christ through all parts of the world, sent with all speed into Scotland such well disposed persons as he thought most meet for that purpose, who at their arrivall there, did their endeuour in such diligent sort, that not onelie the king, but also through his example a great number of the nobilitie were baptised, and clerelie forsooke their former errors and idolatrie. This was in the yeare after the birth of our saulour 203, from the creation of the world 4170, & after the first erection of the Scottish kingdome 330, as W. Harison in his chronologie doth manifestlie confirme.

The Scottish men received the faith in the yeare of our Sautour 203.
5399. H.B.
533 H.B.

Donald departed out of this world.
216 H.B.

Ethodius.

The gouernance of the realme committed to sundrie noble men.

Ethodius being giuen to couetousnesse is slaine by his owne seruants.

Athirco.

Athirco changed in conditions from good to bad.

Athirco regeth death not his nobles.

The villanous act of Athirco in abusing a noble mans daughters.

Whereafter this Donald was the first as the Scottish chronicles alledge, that caused silver and gold to be coined in his realme. The stampe which he deuised for the same, was a crosse on the one side, and his face on the other. Before that time the Scots used no coine, but either exchanged and bartered ware for ware, either else occupied with British and Romane monie, as diuers marble chests full of the same which haue bene found of late yerres in sundrie parts of Scotland doe verie well witness. Finally Donald in the 21 yeare of his reigne departed out of this life, and was buried according to the maner of our christian religion, without any heathenish ceremonies.

After him succeeded Ethodius the second, and some of the former Ethodius, which prince procured so verie a sole, that the regiment of the realme was quite taken from him, and committed vnto certeine noble men, who being diuided into sundrie quarters of the realme, toke verie good order for the due gouernment of the parties so to them limited, and used themselves verie byrightlie in all their doings. As for cause of wars they had none, for Seuerus before his death had giuen such order for the gouernement of the Britains, that they durst not once stir by reason of such pledges as were deliuered and conueied to Rome, which were the chiefe of all the British nobilitie. At length Ethodius being apt for nothing but to fill his cofers, as one though dishonest, yet naturallie giuen to vniuersall couetousnesse, was slaine by those that were appointed to the gard of his person, in the 16 yeare of his reigne.

Then was his sonne Athirco elected by the generall voices of all the estates, who in the beginning of his reigne shewed himselfe verie sober, gentle, courteous, and friendlie of behauiour, exercising himselfe in all laudable pastimes conuenient for his estate, and herewith he was so free and liberall towards all men, that he won him wonderfull much praise and loue amongst his people. But these his noble vertues increased not in him together with his age, but contrarie decaied, in such sort, that after he had reigned eight yerres, he was quite altered: in place of liberalitie, embracing auarice: for courtesie and amiable countenance, he used sterne and loftie looks: for commendable exercises, he gaue himselfe wholly to filthy pleasures and sensuall lusts of the bodie: and such as could further his purpose most in these his beastlie affections, he cherished and had them most in estimation, not regarding at all the nobilitie of his realme, but was as readie to wrong them by villanous iniurie, as he was anie other of the lowest and meanest degre.

It chanced that a noble man in Argile (being one of no small authoritie amongst the people of that countrie) named Patholocus, had two faire yong gentlewomen to his daughters: now the king being verie desirous to satiffie his lust vpon them, forced them both the one after the other, and not so con-

tent, deliuered them afterwards to be abused in semblable sort by his pages and seruants. The father vnderstanding this villanie done to his daughters, by their owne lamentable complaint, sent for his friends, and opening vnto them the whole matter, he required their assistance. They being in a wonderfull farie to heare of such an iniurie done to their blood, promised in reuenge therof to spend life, lands & goods, and forthwith departing in sander, they prepared themselves to assemble their powers, procuring a great number of other noble men to ioine with them in so necessarie an enterprise, as to rid the countrie of such a catife wretch, respecting nothing but the satiffing of his filthy carnall lusts, and the accomplishment of his most beastlie appetites.

When they were once got together in a companie, they marched forth towards Dunstaffe, where they vnderstood that the king as then did sojourne, a great multitude of people still resorting vnto them by the waie, after it was once knowne whereabout they went. Athirco hearing of their approach, called together his power, supposing at the first to haue beaten downe his enemies; but when he had thoughtlie weighed the matter, and considered of what force and power they were, & how feeble his part was through want of godd will in his people, he priuillie stole away from them, and would haue passed ouer into Fla, one of the westerne Isles, to haue procured some succor there, but being imbarcked and set from the shore, he was by contrarie winds driuen backe againe to land, where doubting to come into his enemies hands, he chose rather to slea himselfe, and so ended his wretched life in such miserable extremite after he had reigned the space of 12 yerres. His reigne continued till the daies of the emperor Gordian the third, or (as others saie) till the time of the emperor Valerian. But as William Harison hath gathered, he reigned in the daies of the emperor Aurelius Claudius. Doozus the brother of Athirco vnderstanding of the death of his brother, disguised himselfe in beggers weed for doubt of death, and went into Picland with three of his nephues, sonnes to the same Athirco, whose names were Sindocke, Carance, and Donald.

Howbeit, Patholocus hauing knowledge whether he was fled, sent forth certeine of his seruants, with commandement to search him out, commanding furthermore verie streelie, that if they found him, they should dispatch him out of life, for feare of further mischance. But they that were sent, finding one in all features and proportion of bodie resembling Doozus, slea the one in stead of the other, and so returning home to their maister, they made him verie iollull of the newes, although indeed they came not nere to Doozus. Then Patholocus causing the estates of the realme to assemble, he handled the matter in such wise, by dissuading them to chose any of Athircos blood to reigne ouer them (for doubt least they should seeke any meanes how to reuenge his death) that in the end this Patholocus was elected himselfe, more by force than by anie common consent of the nobles: for diuers of them doubting the craftie nature, which they knew to be in him, wished rather that the issue of Athirco (hauing deserued nothing why to be defrauded of the kingdom, saue onlie in respect of the fathers offenses) might haue inioied that which of right they ought to haue had, that is, either one of them to be king, or else some nere kinsman of theirs to reigne as king, till the eldest of them might come to sufficient yeares to beare the rule himselfe.

But Patholocus being once proclaimed king by the multitude, and Athircos blood attained of treason,

The blisfull and friends of the good men conspire against Athirco.

Athirco being taken of his owne men came to the trial of his guilt, which he confessed.

242 H.B. Doozus the brother of Athirco conceited himselfe out of the way.

Patholocus seeking the death of Doozus.

Patholocus is chosen to be king.

Patholocus.

Patholocus goeth vnto Dunstaffe to be in his priuillie.

Patholocus being taken of his owne men conspire against Athirco.

Fortune fauouring Patholocus for a time began to change. Doozus being taken vnto certeine Scots lords to moue them to rebellion.

Patholocus being taken of his owne men came to the trial of his guilt, which he confessed.

Patholocus seeking the death of Doozus.

The wretched answers.

What happened by giuing credit to the words of a witch.

treason, as he toke then repaired according as he exhorted assured of therof, b rewards. selfe verie loues, for chined of the fourest nobles, fr ous quar

Thus peres, at countena Doozus then heard, Doozus being taken vnto certeine Scots lords to moue them to rebellion.

Patholocus being taken of his owne men came to the trial of his guilt, which he confessed.

Patholocus seeking the death of Doozus.

Patholocus seeking the death of Doozus.

The wretched answers.

What happened by giuing credit to the words of a witch.

Patholocus seeking the death of Doozus.

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treason, and so published, according to the custome he took the othes of those that were present, and then repaired unto Dumfries, there to be inuicted according to the manner. This done, he called such aside as he suspected, and talking with them alone, he exhorted them to be faithfull, promising to bestow assured good lord and maister, and for an earnest thereof, he gave unto diuerse of them verie great rewards. Generallie vnto all men he showed himselfe verie gentle and tractable, thereby to win their loues, for the better establishment of his newe aduised estate: and here he imployed such riches as the former kings had heaped together amongst the nobles, studying by all meanes to auoid all seditious quarels and secret discords amongst them.

Thus ruling the realme at his will for certayne yeeres, at length fortune began to show a change of countenance after hir old accustomed guise. For Douglas the brother of Athirce (whome, as ye haue heard, Patholocus supposed to haue bene dead) wrote certayne letters, signifying his owne estate with the welfare of his nephews the children of Athirce vnto certayne Scottish lords, whome he knew to fauour his cause. Which letters he deliuered vnto a Scottish woman, appointing hir hys and to whome she should deliuer the same, but the woman apprehended by the waie, and brought vnto Patholocus, he caused hir secretly to be sacked and thowne into a riuer. Afterwards sending for such of the nobles as the direction of the foresaid letters had giuen him occasion to haue in some suspicion, he committed them first to prison, and at length caused them to be secretly strangled.

Which wicked deed being once notified abroad, so moued the hearts of their friends and allies, that they procured the people to rebell: and so gathering them together, they raised open and cruell warres against him. Patholocus informed of their determinations, withdrew himselfe priuie into Murray land, there to get together an armie to resist his enemies, and for that he was desirous also to understand somwhat of the issue of this trouble, he sent one of his trustie seruants, being a gentleman of that countrie, vnto a woman that dwelt in the Ile of Colmekill (otherwise called Fona) esteemed verie skillfull in shewing of things to come, to learne of hir what fortune should hap of this warre, which was alreadie begun.

The witch consulting with hir spirits, declared in the end how it should come shortly to passe, that the king should be murdered, not by his open enemies, but by the hands of one of his most familiar friends, in whome he had reposed an especiall trust. The messenger demanding by whose hands that should be: Cuen by thine saith she, as it shall be well knowen within these few daies. The gentleman hearing these words, railed against hir verie bitterly, bidding hir go like an old witch; for he trusted to see hir burnt before he should commit so villanous a deed. And departing from hir, he went by and by to signifie what answere he had receiued; but before he came where the king lay, his mind was altered, so that what for doubt on the one side, that if he should declare the trueth as it was told him, the king might haplie conceiue some great suspicion, that it should follow by his means as she had declared, and therefore put him to death first; and for feare on the other side, that if he keepe it secret, it might happen to be revealed by some other, and then he to run in as much danger of life as before; he determined with himselfe to waite the surest way, and so comming to the king, he was led aside by him into his priuie chamber, where all other being commanded to auoid, he declared how he had spied; and then falling forth

with vpon Patholocus, with his dagger he slue him outright, and threw his bodie into a pitie; and afterwards getting out by a backe doore, and taking his horse which he had there ready, he fled with all speed vnto the campe of the conspirators, and was the first that brought newes vnto them of this act thus by him atchieued. This chanced in the yeare of our Lord 1586, in the eleventh yeare after the first entring of Patholocus into the estate.

After Patholocus was thus dispatched, the peers assembled together to ordaine offe for gouernement of the realme, where in the end it was amongst them considered, that the sonnes of Athirce should be sent for into Scotland, and Findocke receiued for king. The parliament that slue Patholocus was appointed to fetch them, who according to his commission remaining into Scotland, conuicted their right honorable into Argile, where Findocke being alreadie chosen king, was placed on the throne of marbly with all the ceremonies in that case appertaining.

Thus Findocke was in the flower of his age, of person most beautifull, cleane made, & of a goodlie stature: wherewith were ioined most excellent gifts of the mind. Not so much desirous to seeme as to be vertuous indeed. He was courteous, meke, full of affabilitie, studying alwaies to win frendship and loue, rather by gentlenesse, than by feare and menacing words. The leagues with the Britains, Scots and Romans he firmelie obserued. But as peace with foraine enemies breedeth oftentimes euill discords at home, so came it then to passe with him at this present: for one Donald of the Isles, a noble man borne, came ouer with an armie into Rolle and Murray land, fetching from thence a great spoile and bootie, not without great slaughter of such as enforced themselves for to resist him. The occasion as he pretended was to reuenge the death of Patholocus. But Findocke vnderstanding his doings, prepared an armie with ships, and sailed ouer with the same into the Ile of Ila, where in countering with Donald and other his enemies, he vanquished and chased them egerlie, without returning once backe, till either the sword or the sea had made an end of them all.

Donald himselfe taking a vote, in hope to haue escaped, the pleasure was such at his entring into the same, that before they could get it off from the shore, it sunke by means of the ouerlading, and so he and all they that were on board were drowned there without. The king hauing atchieued this victorie, returned into Albanie; but the Iland-men not fullie quieted with this slaughter of their fellows, sent ouer into Ireland, and got from thence certayne Ierns, who vnder the leading of an other Donald, the sonne of the former Donald, made starts now and then into Argile and Cantire, doing manie shrewd turnes in the same, yet they could be suppressed. But Findocke being some informed of these tidings, went ouer againe into the Isles, and such of his enemies as he found, he caused to be hanged, to giue other example what to take for when they should rebell, but Donald escaped, and got ouer into Ireland, where he remained, till he heard that the king was returned backe into Albanie, and then he came againe. But perceiving himselfe not able to waite such feats as he hoped to haue done, he sent a messenger vnto the king, offering to yield himselfe, and to become his true subiect if he might get his pardon, and be at his owne libertie. But being answered that he should not be receiued, vntill he would come vnto Dumfries with other of his chiefest complices, and so stand fallie at the kings mercie; he refused thus to doe, deuising an other meane

Patholocus
murdered.

252. H. B.

The lords of
the realme as-
sembled to-
gether to chuse a
new king.

The sonnes of
Athirce are
sent for, and
the eldest of
them named
Findocke cho-
sen to reigne.

Findocke.

Findocke his
noble quali-
ties and ver-
tuous disposi-
tion.

Findocke ob-
serueth the
leagues con-
firmed of for-
mer times
with his
neighbors.
Those of the
isle of Ila in-
uade the coun-
tries of
Rolle and
Murray land.
Findocke ma-
keth a tourne
into the Isles,
to subdue the
rebels.

Donald is
drowned.

The Iland-
men with aid
of the Irish
Ierns, make
often inuasi-
ons into Ar-
gile, and other
of the Scottish
countreys.

Findocke go-
eth againe to
subdue the
rebels of the
Isles.

Donald offer-
eth to yield
himselfe v-
pon certaine
conditions,
but is not re-
ceiued.

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remittie
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or: Cor-
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on hath
243 H.B.
Douglas the
brother of
Athirce con-
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Patholocus
is chosen to
be king.

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is chosen to
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Patholocus
is chosen to
be king.

Donald deus-
leth how to
murder king
Findocke by
two naughtie
persons.

meane how to be reuenged.

Therefore to begin withall, he procured two
naughtie persons to go ouer into Albaine, and to
seine themselves to haue fled from him, where also
he willed them to offer their seruice vnto the king,
and to disclose vnto him certeine light secrets of the
said Donalds, thereby to win credit if it might be,
and in the end to spie a time to rid him out of the
way. These craftie mates working according to Do-
nalds wicked instructions, at length with much adoe
they got credit, and after credit they got place so
nere the king by the furtherance of Carantius the
kings brother (whome they made priue also vnto
their intent) that finding all things correspondent
vnto their purpose (one day as the king hunted) the
one began to feed him with a tale of the hatred which
the Islanders bare towards him, thereto he gaue
verie good eare, whilst the other smote him to the
heart with a ianeline, & so leauing the iron sticking
in his bodie, he fled away in hast with his traitorous
companion and fellow. Those that were nere, see-
ing what had happened, some of them ran to him, to
see if they might relieue him as then struggling with
the pangs of death; others followed the murderers,
and ouertaking them, brought them backe to receiue
their meed according to that which they had iustlie de-
serued; being also examined, they confessed how
they were procured vnto it, not onelie by Donald
of the Isles, but also by Carantius the kings owne
brother, who of set purpose, being out of the way at
that present, and hauing knowledge that he was ac-
cused of the kings death, fled out of the countrie as
a banished man, first into Britaine, from whence
(after he had remained there for a time) he went vnto
Rome, and seruing in the wars vnder the empe-
rours, Aurelius Vrbobus, Carus, and Dioclesianus,
he became a right famous and a verie skillfull cap-
taine.

But if this report be true that Carausius (of whom
Eutropius maketh mention) were descended of so
high parentage, maruell it is, that neither the same
Eutropius, nor anie other of the Romane writers,
could at no time come to the knowledge thereof,
which if they had done, no doubt they would haue
spoken somewhat of the same; for although he might
happilie vpon the consideration aforesaid counter-
feit himselfe to be borne of some base kindred, and so
for a time to dissemble what he was, yet afterwards
that he attained vnto so high degree of honour, as
to usurpe the imperiall robes of purple, and to pos-
seste the dominion of Britaine, it is not like but
that to aduance his credit and authoritie roiall, he
would haue set forth to the vttermost the nobilitie
of his birth, if he had bene come of anie, and that
so apparantlie to the world, that alwell his enemies
as friends should both haue knowen and spoken
of it.

Donald.

Findocus being thus slaine in the tenth yeare of
his reigne, and buried with great lamentation
of the people at Dunfalsage, his brother Donald,
the third son to Athirco, was admitted to the kings
dome, who immediatlie vpon his entring into the
estate, prepared to go into the Isles against Donald
that common enimie of Scotland. But this Do-
nald himselfe deliuered the king of a great peece of
that trauell: for so soon as he heard that the mur-
ther by him contriued was executed, he assembled a
mightie power of the Island-men, and transporting
with them ouer into Kosse, proclaimed himselfe
king, persecuting with fire and sword all such as de-
nied him obedience. King Donald being aduertised
of that attempt of his aduersarie, speedilie mar-
cheth forth with such power as he had already assem-
bled, sending proclamations abroad, that all other

appointed to serue, should follow him with speed.

Thus comming into Murray land, he pitched
downe his tents, purposing there to abide the com-
ming of the residue of his armie. But Donald of
the Isles vnderstanding all his demeanour and whole
intention, thought it best to assaile him within his
campe, before all his power should come vnto him,
and being thus resolved, he set forward in the night
time, and was vpon his enimies, before that his
comming towards them was once signified in their
campe. The king then vnderstanding his aduersa-
ries to be at hand, bringeth forth his men, setteth
them in arrate, and exhorteth them with many pitthe
wordes to receiue their enimies with manlie sto-
machs. But the Island-men encouraged also by their
captaine, gaue the onset so roundlie, that the Sco-
tishmen had not leasure to occupie their shot, but
were enforced even at the first to loine at hand-
blowes, which were bestowed in such furious sort,
that in the end the Scots being oppressed with mul-
titude, were constrained to giue backe, some sauing
themselves by flight, and some standing at defense
till they were beaten downe and killed in the place.
There were slaine on the kings part thre thousand
men, and two thousand taken prisoners; amongst
whome were thirtie personages of honorable estate,
together with the king himselfe being wounded so
soze, that he died within thre daies after the battell,
rather through anguish of mind than of his hurts (as
some haue written) in the same yeare that he began
his reigne. Donald of the Isles hauing thus got the
victorie, took vpon him as king, accordinglie as he
had caused himselfe at the first to be proclaimed.

But because he came to the estate thus by bloud, he
continued still in doubt and feare of new conspi-
racies, being guiltie in conscience of his wrong-
full usurpation. Those prisoners also, which he had ta-
ken in the battell, he kept in perpetuall captiuitie,
menacing them present death, if anie of their friends
and allies attempted anie stirre against him. More-
ouer he nourished priuie factions amongst the no-
bilitie, supposing thereby that their powers would
be the more feeble in anie publike exploit that was
to be moued against him; finallie, if anie mischief
happened amongst them, he caused the matter
thoroughlie to be looked vpon, but with such regard
that he alwaies enriched his owne cofers with the
forfeitures and penalties which he took vpon amongst
them. He seldeome times went abroad, and when
he stirred forth anie whither, he had his gard about
him, appointed with weapons in warlike sort for doubt
of treason. He aduanced diuers of base condition
to great wealth and honor, and behaued himselfe so
in sundrie sorts with his mistrustfull crueltie, that
manie there were which deead him, and but a few
that loued him, so that in the end being in a maner
run into the deadlie hatred of all men, he was mur-
thered one night at Cnuerlochthe (whither he was
come to haue passed ouer into the Isles) by certeine
that had conspired his death in the twelfth yeare of
his reigne.

The chiefe of the conspirators was one Crathlint
the sonne of king Findocke, who immediatlie after
the deed done, conueied himselfe secretlie out of the
chamber, and repairing vnto certeine nobles and
gentlemen inhabiting nere hand in the countrie, he
declared vnto them the whole matter, exhorting
them to aid him, in reuenging the injuries done not
onelie to them priuatlie, as he knew verie well; but
also to the whole state of the Scottish common welth,
by the naughtie suggestion of diuers of the kings
complices, who as yet vnderstood nothing of their
maisters death, but were all quiet in their beds, as
men suspecting nothing lesse than that which was
now

Donald of the
Isles slaine
setteth vpon
the enimies.

Crathlint

Crathlint is
made king.

The Scots
overthrowen.

Donald vpon
teeth this
sword.

Donald of the
Isles taketh
vpon him as
king.

Donald.

A guiltie con-
science.

The kinnes
and friends of
Donald of the
Isles are per-
secuted.

The politike
government
of Crathlint.

Crathlint go-
eth to hunt in
the mountains
of Grampian
ancientlie cal-
led Grampen
mons.
An ambassag-
er from the
Isles.
The Scots re-
quize the
league to be
renewed.

Donald of the
Isles is mur-
thered.

Anno Christi
273. H.B.

Crathlint
chiefe conspi-
rator to the
murdering
of Donald.

Crathlint
chiese conspi-
rator to the
murdering
of Donald.

Crathlint
chiese conspi-
rator to the
murdering
of Donald.

Crathlint
chiese conspi-
rator to the
murdering
of Donald.

Donald of the
Isles inua-
deth Scot-
land.

Crathlint pro-
mised to ob-
serue the an-
cient amitie
betweene the
Scottishmen
and Isles.
The present
time by Crath-
lint vnto the
king of the
Isles.
Diuers Dic-
tators come
to Crathlint
to hunt and
make merie
with him.
A peice of the
Scottish bog.

ith spard.
he pitched
the com-
Donald of
r and whole
within his
e into him,
in the night
ze that his
fied in their
is aduerfa-
en, setteth
many pittie
manlie sto-
also by their
at the Sco-
ir thot, but
re at hand.
urions soyl,
with mul-
some sauing
g at defense
in the place.
e thousand
; amongst
zable estate,
wounded so
r the battell,
his hurts (as
sozib.
at he began
thus got the
inglie as he
lamed.

Donald of the
fles subtle
setteth byon
the enemies.

The Scots
overthrowen.

Donald byme
teth this
sozib.

Donald of the
fles taketh
byon him as
king.

Donald.

Guillie con-
science.

Donald of the
fles is mur-
thered.
Anno Christi.
273. H.B.

Crathlint
chiefe conspi-
rator to the
murdering
of Donald.

Crathlint pro-
cureth the no-
bles of the
countrie to
oppress the
servants of
king Donald.

noto happened.

The gentlemen hearing the newes, and resolving greatlie thereat, got them to their weapons, and earlie in the verie dawning of the day, coming upon the kings household meanie, they slue about two hundred of them in the place where they lodged, the residue escaping forth of the house, and thinking to saue themselves, were beaten downe in the countrie as they passed by the people, who bare so deadlie and mortall hatred vnto the late king, that they not onelie reioiced much at his death, but thought themselves sufficientlie reuenged, when they could kill anie that did belong vnto him.

Crathlint
Crathlint is
murdering.

After this, Crathlint being certeinlie knoene to be the sonne of king Findocke, by such evident tokens as were shewed by him that brought him by, was (partlie in respect of his iust title, and partlie for consideration of his good seruice in deliuering his countrie of so detestable a tyrant) aduanced to the gouernement of the kingdome, by consent of all the estates, and so being confirmed king, he perswaded the people that all the linage of the late tyrant Donald might be plucked by, euen as it were a tree by the roots, least anie of them happlie remaining alieue, should find meanes afterwards to disturbe the common wealth. The people consented lightlie hereto, as they that beside the mortall hate which they bare towards Donald, were now suddenly in loue with Crathlint, not onelie for his wit and other qualitties of the mind, but also by reason of his comelie personage and passing beautie, setting forth all his doings greatlie to his high praise and commendation.

The issue therefore with other the kinsmen and allies of Donald were sought for, and those that were found, without anie difference or respect of age or sex, were cruellie put to death. Which done, Crathlint appointed forth iudges and other administrators of iustice to see the laws executed, and the countries gouerned in good and quiet order, euerie man being assigned to his owne proper circuit. These he chose out of the most ancient peeres and barons of his realme. The yonger sort he referred to attend upon his person.

When he had taken direction in this wise for the rule of his kingdome, he went by into the mountains of Grangebene, there to passe the time for a while in hunting the hart, and other wild beastes, whither came vnto him ambassadoers from Thelargus king of the Picts, declaring the ioy which their maiester had conceiued for the slaughter of Donald, and the restoring of the right blood againe vnto the estate, requiring that the ancient league betwixt the Picts and Scottishmen might be once againe renewed. Crathlint receiued these ambassadoers most iollie, giuing them heartie thanks on the behalfe of their maiester for this signification of his good will shewed by their coming, and herewith promised, that during his life he would gladlie obserue the old ancient amitie established betwixt the two nations: according to the tenor of the old league. Moreover, when the said ambassadoers should depart, he toke vnto them to deliuer from him as a present vnto their maiester certein hounds, with hounds and greihounds, such as he thought that king Thelargus wanted.

And shortly after the returne of these ambassadoers into their countrie, diuerse young gentlemen of the Pictish nobilitie repaired vnto king Crathlint, to hunt and make merie with him: but when they should depart home wards, perceiuing that the Scottish dogs did farre excell theirs, both in fairnesse, swiftnesse, hardinesse, and also in long standing by and holding out, they got diuerse both dogs and bit-

ches of the best kinds for breed to be giuen them by the Scottish lords, and yet not so contented, they stole one belonging to the king from his keeper, being more esteemed of him than all the other which he had about him. The maiester of the leash being informed hereof, pursued after them which had stolen that dog, thinking in deed to haue taken him from them, but they not willing to depart with him, fell at altercation, and in the end chanced to strike the maiester of the leash through with their bozespikes that he died presentlie, whereupon a noise and crie being raised in the countrie by his seruants, diuerse of the Scots as they were going home from hunting, returned, and falling upon the Picts to reuenge the death of their fellow, there ensued a shrewd bickering betwixt them, so that of the Scots there died threescore gentlemen, besides a great number of the commons, not one of them understanding (till all was done) what the matter ment. Of the Picts there were about an hundred slaine.

The kinsmen and friends of the Scots that were thus slaine, were wonderfullie moued with the iniurie committed, insomuch that without commandement of king or capteine, they assembled in great numbers together, and entring into the Pictish confines, they began to rob, spoile and kill after the manner of warre, wherewith the Picts being set in a rage, came forth together into the field, and encountering with the Scots, there was fought a fore battell betwixt them, without capteine, order, or standard, till at length the victorie remained with the Picts, of whom were slaine notwithstanding the day went on their sides, about two thousand men, but of the Scots there died about thre thousand, or more, as was supposed. Thus upon a light occasion was the league broken betwixt these two nations, who had continued as friends, the one still readie to aid the other, euer sith the daies of king Keutha, being the 7 in number that reigned after Fergus.

These two nations being thus fallen at debate, it was wonder to vnderstand with what crueltie the one sought to destroye the other. No pittie might moue their cruell hearts to spare either man, woman or child that fell into their hands: such was their inordinate and like desire which they had to shed each others blood. At last Thelargus R. of the Picts being a verie aged man, and perceiuing what mischiefe was happened through the follie of a few wilfull persons, appointed certein of his counsell to go as ambassadoers vnto king Crathlint, to find some means to haue the matter taken by, for the auoiding of the imminent danger that was like to inue to both nations. They according to their instructions coming to the place where Crathlint as then sojourned, had much adoe to get licence to come vnto his presence: but at length being admitted, they vsed such humble persuations grounded vpon reasonable considerations, that although no peace could be fullie concluded, yet a truce was granted them for thre moneths space, which was but sozillie obserued, for deadly hatred and inward desire of reuenge was entred so farre into the breasts of the commons on both sides, that neither commandement nor punishment might staie them from the inuading of one anothers confines, inauager their princes and all their fore restraints.

In this meane time was the estate of the Roman empire in Britaine brought into trouble by Carantius, of whome a little before mention hath bene made. Eutropius nameth him Carausius: he would not be acknoene at his coming to Rome of what linage he was descended, and so he was repared to come of some base stocke, but yet through his worthie seruice in the warres, he attained vnto great

The Picts
steale one of
the kings best
greihounds.

The Scots &
Picts fight
for a grei-
hound.

What mischiefe
ensued vpon
so light an oc-
casion as the
stealing of a
dog.

This chanced
about the pere
of Christ 288,
as lo. Ma.
noteth.

The Scots
rob the Pic-
tish borders.
The Scots &
Picts encount-
ter in battell.

The Scots
discomfited
by the Picts.

What contin-
uance the
league was
betwixt the
Scots and
Picts, & how
broken about
a small matter
as begun a-
bout a dog.

Cruell warre

Thelargus
king of the
Picts being
an aged man,
desireth to
haue peace,
and thereupon
sendeth his
ambassadoers
vnto Crath-
lint.

A truce
granted.

Carantius
named by Eu-
tropius Ca-
rausius, trou-
bleth the
estate of Bri-
taine.

The wille
practise of
Carantius.

Carantius
seerly to come
to make an-
swer to such
matters as he
was charged
with.
Carantius
revolting co-
meth into
Westmerland,
& causeth the
people there
to take his
part against
the Romans.

Carantius
sendeth mes-
sengers unto
king Crath-
lint, in excu-
sing his fault
for his brother
Findoche's
death.
Carantius
requereth to
be aided a-
gainst the
Romans.

Crathlint re-
solueth to hear
that Caranti-
us was alive.

Crathlint re-
solueth to aid
Carantius, &
certifieth him
of the same.

The king of
the Picts also
promiseth to
aid Caran-
tius.

Crathlint
king of the
Scots and
Carantius
come to talke
together.

Crathlint and
the king of the
Picts come to
a communica-
tion by Caran-
tius his
means, who
trauellerth to
set them at one

great honor, and was appointed by Dioclesian to haue the souereigne regard ouer the coasts of the French ocean, to defend the same from pirates of the Saxons and other Germans, that soe molested the same in those daies. But for that he used to suffer those rousers to take spoiles and prizes, to the end he might in their returne take the same from them againe, and conuert the gaine wholie to his owne vse, without restoring that which was due to the owners, or sending anie portion thereof to the Ro- mane emperor, he was complained vpon, and sent for; but for that he doubted to come to his answer, as one which knew himselfe guiltie, he furnished his name with men, vittels and ordinance, and with the same took his course about the west parts of Britaine, and landed in Westmerland, where he easilie procured the people there to submit themselves to be vnder his rule and obedience, and promised to deliver them from the greivous yoke and bondage of the Romans.

Thus having begun the foundation of that which he purposed to achieve, for his further advancement therein, he sent ambassadors unto his nephew king Crathlint, both declaring that he was, and also ex- cusing the trespasses committed against him, for being of counsell touching the murder of his brother Findoche, father to the same Crathlint: and therefore if in putting away all mistrust of his innocencie in that behalfe, he would aid him against the Romans, he doubted not but that he should in short time vtterlie expell them out of all Britaine, and enioy all those provinces within the same (which as then they possessed) unto his owne vse, and this he said should be more honor and gaine both to the Scottishmen & Picts, if they could be contented to renew friend- ship, and to come with them in aid against their com- mon enemies, than to seeke to destroye one another, as he lately understood they had done for a dog.

Crathlint hearing the words of these ambassadors, reioiced not a little, that his uncle Carantius was not onelie alive, but also had through his baliance achieved so high renowne as to be accounted one of the worthiest warriors amongst all the Romane captiues. And hereupon with good aduise he deter- mined to aid him in that his enterprise for the con- quest of Britaine to the vttermost of his power. Ad- ding further, that if it were not for the warres which he doubted to haue with the Picts, he would not on- ly send him aid of men, but also come with them himselfe: and hereof he assured the ambassadors both by word of mouth and letters. Who returning with such answer unto their master Carantius, he reioiced not a little, to vnderstand how well they had sped, and so much the more, for that he received about the same time the like answer from the king of Picts.

Shortlie after he came to an interuiew with the king of Scots at the water of Elke, where after he had purged himselfe with manie words of excuse, touching the murder of his brother Findoche, there was an assured friendship concluded betwixt them. And at the motion of Carantius, Crathlint was contented to come to a communication with the king of Picts, for the conclusion of a peace, to the intent that both of them might ioine their powers together, in aid of Carantius against the Romans. At this communication both the kings met, and Carantius likewise was there, as a man indifferent betwixt them both, to do what he could to linke them both in amitie. And verelie his presence thereunto stood so much in stead, that chieflie through his persua- sion grounded vpon great reasons and weightie considerations, they agreed to conclude a peace, and to renew the old league in such manner and forme, and with such conditions, as should be thought re-

quisite by the aduise and discret order of eight an- cient persons: foure to be chosen on the one part, and foure on the other. Which eight persons taking the matter in hand, did so aduisedlie giue order for the auoiding of all causes of grudge and hatred, that both parts held them satisfied with their arbitre- ment and direction, so that a full peace was confir- med, and all variance vtterlie quenched.

In this meane time Quintus Bassianus the Romane lieutenant in Britaine, vnderstanding how Carantius was thus revolted, and had not on- ly caused them of Westmerland to rebell, but also laine and chased the Romans out of that countrie, he was not a little disquieted, and determined with all speed to go against him, and to reuenge these in- juries. Within a few daies after, having his armie ready, he entered into Westmerland: but hearing that his enemies were already come to Poike, and had taken the citie by surrender, he turned his force thitherward, in purpose to fight with them, though he vnderstood they were in three great battels, as the Scots in one, the Picts in another, and those of Carantius retinue in the third. He lodged that night within a verie strong place, fenced about with mar- shes.

But Carantius vnderstanding all the manner of his enemies by his espials, and being in campe within ten miles of them or thereabout, in the same night he raised his field without anie great byte, and by the leading of certeine guides he marched straight toward the place where Bassianus was in- camped, so that anon after the spring of the day he came thither: whereof Bassianus being aduertised, and perceiuing he should haue battell, maketh ready for the same, giuing the best exhortation he could vnto his people to plaie the men: but forsomuch as the most part of his armie were Britains, all his words nothing auailed: for they desirous to see the vt- ter ruine of all the Romane power, euen at the verie point when the battels should haue ioined, withdrew themselves apart without anie stroke stricken, and got them by into the next mounteins, to see what would ensue. The residue of the Romane armie, see- ing themselves thus forsaken of their fellows, and their sides left bare and open for the enemy to enter vpon them, fell to plaine running away, but by rea- son of the marshy ground compassing them in on each side, seruing well to purpose for the Scots, and other the confederates, a great number of the Ro- mans, and other of their part were ouertaken and laine. Amongst whom Bassianus himselfe was one, and Vircius the emperors procurator an other.

The Britains (who as is said refused to fight in the beginning of the battell) yielded themselves vnto Carantius, and swore to be his true liege men and subiects. In like manner Carantius appointed all such of the nobilitie as were betwixt twentie yeeres and threescore, to remaine with him in ho- stage: but the spoile of the field he diuided amongst his people equallie, so that as well the Scottishmen and Picts, as also his owne souldiers held them well contented and satisfied therewith. After this victo- rie Carantius caused himselfe to be proclaimed king of Britaine, usurping the government thereof wholie to himselfe, and retaining two thousand of the Scots and Picts to attend vpon the safeguard of his per- son, sent the residue home laden with riches of the enemies spoile. He sent also with them his ambassa- dors, to render thanks vnto both the kings for their aid in this so prosperous a victorie, assigning vnto them as a portion of the conquest, the countie of Westmerland and Cumberland, with all that region which lay betwixt Adrians wall, and the citie of Poike, to inioy as their owne proper patrimonie for

Peace confir-
med againe
betwixt the
Scottishmen
and Picts.

Quintus
Bassianus
entereth into
Westmerland,
but hearing
that his ene-
mies were at
Poike he tur-
neth thither-
ward.

The Bri-
tains betray
the Romans.

The Romans
are discouered.

The slaugh-
ter of the
Romans.

The Bri-
tains yield
themselves
vnto Caran-
tius.

Carantius
proclaimeth
himselfe
king of
Britaine.

Carantius
sending got-
tard, bish-
op of the
north, to
assigne the
countie of
Westmerland
to the
Scottishmen
for their
patrimonie.

The perse-
cution of the
christians by
Dioclesian.

Constantius
perfecteth
the christians.

Spane of the
Britains flee
to the Scots
to avoid per-
secution.
Crathlint de-
stroyeth the
temples of the
false gods
in Spain.

The first bi-
shops see in
Scotland.
Sodorenus
ecclesia.
Crathlint de-
parteth out of
this world.

Fine-
marke.

Amphibalus.

The church
of St. Andrew,
wherein cal-
led Sodorenus
ecclesia.

Culdee.

What peere
Fine-marke
began his
reigne.

for euer mo-
raine by his
historie pe-

After that
from trouble
god ordina-
common-ly
obserued be-
daies the pe-
the emperor
ted in most
partes of the
knowne to
ell ordinance
taine also, a
small quan-
tity of Chris-
religion.

In the
Constantine
who aduoc-
uen to pillage
determine
subjection.

terpise, he
right genti-
point he for-
of the chief
der Diocle-
full among
and Picts
lint recei-
ned vnto
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somes of
and brother
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ding to the
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and there
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niour. Af-
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daies a
taine bo-
raised in
lint, and
Sauour
ric much
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hearts a
There is
bout the
instructi-
cus Pict
Carnoc
Scottish
Dei, or as
of God.

But
peere
Fine-marke
began his
reigne.

What peere
Fine-marke
began his
reigne.

What peere
Fine-marke
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What peere
Fine-marke
began his
reigne.

What peere
Fine-marke
began his
reigne.

for euer more. Finallie the said Carantius was slaine by his companion Aleaus, as in the English historie ye may find more at large.

After this, Crathlint king of Scots deliuered from troubles against the Romans, deuised sundrie good ordinances for the quiet state of the Scottish common-wealth, causing the peace to be diligentlie obserued betwixt him and the Brits. Also in his daies the persecution of the christians chanced, which the emperor Dioclesian commanded to be executed in most furious wise, so that there were few partes of the world (where anie christians were knowen to inhabit) that tasted not of that his cruell ordinance and scourge in that behalfe. In Britaine also, as well as in other places, there was no small quantitie of innocent blood shed, with most vnnmercifull murder committed, to the great triumph of Christs crosse, that glorious ensigne of our religion.

In which time Constantius Chlorus father to Constantine the great, was resident in Britaine, who adiudging the Scots to be a people wholie giuen to pillage and slaughter, as they were in deed, determined with himselfe to haue brought them to subiection. But per he could atchiue any notable enterprise, he died, leauing behind him the same of a right gentle and wortheie prince, sauing that in one point he fore stained his honor, for that he was one of the chiefe that persecuted the christian flocke vnder Dioclesian, forcing no small number of the faithfull amongst the Britains, to flee vnto the Scots and Brits to auoid his persecution. Whome Crathlint receiued for his part most louinglie, and assigned vnto them (as the Scots say) the Ile of Man for a place of habitation, destitute of all such temples of the heathens religion belonging to the Druides, which had continued there since the beginning; and utterly abolished all the superstitious rites and customs of the same Druides, with their whole order and brotherhood. He erected a temple there, which he dedicated vnto Iesus Christ our sauour, wherein the christians might celebrate their diuine seruice, according to their profession. This church being richlie indowed, was the first bishops see amongst the Scots, and thereupon was taken for the mother church of the realme. It is now called the church of saint Samour. Finallie Crathlint departed out of this life, after he had reigned 24 yeres, being much praised aswell for his politike gouernment, as for his great and earnest zeale which he bare toward the aduancement of the true christian religion.

Fincomarke that was his vnckles sonne, succeeded him in the kingdome, & was placed on the stone of marke, to the great reioicing of all the estates, who wished him a prosperous reigne, and long to continue therein. There liued in king Crathlints daies a noble christian called Amphibalus, a Britaine borne, who fleeing from the persecution then raised in his countrie, came vnto the same Crathlint, and by him was created the first bishop of saint Sauours church in Man: this Amphibalus did berie much good amongst the Scots and Britains in setting forth the word of life, and rooting out of their hearts all superstitious errors of blind gentilitie. There were other also of right famous memorie about the same time, that ceased not in preaching, and instructing the people in the right beliefe, as Apodorus, Priscus, Calanus, Ferranus, Ambianus, and Carnocus, called by an old ancient name in the Scottish tong Culdei, that is to vnderstand, Cultores Dei, or as you would say in English, the worshippers of God.

But now to the purpose touching Fincomarke, perchall vnderstand, that he began his reigne in the

yeere (as W. Harison saith) after the birth of our Sauour 325, after the creation of the world 4292, and from the first establishing of the Scottish kingdome 652, and in the 20 yeere of Constantine the emperor. It chanced that Otanius king of the Britains was vanquished by Traherus a Romane capteine, and forced for his refuge to flee vnto this Fincomarke then king of Scots, who receiued him as a friend. And furthermore though he were required by Traherus to deliuer him into his hands, as a traitor and a rebell vnto the Romane empire, yet Fincomarke refused so to do, choosing rather to susteine all Traherus his malice, and to haue warres with the Romane emperor, than to betray his friend who had put his life into his hands vpon an especiall trust of safegard.

Herewith Traherus being not a little moued, assembled his power, and entred into Westmerland, the which countrie had remained in the Scottish mens hands euer since Carantius deliuered it ouer vnto them. Fincomarke hearing that the Romans would thus make him wars, had likewise raised a puissant armie to resist them, so that he had at the least 60 thousand persons together in one armie, as 30 thousand of his owne countreiment, 20 thousand Brits, & ten thousand of such Britains as followed after Otanius. Fincomarke being thus furnished, hastied south to encounter with his enemies, before they should haue time to do any notable damage vnto his subiects, & so comming within sight of them, sent an herald vnto Traherus, to vnderstand the cause why he thus invaded his countrie, but receiuing fro him an vntoward answer, he brought forth his people into the field in order ready to giue battell, and so joining with the enimie, there was fought a right sore and cruell conflict, which continued for a time with vnnmercifull murder and slaughter on both parts.

Finallie, when the Romans were at a point to haue got the vpper hand, they were suddenlie put in such feare with the sight of a number of husbands men, who had got together their cattell and were diuising the same alwaie, that supposing they had bene some new succors comming to aid their enemies, they immediatlie fled vpon the same, leauing the vladie to their aduersaries: howbeit of the Scots side were slaine (as their chronicles report) fiftene thousand men, and on the Romane part about sixtene thousand. Traherus himselfe escaped vnto Forke, but hearing that Fincomarke and Otanius pursued after him, he forsooke that citie, and got him into places of more suertie, so that when the enimies came thither, the citizens yielded themselves, and receiued Otanius as their prince, offering from thenceforth to be vnder his rule and gouernement. The newes of these atchiued victories being buzzed throughout the realme, caused a great number of the nobles to come in vnto Otanius, who receiued them most thankfullie; & to conclude, wrought so by their support, that he was shortly after restored to the gouernance of the whole realme, and established therein according to his owne wish.

This done Fincomarke returned into his countrie, as well himselfe as other of his nobles and men of warre, being highlie rewarded for their paines and trauell sustained in that iourne. There was also promise made and confirmed by solemn oath, that the countrie of Westmerland, with such other parts as were assigned to his predecessour king Crathlint, by order of Carantius at the time of their joining together in league against the Romans, should for euer remaine vnto Fincomarke, & to his successors the Scottish kings, without anie claime or title to be made to the same by any of the

322. H.B.
490. H.B.
655. H.B.
Constantine H.B.
Otanius is vanquished, & fleeth into Scotland.

Traherus invadeth westmerland.

Fincomarke raiseth his power.

Fincomarke cometh in battell with Traherus.

The Romans flee.

The number is slaine.

Forke is yielded vnto Otanius.

Otanius obtaineth the rule of Britaine.

Westmerland assigned to the Scottishmen.

eight ancle ne part, and taking the order for the tred, that their arbitre was confir.

Peace confir. med againe betwixt the Scottishmen and Brits.
Constantine the derstanding had not one. ll, but also that countrie, mined with ing these ing his armie but hearing Forke, and ned his force dem, though attels, as the those of Ca d that night out with ma.

all the maner ing in campe, in the same great bzute, s he marched nus was in of the day he ing aduertised, maketh rea- he could for somuch as nus, all his s to see the bt- ened at the verte ned, withdrew striken, and s, to see what ne armie, se- fellows, and imie to enter y, but by rea- g them in on he Scots, and er of the Ro- uertaken and himselfe was ator an other. sed to fight in themselves bin- rne liege men nus appointed wixt twentie ith him in ho- ided amongst e Scottishmen yeld them well

The Romans are discoried.
The slaught- ter of the Romans.

The Brit- tains yield themselves vnto Carantius.

Carantius pro- claimed king meth him, blaspeth the kingdome of Britaine.

Carantius ob- taining got the victorie, diue- both the game in assigning his coferat their true poztions.

Constantine the derstanding had not one. ll, but also that countrie, mined with ing these ing his armie but hearing Forke, and ned his force dem, though attels, as the those of Ca d that night out with ma.

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Constantine the derstanding had not one. ll, but also that countrie, mined with ing these ing his armie but hearing Forke, and ned his force dem, though attels, as the those of Ca d that night out with ma.

A counsell
kept at York.

Otauius
counsell to
inlarge his
dominion.

The Brit-
tains invade
Westmerland.

Traherius
returneth
into Brittain.
Otauius is
banquished by
Traherius.

Traherius by
a conspiracie
is murdered.
Otauius is
reconciled
with Fin-
comarke.

Otauius
entrencheth
into
Brittain
with
the Pictish
king.

Otauius be-
cometh
tributarie
vnto the Ro-
man emperor.
17 of Constantine
emperor. H.B.
Fincomarke
deceased.
358. H.B.

Eugenius &
Ethodius
sons to Fin-
comarke.

Romacius,
Fethelmacus
and Angustianus
sons to
Ethodius
brethren pre-
tend a right
to the estate.

Britains: but this promise was not long kept, for shortly after that Otauius had once chased all the Romans south of the British confines, and that Traherius was fled over into France, there was a council called at York, where it was not onely ordeined, that from thenceforth there should neuer anie stranger be suffered to reigne ouer the Britains, but also that the bounds of the realme should be extended south beyond the wall made (as before is recited) by the emperor Adrian, euen vnto the old ancient bounds and limits, expelling south the inhabitants of forren nations.

Such an immoderate lust of inlarging his dominion inflamed the hart of Otauius, that neither regard of his oth, nor remembrance of benefits receiued, might staie him from seeking to wrong them, whose aid had restored him vnto his former estate and dignitie, as before we haue rehearsed. For hereupon there were ten thousand men of war sent into Westmerland, to the intent to conquer the same out of the Scottish mens hands: but being incoun-tered with a power of Scottishmen & Picts, they were sharpe repelled & quicklie put to flight. About the same time also, Traherius returned out of France with two legions of Romans and twentie thousand of other aids: and giuing battell vnto Otauius, he banquished his armie, and constrained him for his refuge to flee vnto the mouth of Humber, where he got certeine vessels, and sailed into Forwaite, there to saue his life, because that Scotland was now no sure refuge for him. Thus was Traherius againe in possession of Britaine as lieutenant to Constantine the emperor; but shortly after he was by certeine conspirators in fauour of Otauius murdered, and then Otauius returned againe: as in the English chronicle is mentioned more at large.

Immediatlie vpon his returne, he reconciled himselfe with Fincomarke the Scottish king, and was contented that he should quietlie inioy the countreies of Westmerland and Cumberland, with such other territories as Carantius had granted in former time vnto Crathlint. He likewise sent vnto the king of the Picts, and concluded a friendship with him, to the intent he might haue aid from him also, if it chanced the Romans estones to invade his countreie, as shortly after they did, not ceasing till they had so wearied him with continuall wars, that in the end to be at rest (as his age and other necessities then required) he deliuered into their hands certeine castles and fortresses, and also became tributarie to the emperor, on condition that he might vse the office and name of a king all the residue of his daies. These things being thus quieted in Albion, the Romans, Britains, Scottishmen and Picts, continued in friendlie peace without any notable trouble, till the ninth yeare of the reigne of Valentinian emperor of Rome: & first of Damasus the pope. In the which yeare Fincomarke king of Scots departed this life, after he had gouerned the estate aboue 47 yeeres. This was in the yeare of our redemption 172. His Fincomarke left behind him two sonnes, the one named Eugenius, being as then about 18 yeeres of age; the other hight Ethodius, and was yonger than his brother by one yeere, so that neither of them might succeed their father, by reason they were not of yeeres sufficient to rule, according to the ancient ordinance.

Whereupon a counsell was called in Argile, where there was hard hold betwixt the three nephues to king Crathlint, that were begotten by three of his brethren, which of them should gouerne the land: their names were Romacius, Fethelmacus, and Angustianus. Romacius had a Pictish ladie of the blood rofall of that nation to his mother, and for that his

father was eldest brother next vnto Crathlint, he looked to be preferred, though he himselfe was yonger in yeeres than either Fethelmacus or Angustianus. Fethelmacus gaue his consent with such voyces as he had vnto Angustianus, wherewith Romacius being not a little offended, sought meanes to haue destroyed them both: but his practise being discovered, caused manie to withdraue their good wills from him, whereby his aduersaries were the more encouraged: and thereupon the counsell brake vp, either part deuising how to strengthen themselves against the others practises. But forsomuch as Angustianus vsed plaine meanes without any fraudulent dealing, he got the more friends, so that Romacius was constrained in the end to require aid of the king of Picts, who being nere of kin to him, might not denie his request. Angustianus therefore vnderstanding that danger he was in, if he fell into his aduersaries hands, got together an armie of such as fauoured his cause, and incountring with him in battell was put flight, and forced to flee into the westerne Isles with his coufine Fethelmacus, where remaining for a while, at length he was aduertised that the inhabitants had conspired against him, for doubt thereof he got him ouer into Ireland.

Angustianus being thus chased out of the realme, Romacius was receiued by the most part of the nobles and commons for their king. But as the accustomed manner of tyrants, committing thus to the gouernement of a realme through euill meanes, is to rule with crueltie, so did he behaue himselfe, according to that semblable rate, so lone as he thought himselfe to be sure of the estate. Wherfore such as had bozne any euill will to Fincomarke, and were out of fauor in his daies, those did Romacius call vnto him, and afterwarde vsed their counsell about all other mens, aduancing them also to most high rule and rich offices. Again, those which had bene in fauor with Fincomarke, or bare any affection toward his issue, he sought courtlie to bereaue them both of life, lands and goods, so that by such his doings, there was gathered no light suspicion, that he would likewise ver long find meanes to dispatch Ethodius and Eugenius the sons of the same Fincomarke, thereby to be the more assured of the crowne & kingdome it selfe. The two children also fearing as much on their owne behalfe, by the aduise and helpe of their trustie friends, conuicted themselves into Westmerland, and after ouer into the Ile of Man, where they remained looking for a date.

Then began banishments, confiscations of goods, and slaughter of such as were thought to be fauourers of Angustianus cause, without respect either of sex or age, till the nobles of the realme being not a little moued with such his cruell doings, and tyrannicall gouernment, conspired together by secret meanes how to deliuer their countreie of so pernicious a tyrant. And to bring this their purpose the more speedilie to passe, they wrought so closelie, that they had assembled a great armie, and were come with the same within ten miles of the place where he then laie, yet he had any vnderstanding of their enterprise, so that whereas he (being vnprovided of resistance) assailed by slight towards Pictland to haue escaped their hands, it preuailed him nothing, for he was taken by the waie, and receiued such end as his former passed life had verie well deserued, in the fourth yeere of his reigne: his head was set vpon the end of a pole, and carried about to be shewed vnto the people to their great reioicing. There were slain at the same time beside him, diuers Scots & Picts, of counsell with him in all his cruell practises.

After which execution done, they sent for Angustianus, who returned into Scotland, & was proclaimed king,

Romacius
looketh vnto
to restore
cousins.

Eugenius
was by
desiring
chastitie
more
ship.

Romacius
banquished
Angustianus.

Romacius
Romacius
receiued by
king.

Romacius
gouerneth
tyrannicall.

Eugenius
&
Ethodius
the sonnes of
Fincomarke
are conuicted
into the Ile
of Man.

The Scottish
lords conspire
against Ro-
macius.

Romacius
apprehended
and put to
death.

Eugenius
proclaimed
king.

king, as well by the commons. Abtaius had slain the sonne of Constantius the rebels, countreing in battell. And within thre Britains, through being constrained he left a sonne who doubting to be fled into the Ile of Ierne peres vnkidus, the sonnes of persisting in their fed in battell by ted, till he had by tication.

While these tro- gulfianus B. of tanus king of uenge the death sundrie robes & and greatlie in gods, murderin of towne with his power incre men, which had v preased so for v medie but to tri field; for no ite anie agreement made humble f. Wherfore perce prepared an arm where (after fore rie remained w his Picts were c by flight.

Pedatus hin to Camelon, wh to haue their ad uenged of the in of he was most danger he brow somewhat ease had thus concei. Neither wante that assemblie, twin fauour of earnest wise th say to the cont sped an armie the Scottish boz sent of his nobl sed men of wa ties of his dom that might be g he staied not l entred into Ba all afore him a

Angustianus ting least the mans should destruction of the anie friendlie fall vnto some warres to ind estates, in put to the hands of and the Britai to Pedatus a such dangers a this warre th

king, as well by consent of the lords, as fauour of the commons. About the same time, because the Britains had slaine the Romane lieutenant, the emperor Constantius sent one Maximus thither to chastise the rebels, with whom the same Maximus in countering in battell, gaue them a great overthrow. And within three daies after Maximus king of the Britains, through greife, age, and long sickness, being consumed to the last point, departed this life. He left a sonne behind him named also Maximus, who doubting to fall into the hands of the Romans, fled into the Ile of Man, and remained there certaine yeeres unknowne with Eugenius and Ethodius, the sonnes of Maximus. The Britains also persisting in their rebellion, were oftentimes discomfited in battell by Maximus, and soe by him persecuted, till he had brought them againe to their full subiection.

While these troubles continued in Britaine, Angustinus R. of Scots was soe disquieted by Pectanus king of Picts, who enforced himselfe to reuenge the death of his cousine Romacus, making sundrie rodes & forraies into the Scottis confines, and greatlie indamaged the countrie, by spoiling of goods, murthering of the inhabitants, and burning of townes with villages; and in the end hauing his power increased by the aid of certaine Scottis men, which had borne godd will vnto Romacus, he pleased soe fore vpon Angustinus, that he had no remedie but to trie the hazard of battell in a pitched field; for no friendlie persuasions to haue peace or any agreement could be heard, though Angustinus made humble sute to haue purchased the same. Wherefore perceiuing no hope of attonement, he prepared an armie, and met his ennemie in the field, where (after soe fight and much slaughter) the victorie remained with Angustinus and Pectanus with his Picts were chased and forced to saue themselves by flight.

Pectanus himselfe neuer rested till he came vnto Camelon, where he called a councell of his nobles to haue their aduise by what meanes he might be reuenged of the iniuries received by the Scots, where of he was most desirous, not regarding into what danger he brought his owne realme, so he might somewhat ease his rancour and displeasure, which he had thus conceived against his enemies the Scots. Neither wanted there diuers great personages in that assemblie, which (to content his mind and to win fauour of him) set forward the matter in such earnest wise that (notwithstanding what other could say to the contrarie) it was ordeined that with all speed an armie should be leuied, and led forth into the Scottis borders. Pectanus hauing thus the consent of his nobles to inuade the Scots anew, caused men of warre to be taken vp through all the parties of his dominion, and that of the choicest men that might be got; the which being once assembled, he staied not long but set forward with them, and entred into Balendar wood, spoiling and destruction all afoze him at his owne will and pleasure.

Angustinus vnderstanding his furie, and doubting least the Britains through setting on of the Romans should seeke to ioine with the Picts, to the destruction of the Scots, thought good to assaie if by any friendlie meanes he might bring Pectanus to fall vnto some reasonable point, rather than by the warres to indanger both the Pictis and Scottis estates, in putting the same in aduenture to fall into the hands of their ancient enemies the Romans and the Britains. Wherevpon therefore he wrote vnto Pectanus a gentle letter, declaring therein all such dangers and inconueniences as might insue by this warre thus by him attempted. And againe,

how necessarie it were for both the nations to haue peace together as then, considering how it was not to be thought that Maximus the Romane legat (hauing now all the Britains at his commandement) would rest (if occasion were offered) till that he had fullie subdued both the Scots and Picts: for the auoiding of which perill he offered for his part, to accept any reasonable conditions of peace, that should by him be prescribed.

But Pectanus in no wise would giue care to any treatie of peace, so that Angustinus being forced to giue battell for defense of his subiects, brought his people into the field, and exhorted them to plaie the men with sundrie comfortable words, he placed them in order of battell. On the other part Pectanus likewise encouraged his folkes to doe valiantlie, so that the archers on both sides stepped forward, letting their arrowes flie frelie one at another, vntill at length coming to handblowes they strooke on frethlie, beating downe and killing without sparing on either side, so that a good space the victorie was doubtfull. At length Angustinus perceiuing his people to be put to the worst, rushed forth into the thicket of the prease amongst his enemies, where he was quicklie espied, oppressed with prease, and slaine out of hand. The most part of his people mistaking him, & not vnderstanding what was become of him, supposed that he had bene fled, and therefore fell also to running away; but the residue that stood still at their defense were slaine downe right. Thus the victorie remained with the Picts, but neither part had any cause to reioisse, for the captiues on both sides were slaine, besides manie thousands of other; so that aswell the one nation as the other departed from the place right penfise and sorrowfull, giuing manie a soe curse vnto such as had bene the procurers and nourishers of such detestable hatred betwixt those two nations, which had so long a time bene contained in the faithfull band of amitie, to the great quiet and wealth of both the countries. After this bloodie battell, aswell the Scots as Picts sat still for a season, not attempting any enterprise of importance the one against the other.

Angustinus reigned not past two yeares before he was slaine thus in the field, as before ye haue heard, in whose place succeeded his cousine Fethelmacus with little better successe: for in the second yeare of his reigne, desirous to be reuenged of the Picts, he assembled an armie, and entring into Angus, began to spoile & slea downe right all that was before him, without regard to impotent, aged, tender infants, or other. The Picts also being kindled herewith, gathered their power together, and countering with the Scots, there was a soe battell fought betwixt them; but the Scots first putting the wings of their enemies host to flight, at length discomfited their maine battell also, being left naked on both sides of all aid or succour, great slaughter was made in the chase of the Picts as they fled hither and thither to saue themselves. So that among other, their king named Pectanus, brother to the aboue remembred Pectanus, being wounded with an arrow, died within three daies after this cruell conflict was ended. The courage of the Scots now being aduanced with this their prosperous successe, they passed forthwith ouer the riuer of Tate, to rob, harrie, and spoile the countrie of Fife.

The Picts, perceiuing themselves not to be strong enough to match with their enemies in plaine field at hand-strokes, determined yet with skirmishes and light incounterings (if it were possible) to keepe them off from the winning of any of their fenced townes, castles or strong holdes. And to be the more able to maintaine themselves in this their purposed

Pectanus refused all offers of peace.

Angustinus and Pectanus joine in battell with their armies.

Angustinus is slaine.

The Scots are discomfited.

Pectanus is also slaine.

Fethelmacus.

The Scots discomfited the Picts.

In other Pectanus king of the Picts dieth of hurts received in the fight with the Scots.

G. y. inten.

Heirgust is
chosen king
of the Picts.

Heirgust
pretended
treason.

Fethelmacus
is murdered
in his bed.

In the fift
yeare of the
emperour
Constantius.

360. H.B.

Saint Keule
commeth into
Fife, then a
part of Pict-
land, and now
of Scotland.

The Scots
send into the
Ales of Hydan,
for Fincomarke
his sonnes.

Eugenius.

Eugenius is
inuested king.

The practice
of Sparimus
to destroy the
Scots.

intention, they did choose on Heirgust to their king, a man of subtil nature and craftie imagination. This Heirgust deuising how to deliuer his countrie of such an intollerable enimie as Fethelmacus was, procured two sic fellows Pias by nation, to counterfeit themselves for Scots, and for that they were cunning thowters of the dart, in which kind of exercise the same Fethelmacus took great pleasure, they were appointed to make sure to be in seruice with him, to the intent that when they might espie their time, they should slea him, by one kind of meane or other.

They (according as they were instructed, comming into Scotland) found meanes not onelie to haue place in the kings house, but also to corrupt one of his musicians an harper, and to bring him to be of counsell with them in this their wicked purpose. By reason thereof, in one night as he laie at Carrike, where he was busie to make his prouision there for the warres against the Pias, the same musician (having plaied in the kings bed-chamber till he had brought him asleepe) did let in those two Piasish traitors, who forthwith slea him euen as he laie so sleeping: but the king growning grieuoullie at the deadlie stroke, some of them that watched before the chamber doze perceiving what was happened, folloved after the murderers, who fled with all speed vnto the next mounteins, where they sought to defend themselves with hurling downe stones, vpon them that came by towards them: but in the end, being taken, and confessing the deed, with the whole manner of the same, they were drawn in peeces with wild horses: the musician also being apprehended and convict of the treason, suffered semblable the like kind of death. Fethelmacus came to his end in the third yeare of his reigne, being the second yeare after the death of the emperour Valentinian.

In this season (as in times past hath bene beleued) certeine bones of the apostle saint Andrew were brought forth of Achata, a prouince in Crete, into Scotland by a Crækish monke named Regulus Albus, commonlie called S. Keule, a man in those daies highlie esteemed, for the opinion which the world had conceiued of him for his holie and vertuous life, to whome king Heirgust gaue his palace that stood in that part of Fife, where the same Regulus first landed; at whose contemplation also, he erected a church in old time called Kirkruill, that is, the church of S. Keule, afterwards named the old church of S. Andrew, standing in the abbie churchyard, where the charons were wont to be buried. But to leaue this matter to the further report and credit of the Scottish chronicles, we will proceed with our purpose. After the death of Fethelmacus, the nobles and commons of the Scottish nation sent into the Ile of Man for Eugenius the sonne of king Fincomarke, where he with his brother Ethodius had remained, during the daies of the thre last re-membred kings, Romacus, Angusianus, and Fethelmacus.

This Eugenius at his comming into Albanie was inuested king of the Scots by common consent of all the nation. About the same season, Sparimus the Romane lieutenant in Britaine, vnderstanding of the late dissention betwixt the Scottishmen and Pias, deuised which waies he might best subdue both those nations, thereby not onelie to enlarge the bounds of the Romane empire, and to deliuer the Britains from inuasions of those so cruell enimies, but also to haue the south part of the Ile more obedient and loiall vnto the same empire than heretofore it had bene. He thought good therefore in the beginning to assaie if he might ioine in friendship with the one of the nations, till he had destroyed

ed the other: for he considered it would be an hard peece of worke to haue to doe with them both at one instant. Wherevpon directing his letters vnto Heirgust king of the Pias, he required to renew the old league with him and his people, promising to aid him against the Scots, common enimies not onelie to the Piasish nation, but also to all such people as loued rest and quietnesse, as might easilie be perceived by their continuall practise and vltage, euer seeking to disturbe their neighbors with robes & forraies, so that it stood with a generall commonwealth to haue them vtterlie destroyed and extirped.

Heirgust right iollfull of these newes, gaue hartie thanks vnto almighty God, that had moued the Romane lieutenant to make such offer vnto him, whereby the furious rage of the Scots might be once repressed, and put away from his people; & therefore willing to confirme a friendship with the same lieutenant, he promised to renew the league betwixt the Romans and Pias, vpon anie reasonable conditions which he should deuise, not onelie requiring an aid at this time against the said Scots, but also at all other, as occasion should demand. Sparimus hauing receiued this answer, he found meanes also to come to a communication with Heirgust nere to Forke, where the league was confirmed betwixt them, and therein the Scots not onelie adiudged for common enimies, both to the Romans and Britains, but also to the Pias. And further therewith were certeine orders appointed how the war should be pursued with all expedition against them. These things thus finished, and both the princes returned to their homes, Sparimus sent an herald vnto Eugenius the Scottish king, commanding him on the behalfe of the Romane empire, to make restitution for all wrongs and iniuries done vnto the Piasish nation. And further, to deliuer into the hands of Heirgust the R. of the Pias, the authors of the same wrongs and iniuries to be punished at his discretion, or if he would refuse thus to doe, that then he should looke to haue the emperour and the Romane people enimies vnto him and all his nation.

Eugenius for answer herevnto, declared that since he entred into the government of the Scottish estate, he had done nothing that might be thought prejudiciall either to the Romans or to the Britains their subiects: and as for the Pias, he would be glad to haue peace with them, if there might be amends made for all displeasures done on either part, according as should be thought to stand with equitie and reason. Neither did he see what cause the Romans should haue to make warres for the Pias against those that had done them no displeasure: but if it were so that he must needs haue wars, he would doe what in him lay to defend the libertie of the Scottish nation, trusting chiefly in the succours of almighty God, who used to fauour the cause of the iust and innocent, against such as sought to wrong them vpon feined quarrels, without occasion giuen. Sparimus receiuing this answer from Eugenius, assembled with all speed a strong & mightie armie of Romans, Britains, and Frenchmen, with the which entring into Westmerland, he spoiled that countrie most miserable, taking diuers castles and strong holds by force, the which he furnished with garrisons of his people, and then passing into Anandale, burned and harried the same; from thence he entred into Galloway, omitting no kind of tyrannie that might be shewed against the inhabitants, so that the feare was great throughout all the countrie: for of manie yeares before, so great an armie had not bene seene in those parties.

Eugenius notwithstanding, gathering his power together, determined to trie the fortune of battell, and

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with his
armies, and
to overcome.

The Romans
destroying too
the Pias, re-
ceiued damage.

Eugenius
brought by
his armie.

Rebellion in
Brit.

The Scots
indamage the
Pias.

Sparimus
is feared
guide.

Sparimus
allures in-
uadeth the
Scots.

Eugenius
prepareth an
armie to de-
fend his coun-
trie.

Women fled
to the warres.

The number
of the Scottish
armie.

The approach
of Sparimus
warres the
Scots.

Eugenius
gathering his
armie.

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and joining with his enemies nere unto the wa-
ter of Cree, his people were quicklie put to flight,
and chased, by reason that they were much inferior
in number. But the Romans pursuing the chase,
happened to light amongst them of Argile, which
had not bene at the battell, but were comming to-
wards it, and now fiercelie incountring with such
as pursued their friends, they caused them to retire
backe with some losse, wher upon the other Scots al-
so (which were chased) returned, & gaue a fresh onset,
so that if night had not come on the soner, there had
bene a far greater multitude of the Romans slaine
in that bickering than they themselves did thinke
of. Whereupon the Romans, doubting what their en-
emies intended to do, they fortified their campe that
night verie stronglie; but Eugenius understanding
what a multitude of his folks were slaine in the bat-
tell, so that the verie streame of the water of Cree
was stopped up with dead carcasses, he thought best
(with the aduise of the peres) to licence his people to
depart to their homes, and not to fight with his
enemies any more for that time.

Which being done, he himselfe repaired the same
night unto Carrick, where he remained for a sea-
son, making provision for defense of his realme the
best he could devise. Sparinus hauing knowledge
in the morning how the Scots were quite gone
their waies, he determined to haue followed them;
but being certified of a rebellion amongst the
Britains in Kent, he changed his purpose, and re-
turned thitherwards, to appease that tumult, leauing
in Galloway a good part of his armie to keepe such
holds as he had got in that voiage. The yeare fol-
lowing, Sparinus was so buied in the south parts
of Britaine, that he could not attend vnto the
waies against the Scots, otherwise than in main-
teining such garrisons as he had placed in their
countries, by reason whereof sundrie bickerings
happened betwixt them of the same garrisons and
the Scots, who laboured not onelie to deliuer their
owne countrie out of the hands of all forrainers, but
also to invade and destroie Pictland, so that they har-
ried the countrie of Fife, with part of Penteth and
Sterling shire, burning & waisting townes, castels,
and houses most cruelle.

Whereof Sparinus being certified, made sem-
blance as though he were sore grieved therewith,
but inwardlie he could haue reioiced at nothing
more than to heare of the injuries don by the Scots
vnto the Picts, supposing it to make chiefe for his
purpose; and hereupon preparing an armie against
the next summer, when he had disposed all things in
a quiet order amongst the Britains, he set forward
with the same towards Galloway, where being ar-
riued, there was no kind of crueltie spared against
the poore inhabitants. Eugenius in the meane time
vnderstanding the comming of his enemies, mu-
stered his people, and appointed the assemble to be
made in the countrie of Aile, which way he heard
that his enemies would trauell. Thither came also
not onlie all the able men of the Scottish dominions,
but likewise a great number of lustie & strong wo-
men apt to beare armour according to the old ac-
customed guise of their nation, so that there were
numbered in this armie fiftie thousand persons right
fierce and hardie, desirous either to banquish the
enemie with dint of sword, or else to die presentlie in
the place.

Sparinus hearing that the Scots were thus in-
camped in Aile, marched towards them, and lod-
ged the same night not far off from the river of
Gunda, where knowledge was giuen vnto Euge-
nius, that Sparinus was come within fene miles of
him, with a greater armie than he had at his last in-

countreing with him in Galloway. These aduertise-
ments caused no small feare to be raised in the campe,
some being striken with present feare; where other
contrariwise moued with high indignation, desired
nothing so much as to come in battell with the Ro-
mans, whose cruell tyrannie they much detested.
Eugenius himselfe shewed no countenance of feare
at all, but encouraging his people with comfortable
words, he brought them straight in order of battell,
divided into three wards, committing one of them
to the leading of his brother Ethodius, the second
to Doctus the gouernour of Argile, & reseruing the
third to himselfe. This done, he made vnto them a
pithie oration, declaring how necessarie it was for
them to plaie the men, considering that in victorie
consisted the onelie hope of libertie; and in being
banquished, their countrie was endangered to be
brought into perpetuall bondage for euer, for the
onelie marke which the Romans shot at, was to op-
presse the libertie of the whole Iland, and to reduce
the same into the forme of a prouince, to be gouer-
ned at the will of the victors, to the breach of all
their old ancient lawes & long continued customs.

With these and manie other like reasons he went
about to encourage the minds of his subjects, in such
wise, that in manner the most part of them determi-
ned rather to die with honor, than to liue in such mi-
serie as they feared would insue, if the victorie should
rest vpon the Romans side. And as they were in
such talke together, suddenlie commeth in one of
their scouts with newes, that Sparinus with his ar-
mie was euen at hand. This was in the morning,
anon after the sunne was vp, where he was not lo-
ked for till the evening following, insomuch that the
same his sudden arrivall, chancing so farre contra-
rie to their former expectations, troubled all their
heads, and brought them into a great maze, for that
hereby they were constrained to change the order of
their battels to haue the sunne on their backs, as
they had provided at the first it should haue bene, if
the enemies had not come untill the after none. Yet
notwithstanding, they had no soner changed their
place, and gotten themselves into arrate of battell
again, but that with great violence they pressed
forward to giue the onset vpon the Romans. Which
Sparinus perceiving, made all the speed he could to
set his men in order of battell, that he might receiue
his enemies comming thus to incounter him. So
both sides being fullie bent to battell, and approached
within danger of shot, they let flie the same most e-
gerlie, albeit that through halting forth to ioine at
hand strokes, there was litle hurt done with bowes
or darts.

The Scots crying vpon the name of their wo-
thie and famous ancestor king Cald, did laie about
them, most fiercelie, after they came once to the jo-
ining; and likewise the Romans, being encouraged
with the cherefull words of the lieutenant Spari-
nus, boldlie incountered them, so that it was doub-
full at the first whether part should haue the worse
end of the strife. But shortly there followed variable
successe, for on the one part, they of Rolfe and Spari-
nus, being appointed vnder Ethodius to incounter that
wing of the enemies where the Picts were, fought
so egerlie and with such fierce wils, that they easilie
put the Picts vnto flight, beating downe a great
number of them as they would haue passed the wa-
ter of Dune, but straightwaies after falling to the
spoile, they were slaine downe right by a legion of
such Romans as were sent by Sparinus vnto the
succours of the Picts.

On the other side, in the left wing those of Argile,
Cantire, Aile, and Coningham, who were matched
with the Britains, Frenchmen, and Germans, after
C.ij. long

Eugenius
comforteth
his people.

The sudden
arrivall of
Sparinus.

The Scots
giue the onset.

The battels
joine.

Doubtfull
fight.

Ethodius
northerly
the Picts.

The Scots
having ban-
quished the
Picts, are
slaine by the
Romans.

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The Scottish
battell is ouer-
throwne.

Eugenius is
slaine.

The furious
rage of the
Scottish
carrers.

The spoile di-
uided amongst
the soldiers.

The buriall of
the dead bo-
dies by ap-
pointment of
Marinus.

Ethobius fore
wounded, is
committed to
the cure of
surgeons.

long and cruell fight were there slaine in the place, greatlie to their shame and glorie for ever, so that by this meane the maine battell of the Scottishmen, wherein Eugenius himselfe stood amongst his people, was left bare & naked on both the sides. Which Marinius perceiuing, he caused the same to be assailed on each part with such violence, that in the end longer resistance preuailed not, but that their maine battell must needs be opened perforce, by meane whereof Eugenius chosing rather to die in the place, than either to save his life by flight, or by rendering himselfe into his enemies hands to live in miserie, as was there slaine, together with a great number of his nobles and gentlemen, hauing determined by the example of their maister to die rather speedilie with honor, than longer to live with shame and reproch. Thus Eugenius lost his life with his kingdom, in the third yere after his first entering to the rule, hauing intoted few good daies in rest during the said time.

Such of the Scots also as were appointed to keepe the cartage and trusse of the field, seeing their lordes and maisters thus slaine, rushed forth with such weapons as they had at hand, in purpose to slaue some number of their enemies, not passing though it should cost them also their owne liues, so that they might die reuenged. The slaughter was great which at the first was made, more through an obdurate desire of reuenge, than by any valiant activitie: but this companie being anon broken in sunder, and driven backe, they were finally slaine & beaten downe. Whereouer the Romans that pursued in chase after their enemies, when the battell was done, encountered with great numbers of such women and aged persons as followed a farre off, to vnderstand the successe of the field, doubting what hap might fall to their children and kinfolks, whose slaughter when they perceived, like people enraged they slue vpon such Romans as they met with; but being easily vanquished, and refusing to flee, they were also slaine and cut in peeces in a most miserable manner.

The Romans hauing thus rid the fields of all kind of enemies, lodged that night abroad here and there at their pleasure, where they might heare the dolefull gronings, and lamentable complaints of them that lay wounded, and as yet not dead, cursing most bitterlie the cruell tyrannie and conetous ambition of the Romans, with that most detestable disloyaltie of the Picts, procuring this murder and destruction of those people that had deserued farre otherwise at their hands. When the morning was come, & the light appeared, Marinius the lieutenant caused the spoile of the dead bodie to be gathered, & equally diuided amongst his men of warre. And such as were found sore wounded and not dead, to shew some token of clemencie, according to the old accustomed manner of the ancient Romans, he commanded surgeons to see to the cure of them. The other being dead, he suffered to be buried, causing the corps of Eugenius himselfe to be interred in most solemne and pompous sort, after the vsage of the Roman princes.

His brother Ethobius being found mangled in most pitifull wise, and in manner halfe dead, was also taken by by commandment of the same Marinius, and surgeons charged to haue the ordering of him, and to shew their diligence for the cure of his hurts in most speedie and gentle wise. The victorie thus achieved, Marinius surueteth the countries of Hile, Carrike, and Coningham, with that also of Calidone, and seizeth the same into his hands, suffering the inhabitants to inioy both goods and lands in peace and quietnesse vpon their othes of allegiance, without any further molestation. Heirgust

king of the Picts with other the nobles of that nation, were nothing contented therewith, desirous to see the utter destruction of all the Scottish race. Wherevnto Marinius at the first would not agree, alledging the ancient custome of the Romans, who sought rather to vanquish by benefites, than by the sword, euer vsing to spare such as submitted themselves, and in no wise to spot the honour of maiestie of their empire with crueltie.

But the Picts not satisfied herewith, went about earnestlie to persuaide him in no condition to suffer the Scots to haue any abiding within the confines of Britaine, if he wished any quietnes in the estate thereof, for their delight (said the Picts) was onelie set to seeke occasion how to disturbe the peace, to lue by the pillage and spoile of their neighbours, and namely of the Picts, vnto whose confusion (as the prophetes spake) they were begotten and borne. Finally when all their earnest sute missed the wished effect, they fell to and assaied if they might bring that to passe by wicked meed and thorough corrupting bribes, the which they could not do by other meanes. And euen as it oftentimes chanceth in such cases, where words are but spent in wast, gifts yet preuaile: so also came it to passe euen here, for at length a proclamation came forth by procurement of the Picts, that all such as were naturall Scottishmen, should by a certaine date auoid out of those countries that they possessed in Brittain, vpon paine of losing life and goods, & to deliuer by their houses and lands vnto such Britains and Picts as were appointed by the Romans for to inioy the same.

The Scots perceiuing themselves not able to make any resistance, obeyed this commandment, some of them passing ouer into Ireland, some into the westerne Isles, and some of them got ouer also into Norwaie, and Denmarke, and manie there were that got intertainment amongst the Roman soldiers, and went ouer with them into France, as yet Gallia, to serue in the warres there, and in other places vnder the emperors ensignes. The Picts were so cruell and diligent to see all the Scottish lineage confined, that they would not consent that a certaine number of gentlewomen should remaine behind, who had their husbands slaine in the last warres, and made intercession in most lamentable wise vnto Marinius, that they might be permitted to abide in their native countrie all the residue of their liues, though in seruite estate, to the end that they might be buried after the same were once ended in granes with their slaine husbands.

Whereouer, where Cartandis queene of the Scots, late wife vnto Eugenius, was brought vnto Marinius, with two gentlewomen and a grome from the toome of hir husband, where she had remained euer sith his burfall in continuall mourning, for so much as she was a Brittain, and descended by lineage from the princes of Wales; Marinius lamenting hir miserable case, assigned the citie of Carrike vnto hir, with certaine other reuenues for the maintenance of hir estate. But after she had taken leaue of such as had the conduction of hir, and was come into a village not farre from Carrike aforesaid, it chanced that a sort of Pictish riders, or (as I may call them) robbers, met with hir, small to hir profit, and lesse to their owne case, for they did not onelie flea hir grome, but also beat hir gentlewomen, and stripped both them and hir of all that they had, whereof Marinius being informed, caused them that had done so vile a deed to be apprehended & executed by death, according as they had deserued. The queene herselfe being brought backe vnto Marinius, and honorable intreated, had all hir substance restored vnto hir againe, so nere as it was possible.

Marinius
offended with
the Picts.

Cartandis
lamenteth hir
infortunate
state.

Where
the Scots
faile, gifts
preuaile.

The
proclamation
made by
the Picts
to drive
the Scots
out of
Brittain.

The Scots
plague
their
crueltie.

The
monastic
house
of
Jona
burned
by
the
Scottish
monks.

The
cruell
dealing
of
the
Picts.

Cartandis
queene
of
Scots.

The
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were
thus
confined.
1147. H.B.
1179. H.B.
The
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cata, H.B.
Strange
visions.
Swords
and
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It
raineth
birds.

Ethobius
con-
fined
into
Denmarke.

But the
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But the Picts being offended herewith, and spe-
ciallie for putting to death of their men, fundrie of
their nobilitie came vnto Maximus, and began to
make a sore complaint in that behalfe, declaring
that the deserts of their nation had not bene such to-
ward the Romane empire, as to haue their people
put to execution for a womans sake, being both an
emie and a prisoner, therefore they required that
he might be confined into Britaine, and according
to the tenor of the proscription, spoiled of all his
goods. Here Cartandis being present his selfe, be-
gan to make pitifull lamentation, bewailing his
most unhappie state, in that contrarie to the order of
his wretched case and present miserable fortune, he
should now be forced to turne againe into his coun-
trie: wishing rather than he should be enforced so
to do, that he might offer by his life as a sacrifice
in the place of his husbands buriall: and therefore
holding by his hands vnto Maximus in most pitifull
wise, he besought him instantlie, that it might
please him, either to suffer him to passe the residue
of his life after such sort as he thought best agreed with
his widowlike estate, or else to take the same from
him presentlie by some violent meanes of execution.

There was not a man other than the Picts, that
saw and heard him at that instant, but lamented his
wofull distresse, so that in the end the request of the
Picts was disallowed, & Cartandis hauing lining
assigned him for the maintenance of his degree, was
licensed to depart into what place he thought expe-
dient, there to live as he thought best without let or
disturbance. The same time the Scottish bishops and
priests, being banished as well as the other sort of
the Scottish people, a number of their monks got
them into the Ile of Iona, now called Colmekill,
where they erected a monastirie for their owne habi-
tation, the worthinesse whereof hath bene right fa-
mous, euen vnto these our daies, as that which was
afterward indowed with manie faire reuenues by
diners of the Scottish kings, who had their burials
there after the returne of the Scots into Albanie as
shall be hereafter exprest.

The yere in the which the Scottishmen were thus
vanquished by the Romans and Picts, and finalie
confined out of their seats, was from the creation
of the world 4319, after the birth of our sauiour 352,
from the beginning of the Scottish kingdome 679,
and the third yere of Magnentius. The same yere
before Eugenius gaue battell vnto Maximus, ma-
nie strange sights were seene in the furthest part of
Albion, striking a wonderfull dread in manie mens
hearts. In the night season in the aire were seene
fierie swords and other weapons mouing in a long
ranke, after comming together on a heape, and be-
ing changed into an huge flame as it had been a fire-
brand, it then vanished awaie. The waters of the
riuer of Dune ran with blood, the banks of the same
riuer flashed oft times as they had bene all on a fire.
There were seene also a number of small birds fall
out of the aire so thicke, that it seemed it had rained
birds, and incontinencie came a great number of
rauens that denoured by the same.

Certaine witches and soothsayers, declaring that
these things betokened the destruction of the Sco-
tish kingdome, were commanded by the priests to
hold their peace on paine of death, as they that told
nothing but lies & fables, though afterwards their
tales proued most true. But to returne to our hi-
storie, Ethobius the brother of Eugenius being cur-
red (as is said) by commandement of Maximus,
was yet banished amongst the residue, and constrain-
ed to take an oth, that he should immediatlie re-
paire into Denmarke, and hereafter not to approch
nearer vnto the coasts of Albion, for doubt of some

new attempt that might be made by the Scots tho-
rough his meanes, thereby to returne into their
countrie againe, & to recover their former state. But
this failed not them of the western Isles, but that
assembling themselves together, and choosing one
Gillo to their capitaine, they passed ouer into Argile,
where in the end they were encountered by such Picts
as were set there to defend that countrie, and slaine
each others some. Their vessels were also taken
and brought into sundrie haueis of the countrie, to
serue for defense of the coasts vpon any new enter-
prise which the Scots should chance to make: but the
other Scots, perceiving they were not able to fur-
nish forth a new armie in the Isles by any aid they
might purchase there, sailed ouer into Ireland, where
presenting themselves vnto the king of that region,
they declared vnto him from point to point all their
infortunate chances and lamentable calamities,
which were happened vnto them of late through the
tyrannicall puissance of the Romans, and malicious
enmie of the Picts, in such sort as nothing could be
more miserable than their present estate, considering
the ruine of so mightie a kingdome, and the small
banishment of the inhabitants from their houses
and lands, which had bene in possession of them and
their elders, by the space almost of seuen hundred
yeres.

The Irish king with his nobles moued with pitie
to heare and vnderstand so dolefull calamities to
haue chanced vnto that nation, whose good or bad hap
could not but touch them verie nere, considering
they were descended both of one progenie, comforted
these Scottishmen to the best of their power, and in
the end concluded to aid them with ten thousand
men, and to furnish them forth with ships, vittels,
and munitions to passe into Albanie for recovery
of their countrie. This aid being put in a readines,
and the ships rigged and decked as was requisite
for such an enterprize, they took the sea, and landing
in Cantire, chanced to meet with Herodoriane bro-
ther to Petricus king of the Picts, accompanied
with a great number of Picts and Britains assem-
bled to defend the countrie, but being charpelle af-
flicted of the Scots and Irishmen, they were quicklie
put to flight, & such as were overtaken died on the
sword, so the great terror of all the new inhabitants
that were planted on their parts.

This victorie thus atchieued, there were that gaue
counsell not to attempt fortune ouer farre, but to
take such booties of goods and prisoners as they had
got in the countrie, and to returne therewith into
Ireland. Other were of a contrarie opinion, suppo-
sing it best to follow the victorie, and either to reco-
uer againe their ancient seats, or else to vie in the
valiant attempt thereof. Which aduise was follo-
wed as the best, though it proued otherwise: for be-
fore they could come to any conclusion of that enter-
prise, the Romans, Picts, and Britains gathered
themselves together, and gaue battell againe to the
Scottish and Irish companie, wherein they ouer-
threw them, to their vtter ruine and destruction.

The newes of this infortunate encounter being
brought into Ireland, put the king and his nobles
there in such feare of the Romans, that they thought
it best with all speed to send ambassadors vnto Ma-
ximus to sue vnto him for peace. They that were sent
at the first were sore blamed and checked by Ma-
ximus, for that they had aided the Scottishmen in the
last inuasion made into Albion: but at length accep-
ting their excuse, he granted a peace vpon certaine
conditions, whereof the most principall article was,
that in no wise they should receiue aid, or succor any
enimie to the Romane empire. This Maximus, ha-
uing got a quiet peace on each side, vied all meanes
possible

Gillo chosen
captaine of the
banished
Scots in the
western Isles
comming into
Argile is bana-
quished by
the Picts.

The Scots
repaire into
Ireland.

The king of
Ireland with
his nobles
lament the
Scottishmens
case.
The Irish-
men conclude
to aid the
Scottishmen.

The Scots
and Irishmen
land in Can-
tire.
The Picts
in countrie
with the
Scots and
Irishmen and
are discor-
died.

The Scots
and Irishmen
are ouer-
throwne.

The king of
Ireland see-
keth for peace.
Maximus
granteth
peace to the
Irishmen.
Maximus
seeketh by his
banishments
libertie to
win the pro-
prie fauour.

possible how to procure the love of his souldiours and men of war, shewing himselfe not onelie gentle, courteous and meeke towards them, but also so liberal and free, that his bounteous gifts passed all understanding: insomuch that (as is reported by writers) he bestowed in one daie more hand as much in rewards, as the revenues of Britaine yielded to the empire in a whole yere.

Marinus is chosen emperor in Britaine.

Marinus ruled the estate of Britaine 17 yeres.

The emperor Gratian is slain by Marinus.

This franke liberalitie and courteous behavior he used not onelie towards the Romans, and his other men of warre, but also towards the Britains and Picts, conforming himselfe so nere unto their manners & fashions, that at his coming into Scotland, he laid abate his Romane apparell, and arrayed himselfe in garments after the Pictish guise. By this manner of meanes therefore he won him such love and favor, as well amongst his souldiours, as also amongst the Picts and Britains, that in the end by common consent they chose him for emperor, in the 383 yere after Christ, professing generally that they would owe onelie their obedience unto him as to their supreme gouernor. Where the Scottish chronicles somewhat varie from other writers, who affirme that Marinus was thus advanced to the imperiall dignitie, rather by constraint of his men of warre, than by any meanes which he of himselfe used to attaine unto the same. Where the said chronicles nevertheless shew, that it came chieflie to passe by his owne seeking, procuring certeine persons to worke for him as instruments to frame other to this his purposed intent. He held the dominion of the empire being thus preferred to the imperiall state, the space of five yeres, all the countries and people of Albion being at his commandement without contradiction: which had not chanced unto any one man before his time, since the Isle was first inhabited. At length desirous of more empire, he passed ouer into France with a great armie, in purpose to subdue all France and Italie, with such other countries as were obedient unto Gratian as then emperor of Rome. But how prosperously he sped in the beginning, and how at length he was slain at Aquila in Italie, ye shall find in the historie of England a great deale more at large.

By reason of such trouble in the estate of the Romane empire, Octavius the sonne of Octavius late king of the Britains, the which (as before is said) fled into the Isle of Man, & after departing from thence, got ouer into France, returned now into Britaine, and did so much there, that the Britains received him to their king: but shortly after he was constrained to agree with the Romane emperor Theodosius, so that the Britains should paie their wonted tribute, and liue under such lawes as by the emperor should be to them prescribed. In all other respects, Octavius should be reputed during his life for king. Immediately hereupon two lieutenants were sent from Theodosius, of whom the one named Martinus sojourned at London, and the other called Valentinian at York. And with all expedition they began to put the Romane lawes in practice, abolishing the old British lawes, to the great offense of manie that could not well brooke strange ordinances; & namelie the Picts repined sore therat, and used most an end their owne lawes and constitutions, greatlie to the contempt of the Romane estate. Whereof Valentinian, the one of the Romane lieutenants having knowledge, gaue straight commandement unto Helgust the Pictish king, that in no wise he should suffer the old lawes and rude ordinances of his countrie, to be used any longer amongst his subjects, vpon paine that might insue for disobedience shewed towards the maiestie of the Romane empire.

Helgust now perceluing into what shalldome

and miserie his countrie was brought, by meanes of the warres which he had procured against his neighbours the Scottishmen, as a man sore repenting his passed follie, and seeing no readie meane present how to reforme the same, being aged and sore broken with continuall sicknesse, he got himselfe secretlie into his priue chamber, where immediatlie he slue himselfe, to be rid of the sight of that present seruile state, into the which he saw both him and his whole countrie reduced. Whose death being once knowne, Valentinian commanded that the Picts should not chose any other from thenceforth to reigne as king ouer them, nor to obeye any other magistrates but onlie such as should be appointed to haue the gouernment of them, by commandement and commission of the Romane emperor. For it was agreed, as he acknowledged, by the tenor of the league, concluded betwixt Helgust and Marinus, that after the deceasse of the same Helgust, all his dominions should be gouerned by Romane officers in forme of a province. Howbeit the Picts nothing regarded the wordes of Valentinian, but by common agreement did chose one Durstus the second sonne of Helgust to be their king.

Whereupon Valentinian being informed of their doings, raised a power, and made such speed towards them, that he was gotten so nere unto the citie of Camelon, yet they had any knowledge of his approach, that Durstus with other of the nobles, being as then within the same, could not haue space to escape their waies, but being forthwith besieged within it, at length they were taken by force of assault, and the citie sacked, to the great enriching of the Romane armie, and utter vndoing of the poore inhabitants. Durstus with other the chieffest prisoners were first had unto London, & from thence conueied to Rome, there to haue iudgement by decre of the senat. The residue of the nobles that were taken there, suffered in the market place at Camelon. Thus was that tumult appeased, and the Picts commanded to paie yearly unto the emperors procurator the fourth part of all their revenues growing of their coine and cattell. Beside this tribute he charged them also with diuerse base seruices, as to labor in mettall mines, to dig stoncs forth of the quarries, and to make byckie to be sent into Britaine, or into other places whither it pleased him to command it.

The cause why he burdened them in such sort, was (as he said) to teach them to know themselves. For they were become so loslie, since the departure of the Scottishmen out of the Isle, that if they were not restrained in time by authoritie of the Romane puissance, the whole British nation were like to be shortly disquieted by their wilfull meanes and insolent presumptions. Neither was it thought sufficient vnto Valentinian, to charge the Picts in manner as is before specified; but to their further grauaunce he deuised an other waie, whereby to bring them in the end vnto bitter destruction, which was this: he constrained them together with their wiues, children, & whole families, to remoue beyond the water of Forth, and to leaue all the countries on this side the same water, as well those which they ancientlie had inhabited, as the other which of late appertained to the Scots, and were assigned to them by Marinus to possesse, after that the Scots were expelled.

All which countries thus by the Picts now left void, were appointed by Valentinian to the Britains, as subjects to the empire, to be inhabited. And for a perfect diuision betwixt the Picts and the same Britains, he commanded a wall to be made, & a trench to be cast along by the same, from Abirconne through the territorie of Blacow vnto Alclud, or Alclud, now called Dunbarton, so running from the

Helgust slain himselfe.

The Picts are forbidden to create a king.

Durstus chosen king of the Picts.

Durstus besieged at the Romans.

Durstus brought prisoners to London.

The Picts become tributaries.

They are put to their base seruices.

The Picts are constrained to dwell beyond the water of Forth.

The Picts are constrained to dwell beyond the water of Forth.

The Picts are constrained to dwell beyond the water of Forth.

The Picts are constrained to dwell beyond the water of Forth.

The Picts are constrained to dwell beyond the water of Forth.

The Picts forbidden to pass over the water of Forth.

The Scots live in other countries.

Helgust slain himselfe.

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the east sea to the west. Where to proclamation was made, that if anie of the British nation did enter, passe to passe this wall, and to enter into the British confines without licence of the magistrats, he should die for it. Whilste the Picts through their owne fault are thus brought into most miserable subiection of the Romans, the Scottismen (as is said) being banished the land, liued in other countries by shifting out the time so well as they might, some continuing with their wiues and children, got a poyse lining with their hands, exercising some science or occupation. Other there were that followed the warres, and serued vnder sundrie worthie captains here and there, as occasion serued.

But Ethodius the brother of Eugenius commanded (as is said) to go into Denmarke, was so fullie receiued of the king there; who also gaue him an office, therewith to mainteine his degree, so that he liued there certeine yeeres in right honorable estate, and begat of his wife whom he brought wither with him south of Albanye, a sonne named Erthus, who after his fathers deceasse had issue by his wife called Rocho (a ladie of high parentage amongst the nobles of Denmarke, as daughter to one Roichus, second person of the realme) a sonne named Fergus, whose chance was afterwards to restore the Scottish nation againe to their former estate and kingdom. In his young yeeres he was appointed to serue vnder Alarike the Gottish king in that famous voyage which he took in hand against the Romane empire. For such was the hate as then of all the northerne regions & kingdoms towards the Romane name, that by generall agreement they conspired together to the bitter ruine and finall destruction thereof. And so ech of them sent forth a power in aid of the said Alarike, chosen by common consent as generall of the whole enterprise.

Fergus being set forth by the king of Denmarke with a power of Danes, and with a chosen number of such Scottismen as were withdrawne into those parties, went with the better will, for that beside the common quarell, he bare a priuate grudge towards the Romans for the bling of his ancessors so cruelle in expelling them out of their owne homes and native countrie. This Fergus was present with the Gottishes at the winning of Rome, in the sacking thereof, amongst other spoiles, he got (as is reported) a certeine chest full of booke, the which some hold opinion he brought afterwards into the westerne Isles, and caused them to be kept in Iona, now Colmekill, within a librarie there builded for the same intent. Which booke (as is to be supposed) were certeine histories or monuments of old antiquities. But the same were so defaced in the daies of Hector Boetius (who, as he himselfe writeth, caused them to be brought ouer to him to Aberdine) that it could not be vnderstood of what matter they intreated.

It is written moreover of Fergus, that he continued with Alarike in all his enterprises, so long as he liued, and afterwards serued vnder his successor Athaulfus, to his great fame, and in such honorable estimation, as few were found comparable vnto him in those daies. At length requiring a safe conduct to returne into Denmarke, he was licensed to depart with high and right bountifull rewards, as in part of recompense of his good and faithfull seruice shewed, during the time of the warres, as well in the life time of the said Athaulfus, as also in the daies of his predecessor the foresaid Alarike. About the same season, the bishopps se of Candida casa, or therwise called Dubitterne, was first instituted by one Pinian a preacher, that toke great paines (as the report hath gone) to instruct the Picts and Britains in the christian faith. He was afterwards re-

puted a saint, and the place of his burfall had in such veneration, that manie used to resort thither for deuotion sake, as the manner in times past was when pilgrimage-goings were vied.

But now to returne there we left touching the Picts, and to shew the maner how the Scots returned againe into Albanye; ye shall vnderstand, that the Picts being brought into seruile bondage (as before we haue partly declared) and doubting daile of worse to ensue, they sent secret messengers vnto such Scots as remained in exile in the westerne Isles, in Norwaie, and in other parts of the world, promising them, if they would giue the attempt for recouerie of their ancient dwelling places in Albanye, they should be sure of all the aid that in them laie, being readie to spend their liues to reuenge the injuries which they daile sustained at the Romans hands, whose continuall practice euer was, how to oppresse the ancient liberties of all such nations as came vnder their subiection. The experience whereof they now felt to their vn sufferable graunce, looking for nothing else but hostile to be expelled out of their countrie, and driven to go sake them other places to inhabit in strange countries after the manner of outlawes, as it had chanced already to the Scots by commandement of Spartius, as before is expessed.

Fergus, vnto whom amongst other this message was chiefly directed, reioiced greatlie of the helpe; and first conferring with the king of Denmarke, of whose aid he knew himselfe assured, by his aduise he sent letters abroad forthwith into Norwaie, Diknie, the westerne Isles, and into Ireland, vnto such of the Scottismen as dwelt in those places, to vnderstand their minds hereto. And being certified that they were vniuersallie agræd, not onlie to trie their chance for recouerie of their former state and kingdom; but also had chosen him to be gouernour and generall capteine in that enterprise; he prepared partly at his owne costs, and partly at the charges of the king of Denmarke and other of his friends and allies there, a great multitude both of men of warre and ships, in purpose to passe ouer into Albanye to recouer his grandfather's estate, which as it was thought might now be the more easilie brought to passe, sith the Picts would aid him thereto, vpon an earnest desire which they had to reuenge their owne injuries receiued at the Romans hands, and to deliuer themselves from such thraldome as they daile felt themselves oppressed with, doubting withall hostile to be quite expelled out of their whole countrie, as they had bene forced to forgo a great and the better part thereof already.

In this meane time, one Gratian descended of the British blood, by consent of the Romane legat Spartius (both of them going against their allegiance) vsurped the gouernance of Britaine by his owne priuat authoritie; but hostile after, they two falling at variance together, the one of them slue the other. And then the souldiers not stateng till they vnderstood the pleasure of Honorius the emperor, chose one Constantine to succede in the place of Spartius, who passing ouer into France, was slaine there by Constantius one of the captains of the said Honorius. Victorine the other of the Romane legats hearing of the death both of Spartius and Constantine, removed from Norke vnto London, the better to prouide for the safe keeping of the land to the emperor Honorius his vse; for that he doubted sundrie dangers which might chance, by reason the countrie was as then vnprouided of men of warre, the most part of them being transported ouer into France with the soynamed Constantine, and not againe returned.

The Picts sent into other countries to call home the Scots.

Fergus sent vnto the Scots dispersed.

Fergus was prouided himselfe to warre.

Gratian vsurped the gouernance of Britaine.

Spartius slaine.

Constantine succeeded Spartius. Constantine is slaine. The lieutenant of the north cometh to London.

The

The Picts
send speidie
vnto Fer-
guse.

Ferguse arri-
ued with his
ships in Mur-
rey firth.

The Picts
toillie re-
cette Ferguse.

The Picts
crave pardon
excusing
themselves.

Ferguse.

The Picts
punished for
their vn-
truthes.

The ancient
league renewed
again be-
tween the
Scots and
Picts.

The Scots,
rehozied to
their coun-
tries.

Ferguse.

Ferguse is
conueied into
Argile, and
there inuested
king.

The Picts informed of these things, sent word with all speed vnto Ferguse, requiring him to make haste, sith if he should haue wished for a conuenient time, a better could not be deuised; considering the present state of things as well in Britaine, as in other parts of the Romane empire, the people euertie where being readie to moue rebellion. Ferguse vnderstanding the whole, by such messengers as still came one after another vnto him from the Picts, he hastied to depart with all diligence; and when all things were readie, he took the sea with his armie, and within eight daies after, he arriued in safetie within the firth of Murrey land with all his vessels and people; where taking land, & word thereof being brought into Ireland, into Mkenie, and into the westerne Isles, all such of the Scottish linage as liued in those parties in exile, came with their wives, children, and whole families in most speedie wise vnto him, as though the countrie had bene already recovered out of the enimies hands, without all doubts of further perill or businesse.

The Picts also reioysing greatlie at the newes of his coming, repaired vnto him, and shewed him all the honoz that might be deuised, beseeching him to pardon and forget all iniuries and displeasures by them wrought and contriued in times past against the Scottish nation, sith now they were readie for the advancement thereof to spend their liues against such as were enimies to the same. Neither was the fault theirs, in that Heirgust had consented with the Romans to banish the Scottish people, but in their ancestors, who being blinded through the faire words and swete promises of the Romans, saw not the mischief which they brought vpon their owne heads and their posterities. Therefore they desired him to renew againe the league betwixt the Pictish and Scottish nations, with such conditions of appointment as it should please him to prescribe.

Ferguse by consent of his nobles answered, that he was content to establish the league with them, even according to the tenor of the ancient agreement, and to ioine his power with theirs to helpe to restore them vnto their former estate and liberties, so that they would be contented to surrender vp into the Scottishmens hands, all such townes and countries, from the which they had bene expelled by great fraud and iniurie. And as for the displeasures done to the Scottishmen in times past by aiding the Romans against them (as he thought) the Picts had felt punishment enough for the same already, being reduced into most seruile & miserable bondage, as iustlie rewarded by almightie God for their great vntruthes, fled and shewed towards their neighbors, faithfull friends and allies. The Picts were throughlie pleased and satisfied with Ferguse his words, so that within few daies after, their king (whome they had lately chosen since the time that the Scottishmen were thus returned) came vnto Ferguse, and ratified the league with him, according to the articles of that other which in time past had bene obserued on the behalfe of the Scottish and Pictish nations, with such solempne othes and assurance, as betwixt princes in semblable cases of custome is requisite and necessarie. Then were those countries restored to the Scottishmen againe, out of the which they had bene expelled by the Romane power.

And Ferguse then being conueied with a right honorable companie of lords, gentlemen, and commons into Argile, was there placed on the chaire of marble, and proclaimed king with all such accustomed pompe and ceremonies as to him appertained. This was in the 45 yeare after the Scots had bene driven forth of Albanie, and after the birth of our sauour 424, in the yeare after the death of Ho-

nosius the emperour, and from the first erection of the Scottish kingdome 750 yeares complet. All such castles also and fortresses as the Picts held within anie of those countries, which belonged vnto the Scots, were surrendered into their hands in peaceable wise; but the residue which the Romans kept were earnestlie defended for a while, though at length through want of victuals and other necessities, they likewise were deliuered. ¶ If I should here say what I thinke, and that mine opinion might passe for current coine, I would not sticke to affirme that either now first (or not long before their late supposed expulsion from hence) the Scots settled themselves to inhabit here within this Ile, and that they had no certeine seats in the same till then: but that coming either forth of Ireland, or from the westerne Isles, where they before inhabited, they used to make often inuasions into this land, greatlie molesting as well the Britains, the ancient inhabitants thereof, as the Romans that then held the Ile vnder their subiection. For I can neither persuaade my selfe, nor wish others to beleue, that there was anie such continuance in succession of kings, as their histories doe make mention; as we haue here before set downe in following the same histories, because we will not willingly seme to offer iniurie to their nation, which peradventure are otherwise persuaaded, and thinke the same succession to be most true, where other perchance may coniecture (and not moued thereto without good reason) that such kings as in their histories are auouched to reigne one after another here in this Ile, either reigned in Ireland, or in the out Isles, and that verelie not successiuelie, but diuerse of them at one season, and in diuerse places. Which mistaking of the course of histories hath bred errors, not onelie amongst the Scottish writers, but even amongst some of the British and English writers also, as to the learned and well aduised readers may plainelie appeare. And as for Wald, and some other happlie which they take to be kings of Scots, although they reigned in that part of this Ile which afterwards was possessed by Scots, and after them named Scotland, yet were they mere Britains, and had little to doe with Scots; except perchance we may thinke that they held the out Isles in subiection, where the Scots were then inhabiting, far longer time perhaps (before their settling in Britaine) than their histories make mention.

But now to returne where we left. After that Vittozine the Romane legat was aduertised of all the fore-remembred doings of the Scottishmen and Picts, he caused an armie to be leuied with all speed, and hastied forth with the same vnto Forke, where being arriued, he attempted by an herald at armes to persuaade the Picts to forsake their confederacie lately concluded with the Scots: but perceining he could not bring it to passe, he determined to pursue both those nations with open warre: and so there, vpon setting forthward, he passed forth till he came nere Camelon, where he encamped with his whole armie, hauing therein (as the report went) about fiftie thousand persons at the least. Ferguse being aduertised hercof, & hauing in like maner already assembled a mightie huge host both of Scottishmen and Picts, came therewith ouer the Forth, & marched forth with all speed in the next season, in purpose to haue set on his enimies verie earlie in the dawning of the next morning. But Vittozine hauing knowledge thereof, commanded his men to be arranged and set in order of battell by the third watch of the same night, so that being redie to receiue the Scots vpon their first approch, there was fought a right sore and cruell battell, with such slaughter on both parts, that the riuer of Carron (nere vnto the which

The riuer of
Carron runn-
neth with
blood.

The battell
fought by
reason of a
tongue.

The leste-
nant furni-
shing diuerse
boats, retur-
ning into
the sea.

The Scots &
Picts by cause
of their
camps.

Whole assig-
ned to the
Picts.

The Brit-
tains by the
appointment
of Vittozine
made a wall.

The Scottish
men & Picts
interrupt the
building of
that wall.

Graine, other
wale called
Strahan, and
Salinage.

Ferguse mar-
shalled his
armie of Graine

Quintie of
graine tou-
ring the ori-
ginal begin-
ning of the
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422. H.B.
296. Jo. Ma.
The 18 yeare
of the empe-
rour Honorius.
H.B.
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which their battels (joined) was well nere filled with
dead bodies, and the water thereof so changed into
a reddie hue, that it seemed as though it had run al-
together with blood.

In the end (whilest as yet it was doubtfull to
whether side the victorie would incline) there came
such a sudden shower of raine, mixed with such great
abundance of hailestones, that neither part was a-
ble to haue sight of other, so that by reason of the vio-
lent rage of that huge storme and tempest, either side
was faine to withdraw from the other. There were
flaine in this battell such great numbers of men, as
well on the one side as the other, that they had small
lust to come in battell againe for certein yeeres af-
ter. For the Roman lieutenant understanding what
losse of people he had sustained, without attempting
anie further exploit, appointed certein of his com-
panies to lie in garrison within sundrie fortresses in
Duneland, & with the residue he returned into Kent.
In like sort the Scots with their confederates the
Picts, perceiving themselves not able as then to
make anie further attempt against their enemies,
broke by their armie, and deuised onelie how they
might defend that which they had already in posses-
sion.

And so much as the Pictish nation was increa-
sed unto a greater multitude of people, than those
countries which they then held were able to find
with sufficient sustentance (considering what a great
portion of their ancient seates the Britains and Ro-
mans kept from them) it was agreed by the Scots
that they should inioyn the countrie of Athole, with
other lands bordering nere unto the same, lying
without the compasse of the mountaine of Crange-
ben. The Picts then being placed in Athole, increa-
sed there wonderfullie, and builded manie faire ca-
stels and towers in those parties, to the great beau-
tifying of that countrie. In which meane while, Al-
dozine the Romane lieutenant commanded the Bri-
tains to make haile with the wall (whereof ye haue
heard) made of turfe, and sustained with certein
posts of timber passing ouerthwart the borders be-
twixt them and their enemies, beginning (as ye haue
heard) at Abercrombie, and so stretching forth by Glas-
co, and Kirkpatrick, euen unto Abdeluch, now Dun-
blaton, 80 miles more northward than the other
wall, which the emperor Adrian caused (as is said) to
be made.

Whereof the Scots and Picts being informed,
they assembled themselves together, & under the lea-
ding of a noble man called Graime, they set upon
the Britains, as they were busie in working about
the same, and due not onelie a great number of la-
bourners and souldiers, which were set to labour and
defend the worke, but also entering into the British
borders, fetched from thence a great bottie of cattell
and other riches, which they found dispersed abroad in
the countrie. This Graime (who as I said was chiefe
in this enterprize) was brother unto the Scottish
quene, the wife of king Fergus. He was borne in
Denmarke (as some hold opinion) in the time of the
Scottishmens banishment, and had a Scottishman
to his father descended of a noble house, and a Da-
nish ladie to his mother. He himselfe also married a
noble woman of that nation, and had by hir a daugh-
ter, whom Fergus by the persuation of the king of
Denmarke tooke to wife, and had issue by hir (afore
his coming into Scotland) three sonnes, Euge-
nius, Dongarus, and Constantius, of whom here-
after in their place mention shall be made, as occa-
sion serueth. Other there be, that affirme how this
Graime was a Britaine borne, & that through hate
which he bare towards the Romans for their cruell
gouernment, he fled south of his native countrie,

and continued euer after amongst the Scots, as first
in Denmarke, and afterwards in Albion, euer rea-
die to do what displeasures he could deuise against
the Romans & other their friends or subiects. Of this
Graime these Scots, which unto this day beare that
surname, are said to be descended.

But now to the purpose. We shall vnderstand, that
after that it was knowne in forreign countries, how
the Scots had got foot againe within those regions
in Albion, which their elders in ancient time had pos-
sessed, there came daile diuerse companies of that
nation out of Spaine, France, Germanie, and Ita-
lie (where during the time of their banishment they
had serued under sundrie captains) unto Fergus to
aid him, in recouerie of their countrie and ancient
seats; out of the which they had bene most cruellie
expelled. So that Fergus now seeing his power
thus not a litle augmented by their coming, ente-
reth into the borders of Isle, Carike, and Coning-
ham, spoiling and harrieng those countries on eu-
erie side: but shortly thereupon commeth the armie
of the Romans, with whom the Scots encounte-
ring in battell, received no lesse damage than they
minded to haue done vnto their aduersaries. Where-
upon being forced to leaue that countrie, they drew
backe into Argile, where Fergus wintered for that
part of the yeare which yet remained.

When summer was come, he was counselled to
haue offrandes offered vnto Aldozine, who
as then was entered Calowale: and rather to trie
the uttermost point of fortunes chance against him,
than to susteine such displeasures and injuries at the
Romans hands, as by them were daile done vnto
him and his people. But there were other that gaue
other aduise, alleging how the danger was great
to leaue againe in battell with the Romans, be-
ing men of such skill & practise in the seates of wars,
considering what losse had chanced in the two for-
mer battels. Again, there was great likelihood, that
if he could be contented to forbear for a time, and
seeke to defend the borders of his countrie, so well as
he might without gaining battell, it must needs come
to passe that shortly the Romane empire should be
brought vnto such ruinous decarie, by reason of the
multitude of enemies, which as then invaded the
same on each side, that in the end Aldozine doubting
his owne suertie, would conuete himselfe with his
men of warre out of the countrie, and then should it
be an easie matter for the Scots and Picts to reco-
uer againe all such countries as ancientlie belonged
to their elders, and wholie to restore the estates of
their common-wealths vnto their former dignities.

This aduise was followed as the best and most
likeliest, so that making sundrie roads into the bo-
ders of their enemies countries so to keepe them still
occupied, Fergus and the Scots refused vtterlie to
come to anie foughten field with them. Shortly af-
ter also it chanced, that Aldozine was accused vnto
the emperor Honorius of some secret practise against
his maiestie, as to be about to surpe the crowne of
Britaine, whereunto he was compelled in deed by
the souldiers (whose hearts he had wonne through his
bountious liberalitie sundrie waies declared to-
wards them) and vnderstanding at this present, that
he was minded to haue fled his waies for doubt of
the said information made against him, they did
moue him with such earnest persuations to take
vpon him the imperiall dignitie, promising euen to
live and die with him in defense thereof, as well as
gainst Honorius, as all other, that in the end he con-
sented vnto their desires, and so was proclaimed em-
peror, and clothed in purple, using thereto all the o-
ther imperiall ornaments, as if he had bene empe-
ror indeed. But afterwards when one Heraclianus
was

The Scottish
men returned
into their
countrie.

Fergus in-
nabed the
confines of
the Britains.

The Scots
put to the
worke.

Aldozine in-
nabed Cal-
loway.

Fergus is
disturbed to
fight with the
Romans.

The Romane
empire inua-
ded by barba-
rous nations.

Aldozine ac-
cused vnto
Honorius.

Aldozine ta-
keth vpon him
the name and
authoritie of
emperor in
Britaine.

Her actianus
is sent against
Quitoine.

Victorine is
delivered into
the hands of
Heracianus.
Heracianus
is sent into
Affrike.

Placidus
lieutenant of
Britaine.

The warre
renewd by the
Scots.

The Scots
and Picts in-
vaded the bor-
ders of their
enemies.

Placidus ga-
thereth a
power.
He incounte-
reth with his
enimies.

Placidus re-
ceiveth the
ouerthrow.
He fleeth to
yoke.

Placidus seeth to haue
peace.

A league con=
cluded be=
twixt Scots,
Picts, and
Romans,

Fergusse diu-
beth the land
in parts.

was sent with an armie by Honorius into Britaine against this Maxime, the most part of the souldiers, with those Britains which had acknowledged him for their supreme gouernor, began to feare the sequel of the matter, and afterward requiring pardon for their offenses, they took Maxime, and deliuered him prisoner vnto the same Maxentius, with diuers other of his confederats, and so by this means was the estate of Britaine, recouered vnto the behoofe of Honorius, who shortly after sent for Maxentius, minding to send him into Affrike against one Athalus, who vsurped there against the Romane empire.

At his departure forth of Britaine, he left one Placidus as lieutenant and generall of the Romanie armie in those parties: a man of no great courage, and lesse skill, which being perceiv'd of the Scots, gaue occasion to Fergus their king to renew the warre. And first he procured Durdus king of the Picts, being the third of that name, to ioine with him in that enterprise, according to the articles of the league. Who consenting thereunto, when their powers were once assembled, they entered into the marches of their enemies, overrunning the most part of Bile, Carrike, and Conningham, and after they had taken their pleasure there, they entered into Galloway, destroying all before them, which way soever they passed. Then turning into Pictland, they subdued the whole region, and expell all such Romans and Britains as inhabit the same.

Placidus being aduertised hereof, gathered a great power, and cometh forward towards them, with whom encountering in battell, after long fight, his horsemen chanced to be put to flight, so that the legions of his footmen being left naked on the sides, were so sore beaten with the shot of arrowes, and hurling of darts, that in the end they were forced to b rake their araic, & so being chased left to the Scots and Picts a great and ioisfull victorie. Placidus himselfe escapeth into Rome, whither the Scots were minded to haue pursued him, had not the want of such numbers as they had lost at the battell, somewhat abated their courageous intents. In the meane time Placidus not onelie moued with this overthrow, but also weeing with himselfe after what sort the Romane empire was afflicted, with the inuasion of the barbarous nations in Germanie, France, Spaine, Italie, and Affrike, thought it good to conclude some peace with the Scots and Picts, for doubt of further mishaps that might insue. And so by such meanes as he made, shortly after a league was concluded betwixt the Scots, Picts, and Romans, with these conditions: that the Scots and Picts should inioy and keepe their ancient seates and regions, which they had now recovered, & hereafter not to make anie rodes or forreies into the prouince belonging to the Romans, and that the same Romans contenting themselves with the British confines, should not moue anie warre or hostilitie towards the Scots or Picts.

This league being thus concluded and ratified, the Scottishmen and Picts inducoured themselves to reduce the state of their common-wealth into the ancient forme and order. Fergus made partition of lands and grounds throughout all his kingdome, and assigned the same forth unto his subjects the Scottishmen, and to such other strangers as were come into Albion, to serue him in the wars against his enemies, and were minded now to remaine there. The other that were desirous to depart againe into their countries, he gave them honorable rewards, with safe conducts to passe their waies at their owne pleasures. At this time also were the names of diuerse countries & people changed in the

parties of Scotland, vpon sundrie considerations: as
Goznana a part of Scotland, lieng in the furthest
end of all the countrie, tooke a new name of one Ca-
thus a valiant captaine, and of the promontorie there
shooting forth into the sea called Nessle: so that being
compound together, that countrie was cleped Caty-
nessle. Also of certeine Irishmen called Kollians,
the countrie of Koffe toke that name, being afoze
named *Uugia*.

That part of the countrey ancientlie called The-
zalia, which lieth on the sea coast, began to be called
Wuthquhane, of the tribute bled to be paid there for
sheepe, of the which kind of cattell there is great store
in that province. For Dubane in the old Scottish
tong signified tribute: and Wuth, a flocke of sheepe.
The other part of Thezalia, lieng into the land-
ward, was called Bogdale, of the riuer named Bog,
which runneth through the middelt of it. Loughaba-
ber tooke the name of a great meare or water, into
the which the riuer of Dubaber falleth, and passeth
through the same, notable by reason of the great
plentie of samons taken therein. Some other coun-
tries there be, which keepe their ancient names euer
unto this day, as Athole, and Murray land. And
some names remaine a little changed by length of
time, as Argile, for Argathile; Apar, for Aparthea; and
such like.

Fergus also repaired such temples and churches as the warres had defaced, and restor'd againe churchmen into their former linings: and further increased the same where he saw cause, and builded certaine celles and chappels for religious persons to inhabit in, assigning unto them large revenues for their living. He also laid the foundation of that famous abbey within the Ile of Iona, now Colmcill, appointing the same for the buriall of kings, with certaine ordinances and customes to be used about the same. Moreover, in the time of peace he was not negligent in providing for the defense of his realme. Such castles as were decayed and overthrowne by the enemies in the warre time, he repaired; and in those which stood towards the borders of the British countries, he placed sundrie garrisons of such souldiers as wanted trades to get their living now in the time of peace, assigning them sufficient stipends to live upon.

In this meane time, Honorius the emperor being dead, and the estate of the Romane empire daily falling into decaye, it chanced also that Placidus the lieutenant of Britaine departed out of this life, by reason whereof the Scottishmen and Picts tooke occasion to renew the warres, making as it were claime vnto the countreies of Westmerland & Cumberland, which their elders in times past had held and possessed. Entering therefore into these countreies, they take, spoile, and destroye all such of the British nation as went about to destroye them; neither spared they impotent, aged, or others, but shewed great crueltie against all such as came in their wayes. 60
Marie an honest woman they rauished and misused after a most villanious manner. The Romane soldiers, after the decesse of Placidus, ordeined one Cassius to succeed in his roome, who being aduertised of this enterprise of the Scottishmen and Picts, doubted least (as the truth was) that Monethus the sonne of Datavilus some time king of the Britains, in hope to attaine the crowne of Britaine, as due to him by inheritance, would now seek to aid the Scottish king Fergus, whose sister he had in marriage. Cassius therefore more desirous of peace than of warres, sent forth a messenger at armes vnto king Fergus, requiring him to remember the league made betwixt him and the Romans, and to withdraw his power forth of the provinces, which were

considerations: as
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name of one Ca
pionontoxie there
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was cleped Cath
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n called Kossians,
name, being afoze

The names
of divers pla
ces in Scot
land changed.
Cathnicke
whereof it is
so named.
Rosse.

entlie called The
began to be called
o be paid there for
there is great store
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h, a flocke of sheepe.
reason into the land,
er river named Wog,
st of it. Loughquha
are or water, into
falleth, and passeth
reason of the great

The signifi
cation of the
name of Wog
quhane,
Wogdale,
Loughquha
ber.

Some other coun
ancient names euen
Murrey land. And
changed by length of
Har, for Sparthen; and

Loughquha
ber.
Whole, Spar
rey land.

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Argyle, for: the
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Sparthen.
Fergusie re
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ious persons.

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abbey within
the Ile of I
na now
Colmehill.

Fergusie re
pareth his
castles.

sius the empero: be
Romane empire dai
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parted out of this life,
Whithmen and Pits toke
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Westmerland & Cum
times past had held and
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me, who being aduert
Scotishmen and Pits,
as) that Dionethus the
king of the Britains,
e of Britaine, as due to
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after he had in marriage.

Placidus the
lieutenant of
Britaine dur
the warre.

The Scotish
Pits a reuice
the warre.

The crneling
of the Scotish
and Pits.

Calistus orde
ined lieut
nant of Brit
taine.

Dionethus,
or Dionothus,
as some talke
haue.

Calistus fir
edth vnto
Fergusie.

essirons of peace than
essenger at armes vnto
him to remember the
and the Romans, and to
of the prouinces, which
were

were subiect vnto the same Romans, without pro
ceeding anie further in that vnlawfull attempt, ei
ther else he should be sure to feele the pulssant force
of those people readie bent against him, by whom his
elders had bene driuen out of their countreies, and
banished quoth forth of all their dwellings and pla
ces of habitation in Albion.

But here vnto was answer made with great in
dignation, that as for the league thus alledged, ceas
ed by the death of Placidus; and as for peace, there
was no cause why he should looke for anie, vntill the
whole prouinces, both of Westmerland and Cum
berland, were restored againe into the hands of the
Scotishmen and Pits, according as of reason they
ought to be. The like answer also was made by Dur
stus king of the Pits, vnto whom Cassius had sent
a like message. Therewithall the said Cassius being
not a little moued, assemblth an armie, and with all
sped marcheth forth toward his enimies: but before
his entering into Westmerland, where they were
as then lodged in campe, he had perfect knowledge
how Dionethus with his Welshmen (for his lands
laie in Wales) was already iointed with the Scots.

Which newes soze appalled the hearts of the Bri
tains, but yet being encouraged with comfortable
words of their capteins to proceed, forward they go
together with the Romans, and within three daies af
ter, they came with in sight of their enimies, being
ranged in battell readie to receiue them, so that
straightwaies buckeling together, there was a right
fierce and cruell battell fought betwixt them, till fi
nallie the multitude of the Scotish archers and
hernes so compassed in the battels of the Romans
on each side, and speciallie on the backes, that in the
end, and by reason of the losse of their generall Ca
ssius (who was slaine there amongst them) those of
the middle ward being discomfited, brake their ar
raie and fled. Whereupon the residue likewise follo
wed: the Scots, Pits, and Welshmen pursuing
so egerlie without all order, that there was no small
number of them distressed by the Romans, the which
in their giuing backe, kept themselves close togi
ther, readie to defend themselves, and to beat downe
such of there enimies as followed more rashlie than
warlike in the chase, not once regarding to keepe any
order of battell; but yet by other companies that pur
sued more orderlie together for their most aduantage,
there was great slaughter made both of Romans
and Britains.

After this victorie thus atchined, Dionethus was
proclaimed king of Britaine, and soze warres con
tinued in the land by the pursuit of the Welshmen,
Scots, & Pits, to the great hazard of the prouince,
and likelie expelling of all the Romans quite out of
the same. About this time also there remained in
France, one Etius lieutenant to the emperour
Valentinianus, who vnderstanding all these things
by letters and messengers sent from the capteins
which yet remained aliue in Britaine, appointed one
Marimianus being of kin to the emperour, to passe
with an armie in all hast ouer into Britaine, to aid
and succor the Romans, and such Britains there, as
still continued in their allegiance which they had
promised vnto the Romane empire.

This Marimianus at his arriuall in the Iland
was most iollie receiued by the soldiors and sub
iects of the foresaid empire. All the lords and nobles
of the countrie refozed also vnto him, shewing them
selves most glad of his comming, & promising with
what aid soeuer they were able to make, to go with
him against their enimies. Whereupon, procuring
them to asseemble their powers, and to ioine the same
with his, which he had brought ouer with him, he pas
sed through the countrie vnto Doyke, and so from

thence marched forth towards the Scots, being al
readie assembled in campe to defend the countrie of
Westmerland against him. There were both the
kings of Scots and Pits, Fergusie and Durstus, with
Dionethus, naming himselfe king of the Bri
tains, who had brought with him, beside the Welsh
men, a great number of those Britains that inhabi
ted in the countreies now accounted the marches of
Wales, the which onelie amongst all other the Bri
tains acknowledged him for king.

When both the armies were come nere togither, they
camped for that night the one in sight of the o
ther, and in the morning following they prepared
themselves to battell. Fergusie first making an ear
nest oration vnto his people, to encourage them the
more boldlie to giue the onset, declared amongst o
ther things holo the right was on their sides, which
alwaies ought to minister hope of good successe in
them that enterprise anie thing in defense thereof;
where contrariwise all such as attempted to disquiet o
ther by iniurie and wrong doing, could not but loke
for an euill conclusion of their malicious intents
and purposes. Neither were other of his capteins
negligent in their duties, but that both in exhorting
their bands, they vied most comfortable words, and
in disposing them in good order of battell, they shew
ed most readie and earnest diligence.

On the other side, Marimianus with his capteins
and officers of bands were as busie on their side to
array their battels most for their aduantage, as they
saw cause and occasion, so that both the armies being
readie to fight, the onset was giuen, and that in most
furious wise, the Romans being at the first soze an
noyed with arrowes and darts, which flue so thicke
from ech side, that their sight was in manner taken
from them, the skie seeming as it had been couered o
uer with a pentle. So that Marimianus perceiving
this disaduantage, he caused a fresh legion of his sol
diors to aduance forward to the succour of their fel
lows; by reason whereof the battell was forthwith
most cruellie renewed, the hindermost wings of the
Romans soze preasing vpon their enimies: so that
in the end passing quite through their battels, they
caused a great disorder and feare amongst those
Scots and other their confederats, which were pla
ced in the hindermost ranks. But yet casting them
selves in a ring, they made great & stout resistance
for a space, and at length a great number euen of the
most valiant personages of the whole host, closed
themselves togither, and with maine force assaied
to haue broken through the thickest prease of their
enimies, but being inuironed about on ech part, they
were there slaine ech mothers sonne. Whilste the Ro
mans drew togither to resist on that side, other of the
Scotishmen, Pits, Britains, & Welshmen, found a
waie to get forth through their enimies on the other
side, and so being gotten past them, made awaie as
fast as their feet might beare them: but a great num
ber being notwithstanding overtaken, were slaine
and beaten downe right pittifullie.

Fergusie the Scotish king, and Durstus king of
the Pits were slaine in this mortall battell togither,
with the most part of all their nobilitie. Dionethus
being soze wounded escaped to the sea side, and there
getting a ship, passed ouer into Wales. His ouer
throw soze dismaied both the Scotish and Pitsish na
tions, who looked for nothing more than present ex
pulsion out of their countreies, for Marimianus pur
suing the victorie, burst into Galloway, most cruel
lie wasting and spoiling the same. And when he had
made an end there, he entered into Anandale, and in
to the Pitsish confines, destroing all before him
with fire and sword. Camelon was besieged, taken
by force, and miserable put to sacke and spoile, with
D. J. diuerse

The Scots
and Pits as
sembled a
gainst the Ro
mans.

The armies
prepare to bat
tell.

Fergusie ex
horteth his
people to do
valiantlie.
Right mani
fest hope of
good successe.

The onset is
giuen.

Marimianus
perceiving the
disaduantage,
proceedeth to
remedie the
same.

The Scots
disordered.

The two
kings Fergus
ie and Dur
stus are slaine.
Dionethus
escapeth.

Marimianus
pursueth the
victorie.

Camelon ta
ken by force.

The Scots
and Picts
withdrew be-
yond the wall
of Bircoigne.

diuerse other notable tostones and places, as well be-
longing to the Picts as Scots. Neither was there
anie end of these cruell doings, till both the Scots &
Picts for their refuge were generallie constrained
to withdraw themselves beyond the wall of Abir-
coigne, which (as before is said) a few yeeres passed
was begun by the Britains, and stretched from A-
bircoigne aforesaid, ouerthwart the land unto Alclud
now Dunbarton.

Marinianus hauing thus driven his enemies be-
yond this wall, caused them to make assurance by
the oath of couenant, neuer to passe the same againe
by waie of hostilitie, either against the Britains or
Romans. There were that counselled Marinius
either utterly to haue destroyed both the Scots and
Picts, either els to haue driven them out of the whole
Ile. But he being satisfied with that which was already
done, thought good to returne unto Yorke, and
there to winter, that in the beginning of the next
spring he might go into Wales, to chastise Dione-
thus and other of that countrie for their rebellion, in
aiding the enemies of the empire. But when the time
came that he should haue set forward on that iour-
nie, he heard such newes from the parties of beyond
the seas, into what ruinous decaye the empire was
fallen, without anie likelihood of recouerie, that chan-
ging his purpose, he minded to usurpe the crowne of
Britaine as absolute king thereof himselfe. And to
haue the more fauor of the British nation without a-
nie impeachment in the beginning of his reigne, he
tooke to wife one of the daughters of Dionethus, be-
ing the elder of those two, which he onelic had with-
out issue male, by the sister of king Fergus. She
that was thus coupled in marriage with Marinius
was called Dithilia, & the other daughter named Ar-
sula was professed a nun in an house of religion, to
the intent that the whole right which Dionethus pre-
tended to the realme, might remaine to the wife of
Marinianus. Then was Dionethus made second
person of the realme, as well in degree of honor, as
in publicke gouernment.

Marinianus
taketh vpon
him the abso-
lute gover-
nance of Bri-
taine, with the
imperiall
title.
He marrieth
Dithilia the
daughter of
Dionethus.
Dionethus
reputed for se-
cond person of
the realme.

Eugenius.
Eugenius
created king
of Scots.

410. H.B.
760. H.B.

The bodie of
Fergus is
buried in the
abbie of Iona,
otherwise
Colmekill.

Marinianus
granteth
peace to the
Scottishmen.

And whilst these things were thus a doing in
Britaine, the Scottish lords had created Euge-
nius the sonne of Fergus, king of their realme, as
due to him by rightfull succession from his father,
who had gouerned the same by the space of 16 yeeres
per he was slaine (as before is specified) in the last
mentioned battell. This Eugenius began his reigne
(as we find) in the yeere of our Lord 440, after the
first beginning of the Scottish kingdome 767. His
fathers corps, which at the first was secretlie buried,
as occasion suffered, whilst the Romans were yet
in the countrie, he caused to be taken vp, and conuei-
ed ouer into the Ile of Iona, otherwise called Col-
mekill, where, with all solemne pompe and ceremo-
nies it was intombed, according to the ordinance
which he himselfe had deuided in his life time, within
the abbie there.

In like manner Marinius, to the intent to es-
tablish himselfe the more quietlie in the estate of
Britaine, and to deliuer his subiects the Britains,
which bordered vpon the Scottish dominions, from all
trouble of warres, was contented to make peace
with the Scots vpon light sute made vnto him for
the same. After this also, he being once fullie establi-
shed in the estate of Britaine, coveted also to attaine
to the type in gouernment of the whole empire, and
therefore assembling all the forces of the British
youth, sailed into Gallia, causing himselfe to be pro-
claimed emperor, and so usurped that title; as in the
English and Italian historie you maie find more
largelie expessed. He left behind him in Britaine his
father in law Dionethus as chiefe gouernour there,
with one legion of Romane soldiors. After this did

Etius the emperors lieutenant in France, send for
such Romans as Marinius had left in Britaine,
who reuolting from their othes of allegiance giuen
vnto the same Marinius, obeyed Etius, as one
that supplied the rone of their rightfull lord and mas-
ter the emperor Valentinian. So that in this wise
was Britaine dispurueied of all manner of able men
for defense, whereof the Scots and Picts toke good
occasion to invade the British borders, not sparing
to pursue with fire and sword all such of the Britains
as did yet continue in obedience to Marinius.

They first droue those Britains out of all the coun-
tries, which had bene taken from them by the same
Marinius, and by other of the Romans and Bri-
tains, as Wicland, Hile, Carrike, and Coningham,
Galloway, the Marches, and Northumberland. This
done, they entered into Cumberland, Westmore-
land, and Denbail, not ceassing till they had spoiled
and defaced all those countries, with the most part of
all Yorkshire, in such cruell wise, that they made all
those quarters barren both of corne and cattell, which
waie soeuer they passed. The Britains perceiving in-
to what danger they were brought, if some good re-
dresse were not found in time, sent ouer with all speed
vnto Rome for succor to be had at the emperors Va-
lentinians hands, for Marinius was otherwise
occupied. Valentinian desirous to deliuer the Bri-
tains from such cruell enemies as the Scots & Picts
shelued themselves to be, least through their meanes
all the whole Ile should reuolt from the obedience of
the Romans, appointed one Gallio borne in Rauenna,
and as then sojournig about Paris in France,
with a legion of soldiors to passe ouer into Britaine,
to drive backe the Scots and Picts from further mo-
lestant the subiects of the empire.

The Scots and Picts, vpon knowledge had of
this Gallios arriual, drezv backe into their coun-
tries, not minding to fight with the Romans, whose
force they doubted, and not without cause, hauing
had in times past so manie ouerthrowes and slaugh-
ters at their hands. But Gallio pursued them euen
vnto the water of Forth, where in sundrie skirmi-
shes he slue no small number of them: and for that
he knew he should be sent for hostlie to returne a-
gaine into France, to helpe to resist such barbarous
nations as warred in the same, for the better defense
of the Britains against their enemies the Scots and
Picts (whome he knew would not be anie while in
quiet after he was once gone) he caused the wall to
be newlie made by betwixt Abircoigne & the mouth
of Clude water, thereby to defend the Romane pro-
uince from all sudden inuasions of the enemies. This
wall was earst made of turffe, but now repaired
with stone, and strengthened with great pilles of
piles of wood, diuen in betwixt in places most need-
full. It was also 8 foot broad, and 12 foot high. And in
certeine turrets cast forth vpon this wall, Gallio ap-
pointed watch & ward to be kept, that vpon the eni-
mies approach towards the same, warning might be
giuen by fire in the night, and by smoke in the day,
vnto such of the Britains as dwelled nere vpon those
borders (commandement being giuen vpon paine
of death for being found in the contrarie) that eu-
erie man vpon such knowledge had, should resort in-
mediatlie to the place appointed, with such armour
and weapon as for him was requisit.

When Gallio had thus giuen order for the surtie
of the Britains, and deliuered them at that present
from the cruell hands of their enemies, he returned
into France with the armie that he brought with
him, according to the commandement which he had
from Etius the emperours lieutenant there. His
departure out of Britaine was no sooner knowne
of the Scots and Picts, but that with all their maine
force

The Scots
and Picts
under the
wall of
Bircoigne to
find it.

The Scots
and Picts ap-
proach the
wall to assault
it.

The Scots
and Picts ap-
proach the
wall to assault
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The Scots
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The Scots
and Picts ap-
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had left in Britaine,
of allegiance given
obeyed Etius, as one
rightfull lord and mal-
So that in this wise
all manner of able men
s and Picts took god
borders, not sparing
all such of the Britains
to Maximianus.

The Scots
and Picts
under the
tains.

is out of all the coun-
from them by the same
the Romans and Bri-
like, and Coningham,
Northumberland. His

The prope-
rous lines
of the Scot-
tishmen.

g till they had spoiled
with the most part of
ife, that they made all
one and cattell, which
Britains perceiving in-
ought, if some good re-

The Bri-
tains requir-
ing of Valen-
tinian the em-
peror.

o at the emperor Ma-
rianus was otherwise
ous to deliver the Bri-
as the Scots & Picts
through their means
from the obedience of
allio borne in Raen-
out Paris in France,
e over into Britaine,
Picts from further mo-

Gallio has
nennas is
sent over into
Britaine.

re.

on knowledge had of
acke into their coun-
th the Romans, whose
without cause, having
erthowes and slaugh-

The Scots
and Picts
first to give
battell to the
Romans.

io pursued them euen
ere in sundrie skirmi-
es of them: and for that
hostilie to returne a-
o resist such barbarous

Gallio pur-
eth the Bri-
tains and Picts.

emies the Scots and
not be able while in
he caused the wall to
Abircoine & the mouth
end the Romane pro-

Gallio can-
the wall of
Abircoine to
be repaired.

is of the enemies. This
e, but now repaired
o with great posts o-
et in places most nee-
nd 12 foot high. And in

The maner
of the build-
ing of the
wall.

pt, that upon the eni-
e, warning might be
by smoke in the day,
welled nere upon those

The ordi-
nation of the
wall for watch-
ing.

ing given upon paine
e contrarie) that eue-
had, should resort in-
ed, with such armour

The ordi-
nation of the
wall for watch-
ing.

ing given upon paine
e contrarie) that eue-
had, should resort in-
ed, with such armour

The ordi-
nation of the
wall for watch-
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nation of the
wall for watch-
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e contrarie) that eue-
had, should resort in-
ed, with such armour

The ordi-
nation of the
wall for watch-
ing.

ing given upon paine
e contrarie) that eue-
had, should resort in-
ed, with such armour

The ordi-
nation of the
wall for watch-
ing.

force they determined to set upon the Britains a-
gaine. So that assembling their powers together,
the kings of both those nations exhorted their men to
do valiantlie. Eugenius the king of the Scottish
men incourageth them through hope of high re-
wards and spoile. The Pictish king likewise for his
part promiseth the lieutenantship of Camelon (an
office of most honor amongst them) unto him that
first should passe the wall of Abircoine. Whereupon
the Britains being advertised of their enemies in-
tentions according to the ordinance before appoin-
ted, drew in defensable wise unto that part of the
wall, where they understood the Scots and Picts
were minded to assault.

At length when the Scottish and Pictish kings
were come to the wall, and had their people readie to
give the assault, they themselves stood apart some-
what out of danger of shot: and such bands as were
appointed to assault, advanced forth of the maine bat-
tels under the leading of that Craine, the which (as
ye have heard) was chiefe in expelling the Britains
when they had first made the same wall by command-
ement of Maxime the Romane lieutenant. Yet
ther shewed he lesse proofe of his valiance at this
time than he had don before. For though the Britains
made earnest resistance, so far as their power would
extend, yet at the length by great force the wall was
undermined and throwen downe in sundrie places,
so that the whole number of the Scots and Picts en-
tered by the same into Pictland, beating downe the
Britains on eche side that went about to make resi-
stance, for none escaped their hands, but such as sa-
ved themselves by flight.

There came also an other power of Scots and
Picts by water out of Fife, and landing in Pictland,
pursued the Britains with more crueltie than the
kings did themselves. Both houses and people pas-
sed by fire and sword, in such sort that all such of the
Britains as could get away, withdrew forth of the
countrie, not staying till they came beyond the ri-
uer of Tyne; by reason whereof, all the countrie
which lieth betwixt Tyne and Tyne was deliuered
by appointment of the kings unto the soldiers, to
spoil and sle at their pleasure, whereupon followed
manie notorious examples of crueltie, enuie, con-
tention, wrath & malice. In the meane time, whilest
the Scottish and Pictish men of warre applied their
market, the Britains with all diligence repaired
and newlie fortified the other wall begun (as is said)
by the emperor Adrian, shooting overthwart the
countrie from the river of Tyne, unto the river of
Gtke.

Howbeit the Scots and Picts, because winter ap-
proched, made no further attempt against the Bri-
tains at that time, but dividing those countries
which lie by north from the foresaid wall of Adrian,
among themselves, according to the order in that
behalf appointed by their kings, they fortified cer-
teine castles and holds for defense of the same coun-
tries, as it were to countergarison such Britains
as continuallie kept watch and ward upon the fore-
said wall. The Britains therefore mistrusting least
so soone as the spring were come, the Scots would
inuaide their countries which lay on the south part
of the same wall, breaking in by force through it, as
they had done the yere before through the other wall
of Abircoine, they sent ambassadors unto Etius the
Romane lieutenant, governing Gallia now called
France, under the emperor Valentinian, requir-
ing to haue some aid and succour at his hands,
whereby to resist such fierce and cruell enemies, as
sought to destroy and expell out of their lands and
houses, all such of the Britains as acknowledged
themselves in any manner of wise subiects unto the

empire.

But Etius, whether he would not, or rather be-
cause he committie could not (for that he was o-
therwise occupied in defense of Gallia against the
French men) made a direct answer that he had no
men of warre in store to send over into Britaine,
and therefore willed them to do what they could for
their owne defense, for aid of him they might none
haue. The messengers returned home with this an-
swer, and made report thereof in a publike assem-
bly of all the British nobilitie, being as then gather-
ed together at London to consult there for the estate
and order of their countrie. Where after long deli-
beration (notwithstanding that they perceived they
should haue no more aid from the Romans) it was
yet determined, that to resist the enemies, the whole
puissance of the British nation should be mustered,
as well men as women, being able to do any feat
of seruice available in defense of their countrie, & a-
ther to trie the uttermost point of fortunes chance,
than to suffer themselves to be overrun without re-
sistance. But Conanus Camber, a prince of great
authoritie amongst them, as one that was descen-
ded of the bloud of Maxime sometime king of Bri-
taine, went about with earnest persuasions to re-
moue the residue of the nobilitie from this determi-
nation, abusing them to seeke for peace at the Sco-
tishmens hands, rather than to trie the doubtful
chance of wars his iudgement, considering the
feebleness of their whole force now, euer since that
the tyrant Maximianus had in manner emptied and
dispeopled the land of all such able men as were apt
for seruice in the warres. But this abuse of Cona-
nus was verie euill taken, & moued the multitude
that heard him, to be greatly offended with his
words, not sparing to say that he spake like no true
man nor louer of his countrie; so that the former or-
dinance (that is to say, to seeke an end of the wars
by dint of sword) was allowed for the best.

Whereupon there were musters taken, armour
and weapon provided, and both day and place appoin-
ted, where they should assemble together to march
forth towards the enimie. Conanus for lamenting
their doings, called almightie God to record, that
that which he had said, was spoken onlie for the
loue & zeale which he bare to his countrie, & such
his advise might not be followed, he doubted great-
lie least the ruine of the British state by some fatall
appointment drew fast upon them. The people hear-
ing him speake thus, some wilfull wicked persons
fell upon him, and due him there presentlie amongst
them: wherewith other being soe moued to indig-
nation, set upon the murderers, there to haue re-
uenged his death immediatlie. Whereupon began
taking of parts, and together they went by the eares
in such a furious wise, that sundrie amongst them
being slaine, the magistrats had much adoe to appease
the fraie.

In this meane time, whilest the Britains were
thus busied in sending of their ambassadors to the
Romans, & consulting together for defense of their
countrie, the Scots first raced downe the wall of
Abircoine, not leaving one piece thereof whole, so
that a few tokens excepted, nothing remaineth to be
seene at this day of all that huge and wonderfull
worke, it is called now in these daies Crainsike,
because that Craine was not onlie (as ye have
hard) chiefe in expelling the Britains from the same,
but also at this time in the racing of it to the ground
he was the greatest doer. Which being accom-
plished, the Scottish and Pictish kings assembled their
powers, and overthrow all such fortresses as had not
bene destroyed the yere before: standing on the
northside of Adrian's wall, the which wall the Bri-
tains

Etius refus-
eth to aid the
Britains.

The Bri-
tains for lacke
of the Ro-
mans, deter-
mine yet to
make resi-
stance.

Conanus
Camber
counselleth
the Britains
to seeke peace
at the Scotish
mens hands.

Britaine dis-
peopled of
warlike men by
Maximianus.

Conanus
counsel is re-
ceived.

The Bri-
tains make
their appoynt-
ment to go against
the Scots.

Conanus is
slaine a-
mongst the
Britains.

The Scots
raze the wall
of Abircoine.

Crainsike.

The Scottish
and Pictish
kings inuaide
the British
borderers.

Whians wall
undermined
and over-
throwen.

fains had newlie fortified, but yet were not able to defend the same from the power of the enimie, who now set vpon the Britains with maine force, in so much that undermining the foundations of that wall in diuers places; at length sundrie parts thereof were reuerfed into the ditch, so that the souldiers breaking in by the same, cruellie beate downe the Britains which stood at defense.

Cruellie of
Scots.

The entrie being thus wonne, both the kings with their powers marched forth into the south countries, commandement being giuen that no man vpon paine of death should kill anie woman or child, aged person, or otherwise impotent and not able to beare armour. But this commandement in some places was but slenderlie obried; such desire of reuenge was planted in the Scottishmens hearts, by reason of the remembrance of old iniuries, that vnrath made them anie difference either of age or sex. To be short, all those countries which lie betwixt the riuers of Tyne and Humber, were wasted & spoiled, the whole number of the inhabitants (such as could make thist to escape the enimies hands) got them ouer the foresaid riuier of Humber, there to remaine as further out of danger. The report of which mischiefe being brought to London, the lords there (who as ye haue heard were not all of one accord together) they took new aduise, to redresse the present mischiefe in this maner. First they thought it best to send forth two ambassadores, one to the Scots & Picts to require a peace; & an other with letters to Etius the Romaine lieutenant in France, for fresh aid and succour. The tenour of which letters as then sent vnto Etius here inseth.

The lords
of Britaine
take new ad-
uise.

See more
hereof in
England.
The tenour of
the letters
sent vnto Et-
tius from the
Britains, as
is written by
Hecst. Boetius.

The lamentable complaints of the Britains vnto Etius thise consill. At what time our elders became subiects vnto the Romans, they vnderstood by woorthie proofes and notable examples, that the Senate was a most safe refuge and haue, to be wished of all such as fled to the same for support. But we their posteritie by the pernicious working of the legat Vaspianus, tending whole to our destruction, being spoiled both of force and substance, and therefore remaining in great danger of losing both kingdome and liues, through the sore and terrible inuasion of our most cruell enimies the Scots and Picts, making humble sute for succours vnto the Romaine empire, according to the loiall trust and most assured confidence, the which euer like true and faithfull subiects we haue reposed in the same, are yet neglected, & nothing regarded, but deliuered as a prey vnto the barbarous nations to be spoiled, destroyed, and slaine in most pitious wise, which can not but be an euident signe, that either the Romans haue changed their most commendable maners into the worst that may be deuised, either els their most large empire, thorough the wrath and high displeasure of almighty God, is now giuen for a prey vnto other foreign nations. But if it be so, that the fatall force of the time present doth require, that without all remedie the land of the Britains being taken auaie from the Romans, must needs be brought vnder the subiection of some barbarous nation, we neither abhorre nor refuse the gouernement of anie people or nation, the Scots and Picts (the most cruell of all other) onelie excepted, whose cruellie we hauing long since too much tasted, are at this present brought vnto that point by their late increased puissance, that we know not now after the losse of our gods and cattell, which way to safe gard our liues; for the turffe walls being pulled downe, and the ditches filled by with earth, which aforesaid did somewhat state them, now breaking in vpon vs without letting passe anie kind of cruellie, they haue destroyed our fields, burned bp our houses, towncs &

villages, beaten downe & rased euen to the ground our castles and towres, with such other places of defense, not sparing to put to the sword as well the poore innocent children, women, and impotent aged, as such other innumerable numbers of men, which they haue slaine standing at defense with weapon in hand. And as for vs, which are the residue of our decayed nation, they haue driuen euen to the sea side, and from thence (because we cannot passe ouer) we are put backe vpon our enimies againe. And here of proceed two kinds of our destruction, for either we are drowned in the raging floods, either else slaine most vnnecessarie by our cruell enimies. Therefore if the honor of the Romaine people, if our assured loialtie and loue, which we beare to the emperre of Rome, now continued for the space of these 500 yeares or thereabout, may moue you to rue on our miseries, we humble pray and beseech you, not to suffer vs longer to be trodden vnder foot of these our most beastlie and cruell enimies, but send vnto vs some conuenable succours and that with all speed, least we seeme to be more cruellie betrayed of the Romans, than brought to destruction by these barbarous people, and that we be not set forth as a notable example for all other to beware, how they put confidence hereafter either in the rule or friendship of the Romans.

Paulus Diaconus, Beda, Gefray of Monmouth, Veremound, and others make mention of these foresaid letters. Wherevpon Etius answering, declared that those calamities, misfortunes and losses sustained by the Britains were right displeasing vnto him, and so much the more, for that through the sundrie inuasions made, aswell into France as also into Italie it selfe, and into other parties of the Romaine empire by people of sundrie nations, he could not as then spare anie men of warre to send ouer vnto them, & therefore he willed the Britains to make the best thist they could to defend themselves for a time, till things were better quieted in other parties, and then should they see such redresse of their iniuries provided, as they should thinke themselves to be vberie well reuenged. About the same time that the ambassadores returned with this answer vnto London from Etius, the other also came backe forth of the north without hope to speed of that about the which they had bin sent, for the Scots & Picts would incline to no reasonable conditions of peace, vntill the Britains would wholly submit themselves as subiects vnto them. The Britains hereat took such indignation, that by generall consent they agreed to trie it out with the enimies by maine force; & herevpon made their prouision with all diligence. The Scots and Picts hearing of the Britains intents, gathered their people together with more speed than was thought possible for them to haue done, & forthwith rushed into the borders of their enimies countries in right puissant wise and most warlike order.

In the fore ward went such as came forth of Calolway and Annandale, with those Picts which inhabited about the coasts of Barwicke. Then followed there a mightie battell of those which came forth of Argile, Athole, and other Picts inhabiting nere vnto the parties of Kalendar and Camelone with them of Fife, and Angus. In the midst of this battell both the kings kept their place with their choicest souldiers, and standards borne afore them. Then went the carriage and trulle of the armie, next wherevnto a great number of noble men of both the nations followed in faire order of battell, with their seruants and men of warre the best they could chose forth. And last of all (as the maner of those nations hath bene euen from the beginning) there came a great multitude of the commons closing vp the back of the whole

whole afore said

The Britains
with their
enemies, when
the maine force
of discouraged
fore once againe
chased. But
to the confeder-
was, that cru-
selus, their w-
and substance
ple without al-
granted. The
of the Britains
one part, and
their minds to
change of pur-
number of the
Whereof in
for the Britains
fence of their
deaths vpon
than is credib-
uerthelie a gr-
much that the
sing in the for-
and such other
were in great
Graime perce-
armie was ru-
both the kings
men, who iner-
sent them wit-
succors of the
point to haue
comming of
toke courage
most hercelie
with great fla-
Britains bein-
enimies, and
ning auaie, th-
bogs, master
place of the ba-
remained wit-
constitute of
ed them into
small number
tell of the Brit-
Scots and P-
The Britains
saw no helpe
onelic to suc-
sent therefore
kings, besee-
peace, euen
them to perfect
the present for-
with their ow-
right warthie
fented to gran-
the Britains
nant or armie
enimie of the
tion fouer he
They should e-
nation, nor
out consent of
ther should be-
ner of enimie
Whereouer, th-
children, and
tries, lieng l

The Brit-
ains doubt
to come with
the maine ar-
my of the
Scots and
Picts.

The Brit-
ains vpon
the Scottish-
mens refusal
to haue peace,
require to
fight battell.

The fierce on-
ing men by
the Britains.

Graime au-
thoritie in op-
posing of the
battell.

Whole of the
westerne fies
comming to
the succors of
the fore ward,
enjoyed the
battell.

The Brit-
ains run a-
waie.

The number
of them that
were slaine on
both sides.

The Brit-
ains make
humble sute
by peace.

Peace gran-
ted by the
Scots with
the conditions
of the same.

But not
largely as
here is re-
corded.
The answer
of Etius.

The Scots
and Picts
would agree
vpon more
conuenient
conditions of peace.

The Scots
and Picts
prepare to
fight the
Britains.

The order
of the Scots
and Picts
entring into
the lands of
the Britains.

whole aforesaid armie.

The Britains also comming forth into the field with their whole puissance to encounter their enemies, when they understood by espials the order and maine force of the Scots and Picts, they were halfe discouraged in their minds, and thought good therefore once againe to assaie if anie peace might be purchased. But sending forth their ambassadours unto the confederat kings, to that end their answer was, that except the Britains would yeld themselves, their wives and children, with all their goods and substance into the hands of their enemies, simple without all conditions, there would be no peace granted. When this was knowne abroad in the host of the Britains, what thorough kindeled ire on the one part, and soule despaire on the other, prouoking their minds to displeasure, they generallie upon change of purpose required battell, euen all the whole number of them.

Whereof ensued a most cruell and mortall fight: for the Britains (as it were) resolved to die in defence of their countrie, and to reuenge their owne deaths upon their enemies, with more fiercenesse than is credibie to be thought, gaue the onfet, and utterly slew a great number of their enemies, insomuch that those of Galloway and the Picts fighting in the fore ward with them of Argyle, Athole, and such other as were in the battell with the kings, were in great danger to be put to the sword: which Graime perceiuing (by whome the most part of the armie was ruled, and that by commandement of both the kings) called forth a number of the Island-men, who were appointed to attend the cariage, and sent them with all diligence to the fore ward to the succors of them of Galloway, being then at the point to haue sought refuge by flight. But by the comming of these Island-men to their succors, they took courage afresh, so that the battell was againe most fiercelie renewed, and so continued a space with great slaughter on both parts, till finally the Britains being oppressed with the multitude of their enemies, and not able longer to indure, fell to running awaie, thinking to saue themselves in certaine bogs, moasses, and marish grounds neere vnto the place of the battell: but such coiserels, and other as remained with the Scottish cariage, seeing the discomforture of their aduersaries, ran forth and pursued them into those marishes, killing and taking no small number of them. There were slaine in this battell of the Britains, aboue 15 thousand, and of the Scots and Picts neere hand foure thousand.

The Britains hauing receiued this ouerthrow, saw no helpe which waite to recover their losses, but onelie to sue for peace at the victors hands. They sent therefore an orator vnto the Scottish & Pictish kings, beseeching them humble to grant them a peace, euen with what conditions it should please them to prescribe. The kings not moued onelie with the present fortune of the Britains, but also partlie with their owne, hauing lost no small number of right worthie personages in the battell, were contented to grant a peace vpon these conditions: That the Britains should in no wise receiue anie lieutenant or armie hereafter from Rome, nor suffer anie enemy of the Scottish and Pictish estates, of what nation soeuer he were, to passe through their countrie. They should enter into no league with anie citie or nation, nor be about to make anie warres with out consent of the Scottish and Pictish kings, and further should be readie to serue them against all manner of enemies whensoever they should be sent for. Moreover, they should remoue with their wives, children, and whole families out of all those countiees, lieng betwixt Line and Dumber, resigning

the possession of the same vnto the Scottishmen and Picts.

Also they should giue thre score thousand peeces of gold then current to the Scottish & Pictish kings, towards the dispatch of their soldiers wages, and further should payd as a tribute twentie thousand peeces of gold, to be paid yerelie vnto the severall vices of the victors. They should likewise deliuer one hundred hostages of such as the two kings should appoint, betwixt the age of eightene and thirtie yers. These conditions of peace though they seemed verie strict & greivous to the British nobilitie, yet for that they understood not how to make a better bargain, they perswaded the multitude to accept them, and so a league thereupon was concluded amongst those people, and the publike state of the land brought to a more quiet rule than it had bene before. Thus were the Britains made tributarie to the Scottishmen and Picts, about 500 yeres after Julius Cesar had brought them in subiection to the Romans, being in the yere after the birth of our Saviour 446, and of Eugenius his reigne over the Scottishmen the seventh.

In this season was the Ile of Albion fore infected with the heresie of the Pelagians, and therefore pope Celestine sent one Paladius a learned man vnto the Scots, to persueve them from that infection, and ordeined him bishop, the first in Scotland that had his inuention from Rome: for all the other before him were ordeined by the voices or suffrages of the people, choosing them forth among the monks and priests called Culdeis, as the Scottish chronicles doe report. Paladius with right good and wholesome exhortations purged the Scots and Picts of sundrie superstitious rites of their old gentillish idolatry, till those daies used amongst them, whereupon he is named and reputed for the Scottishmens apostle. He lieth at Fordruce, a towne in Pernes, where his reliques remained, and were long after had in great estimation.

Moreover he instituted one Seruan bishop of the Orkenies, that he might instruct the inhabitants there in the faith of Christ, which as yet they had not receiued: and one Teruan, whome he himselfe had baptised, he made archbishop of Pictland. In these daies also manie strange sights were scene in sundrie parts of Britaine before the last mentioned ouerthrow: the moone being in plaine opposition to the sunne, when it should be most round, appeared in a quadrant figure. At Perth it rained blood: and trees in sundrie places being blasted, withered and died. The market place, or rather (if ye will so tearme it) Cheapside in London opened, so that a great hole appeared, and manie houses were swallowed vp. About the same season also (as is supposed) liued that huge personage Finnmacoell, a Scottishman borne of seven cubites in height. He was a great hunter, and fore feared of all men by reason of his mightie stature, and large lims: manie fables go abroad of him, not so agreeable to the likelihood of truth, as ought to be registred in an historie, and therefore here passed ouer with silence.

The Romane empire being brought into irrecoverable ruine by the Vandals, Gothes, Hunnes, Frenchmen, and other barbarous nations, occupying sundrie parts and portions thereof, put the Britains out of all hope to haue anie assistance from the emperors, which caused them to remaine in quiet certein yeres without attempting any exploit against the Scots or Picts, and so duclie paid their couenanted tribute, though sore against their wills, if they might otherwise haue remedied it. At the last about ten yeres after the conclusion of this last peace, it chanced that one Conanus the sonne of the aboue

Wij.

mentioned

6000 pound
the Britains
tributarie to
the Scots and
Picts.
436. H. B.

The Britains
tributarie to
the Scots and
Picts.
436. H. B.

Of this Pa-
ladius who
more in Ire-
land.

Paladius ac-
counted the
apostle of
Scotland.

Seruan bi-
shop of Orke-
nie, and Ter-
uan archbi-
shop of Pict-
land.
Unketh
sights and
strange won-
ders appered.

Finnmacoell
the great
hunter.

Conanus a
Britaine go-
th about to
persuade his
countrie men
to breake the
peace conclu-
des with the
Scots and
Picts.

to the ground
places of de-
as well the
otent aged,
men, which
h weapon in
ie of our de-
the sea side,
our we
And here,
for either
either else
all enemies.
people, if our
to the em-
ace of these
on to rue on
each you, not
of these
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The Scots
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tions of peace.

The Scots
and Picts
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gainst the
Britains.

The order of
the Scots
and Picts
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the lands of
the Britains.

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The Brit-
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peace.

The Brit-
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peace.

mentioned Conanus, descended of the blood of the Detains, sometimes kings of the Britains, fore assigned to see his countrie thus brought into thraldome of the Scottish nation, and devising how to find some rebbers, called together the most part of the British nobilitie, by secret message home to a manour place which he had within a thicke wood in the countrie of Kent, and there opening unto them a great peece of his mind, perswaded them with the weightiest reasons he could imagine, to leue warre against the Scots and Picts, hauing at that present, meanes now since the last warres to mainteine it, as well by reason of their increase both of able men, as also of substance to furnish them withall.

The Britains hauing respect to their sonnes & kindred lieng in hostage would not agree to breake the peace.

The kings of the Scots & Picts offended with the conspacie of the Britains, perswaded vnto them new articles to be performed.

Impudent ferilitie intruded vpon the Britains by the proud and cruel Scots, if it be true.

The commons of Britaine offended with their gouernors.

The commons of Britaine conspire against the nobles.

One estate of men cannot live without helpe of another.

Where the nobles were of sundrie opinions: for some awearied with the note of bondage, would gladlie haue had warres: other hauing regard to their sons lieng in hostage with the enimies, would in no wise consent thereto: by reason whereof this counsell brake vp without conclusion of anie effect. When ech man was returned to his home, there had bene some amongst them, that gaue knowledge to the confederate kings what motion had bene made, and what was intended against them. Whereupon they immediatlie determined, not onelie to cause the hostages to be executed, but also to pursue the rebbers with fierce and cruell warres. Yet before they practised anie violence, they sent their ambassadoes vnto the Britains, to vnderstand their full meaning, and to declare vnto them further certaine articles which the said kings required to haue performed without all delays, or else to looke for open warre out of hand.

The chiefest points of which articles were these. First that the Britains should not assemble together in counsell without licence of the Scottish and Pictish kings, notwithstanding that their ancient laws they might vse at their pleasure, but they should receiue no stranger into their countrie being a Roman or a Frenchman, neither merchant nor other. Their old hostages they should receiue home againe, and deliuer in exchange of them twise so manie in number of the like age and degree, as was covenanted by the former league. The commons of the land vnderstanding what was demanded by these ambassadoes, were in a wonderfull rage, and would haue made a great surre if they had not bene quieted by the lords, who for their paines taken herein, got them an euill report amongst the inferior sort of people, as though through their want of stomach onlie, the common-wealth was brought into such a miserable estate, that looke what it pleased the enimie to charge the British nation with, no man durst once speake against it.

This grudge of the commons increased so farre forth against their superiours, that after the Scottish and Pictish ambassadoes were returned home, with answer agreeable to their demandes, their arose incontinentlie a great commotion of the people, conspiring together the viter destruction of the whole nobilitie. But their furie was repressed, so that they were ouerthrowne in battell at two severall times with great slaughter and bloodshed, whereupon they withdrew into the mounteins, and there kept themselves, making railes vpon the nobilitie, and fetching booties awaite from the herds and flocks of cattell belonging to the lords and gentlemen: but finally through famine which began to oppresse both parties, they perceined what need the one had of the others helpe, and so they agreed. This ciuill warre fore decreed the force of the Britains, for beside the great slaughter that was made betwixt them, by the avoiding of the commons out of their houses, the ground laie vntilled, whereof ensued a marvellous

great scarcitie and dearth of all things, by reason whereof an innumerable sort of people died. Yet shortly after followed such plentie, that those that were left aloue forgetting the pasted miseries, gaue themselves to all kind of vice, which took such root in the hearts of the more part of them, that for anie man to vse anie manner of vertue amongst them, was a readie meane to procure great enuie and hatred.

In the meane time liued the Scottish and Pictish kings in good quiet and rest, applieng their studies onelie how to instruct their people now after the warres were once ended, in laudable exercises and necessarie occupations, conuenient for the time of peace, whereby their realmes might flourish in welth and prosperitie without dread of anie foreign power. For they saw such tokens of ruine in the British estate, as small likelihood appeared, that the same should at anie time be able to recouer againe the former force and dignitie. Finally the Scottish king Eugenius hauing aduanced the estate of his countrie vnto more felicitie and wealth than anie of his predecessors had euer done before him, after he had reigned thirtie yeeres, he ended his life about the fourth yeere of Leo, that usurped the empire of Constantinople.

But forsomuch as Eugenius left no issue behind him, his brother named Dongard succeeded in the estate. He began his reigne in the yeere 470, and his chiefest studie was, according to his brothers example, to prouide for the maintenance of good order and iustice, appointing in euerie quarter men of god same and report to haue the administration vnder him, with commandement that they should diligently forese, that euerie man might inioy his owne. He himselfe took vpon him also to see to the repairing of such castles as were decayed, and to the building vp of new in places where he thought most expedient, specially nere to the British borders, for he well considered that peace increased riches, riches pride and presumption, with other sinnes, which could not long endure without the plague of wars. Therefore he doubting the changes of fortunefull fortune, thought good in time of peace to prouide for the dangers of warre, when the same should happen vnto him.

These ciuill policies and princelie prouisions for defense of his countrie and subiects increased the fame of Dongard mightilie, but that which he did towards the aduancement of religion did most exceedingly set forth his commendation. First, all such religious men as followed the trade of life taught by Paladius and others, which came with him from Rome, he caused them to be highly reuerenced: and for the maintenance of their liuing, he assigned forth lands, houses, and other kinds of reuenues in diuers places of his realme, and granted not onelie vnto them, but also vnto all other, being within anie orders of clergie, sundrie priuileges, appointing that the churches & abbeyes with other holie places should be infranchised and taken for sanctuaries, that all such as fled to the same for safegard of their liues, should be suffered to rest in peace, so long as they kept them within the same.

About the same time also, and whilst these things were thus aduancing in Scotland, the Britains being awearied of their seruite estate, through the setting on of Conanus, conspired together, and took aduise by what meanes they might best take to deliuer themselves from the thraldome of Scots and Picts, and vpon aduise taken they concluded to send ouer into Britaine Armozike some honorable ambassage vnto Androenus the king of that countrie for aid. Wherewith was the archbishop of London appointed

Superioritie
with respect
of vice.

The Scots
applied
themselves
to peace.

The death
of Eugenius
the Scottish
king.

Dongard,
Dongard
king of
Scots.

461. H. B.
The death
of Dongard
by
persecution
of iustice
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good order.

The repairing
of castles
by
Dongard.

The Scots
and Picts
make their
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The Scots
and Picts
ap-
proue
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Britains.

The bounds
of liberty
of Dongard
towards
churchmen.

Donard ex-
posed his
people to fight
manfully.

The bounds
of liberty
of Dongard
towards
churchmen.

The Scots
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saile to reuenge old injuries against them, they should be little able to match him without aid of the Scots (whereof they had small trust now, by reason of the insufficiency of the Scottish king) they devised a meane how to rid the British king out of the waie, and so appointing certaine lie fellows to go into Britaine for the accomplishment of their devised purpose, at length the same was brought to passe, as in the English chronicles ye shall find more at large, though in the same chronicles there is mention made but of one Bit that should worke this feat, where the Scottish writers record of diuers, which neuertheless were apprehended, and after bound both hand and foot, were cast into a mightie great fire, and therein burnt to ashes in most miserable wise, as by the said Scottish writers it appereth. The death of this Constantine king of Britains happened in the 15 yere of Constantine king of Scots, neither liued he long after: for hauing rauished a noble mans daughter, borne in the weserne Isles, he was slaine by his father in the night season, after he had reigned in great infamie for his reprochfull life, the space of 17 yeres.

Constantine the Scottish king is slaine by one whose daughter he had rauished. Anno 481.

Dongall. Dongall the sonne of Dongard is made king of Scotland.

The politike rule of Dongall.

Constantinus a monke elected king of Britaine.

Mortigerns treason. Constantinus murdered.

Guistellus generall of the British army

Then was Dongall his nephew, as sonne to his brother Dongard, proclaimed king, a prince of disposition indifferent either to peace or warre, though in the beginning of his reigne he shewed himselfe more desirous of peace than of warres, by reason the state of the common-wealth so required, considering how things stood not all in the best order, through his predecessors negligence. Dongall therefore desirous of a reformation, appointed men of great wisdom and good fame to be iudges and officers vnder him, who in redressing misorders, in punishing transgressions, & in deciding of all strifes and contentions betwixt partie & partie, did so well their endeavour, that peace and concord thereupon ensuing, the people recovered peaceable rest and quietnesse, to their no small comfort and contentation.

In this meane while that things passed thus among the Scots, by the procurement of one Mortigern, Constantinus the eldest sonne of the late deceased Constantine king of Britains, was taken out of an abbey, where he was shorne a monke, and advanced to the kingdome: but being not meet of himselfe to gouerne, Mortigern had the whole rule committed to his hands, whereupon he first caused the league to be renewed betwixt the Britains, the Scots, and Picts, and appointed a garrd of the same Scots and Picts to be attendant on the kings person: in the end also he procured some of them to murder the king, and after put all the said Scots and Picts to death, as well the guiltie as the vnguiltie, and finally made himselfe king, as in the historie of England you shall find more at large expressed.

The Scots and Picts (for displeasure that these countreymen which had bene appointed to garrd the person of Constantinus king of the Britains, were maliciouslie circumvented, & the more part of them wrongfullie executed) made sundrie roades and forraides into the British borders, neither sparing fire nor sword where they came. So that the said Mortigern by a greivous report informed hereof, caused an armie with all speed to be leued, and appointed Guistellus the prince of Wales to haue the leading thereof against the enemies: whilst he (doubting least the people would not be ruled by him, for that it was known how he would haue made away Constantines children) kept him about London, & durst not commit himselfe so much to the sight of a multitude, as to go forth in that iourne in his owne person.

Guistellus, in respect of the loue which he bare to his countrie, purposing to serue truelie in defense

thereof, chanced vpon his approach to the borders to take the number of five hundred of the enemies, being advanced from the residue to fetch a bottie. These Guistellus caused to be hanged, as condemned for robbers and pillers of the countrie afore anie outbreak of warre was denounced. Whereupon such other as escaped by flight, and had sene their fellows thus executed, declared vnto their gouernors what had happened vnto their fellowes. The confederate kings, being in a great chafe herewith, gather together their people, and haile forward with all speed toward the enemies, who at the first shewed manifest tokens that they were fore afraid of the Scottish and British power: whereupon Guistellus their generall with comfortable words willed them to be of good courage, and not to doubt of victorie, hauing so iust a cause to fight with truce-breakers, and such as were giuen more vnto pillage and spoile, than to anie other commendable exercise or practise of warre.

With such and sundrie other the like words the Britains being emboldened, as might well appere by their change of countenances, Guistellus thereupon removed his campe more nere vnto his enemies, so that at the first and for certaine daies together, there chanced onlie diuers skirmishes betwixt the parties, as occasion serued. But at length the one being fore moued against the other, they ioin in a pight field. The beginning of which battell was very fierce and doubtfull. For on that side where Dongall the Scottish king fought, the Britains shortly began to preuaile, through the faint fighting of his people: which danger Calanus the Pictish king quicklie perceiving, forthwith provided remedie: for taking with him certaine bands out of his owne battell, willing the residue to stand to it manfullie, and in no wise to giue ground to the enimie, he himselfe with the said bands fetched a compasse about, and set vpon the backs of them that so had outmatched the Scots.

This sudden chance sore disordered the Britains, and immediatlie the Scots encouraged afresh, assailed their enemies with more eger minds than they had done at the first, so that maintanentlie both the wings of the British armie were vtterlie discomfited. And herewith a certaine number of the Picts were commanded by their king to make halfe to win the campe of the Britains, that such as sought to escape by flight, should find no refuge in the same. Thus the Britains being chased and slaine on euerie side, they knew not whither to flie: so that in the end a great number of them throwing away their weapons, yielded themselves, most humble craning mercie at their enemies hands. There were slaine in this battell about twentie thousand of the Britains, together with their generall Guistellus, and a great number of other of the nobilitie. There died also of the Scots and Picts nere hand foure thousand. The prisoners with the spoile of the field were diuided by appointment of the kings amongst the souldiers. Which done, they marched forth into the countrie to conqueere castles and townes, such as stood in their waie.

In the meane time, the Britains being sore discomfited with the ouerthrow, assembled a councell at London, there to deuise by what meanes they might best defend their countrie from the imminent danger in the which it now stood. Mortigern as one guiltie in conscience, doubted least through want of good wils in his commons, he should not be able to withstand the mightie inuasion of his enemies, whereupon he was minded to haue avoided the realme, but there were of his councell that aduised him to the contrarie, holding, that better it was for him to trie the bittermost point of fortures hap, than with

the enemies

The Scots and Picts

The Britains

The Scots

The king of Picts

The king of Picts

The king of Picts

Mortigern is

Mortigern

The Saxons

The Saxons

The king of Picts

The king of Picts

The king of Picts

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disamor so to peld at the first blow of his forward
hand, considering the abundance of treasure which
he had in those, wherewith he might wage souldiers
and men of warre out of Germanie & other places,
in number sufficient to match with his enemies.

This counsell as the best was follo and, and messen-
gers with commission & sufficient instructions sent
with all sped into Germanie, to retaine a number
of Saxons, and to bring them over into Britaine, to
serue against the Scots and Pias in wages with

Wostigerne.

At the same time there were amongst those Sax-
ons two brethren, descended by rightfull linage of
the princes of that nation, who bring reputed for va-
liant captains, appointed with the British commis-
saries for a certeine summe of monie to take vp
their prescribed number of men, & to receiue charge
of them as cozencels, aswell for their conuait ouer
into Britaine, as also for their seruice there, after
their arrival. The one of these two brethren was cal-
led Hengist or Engist, and the other Horsa, who ha-
uing their appointed numbers once filled, contei-
ning about ten thousand souldiers in the whole, they
bestowed them abroad in thirtie hulks, hoies, and
plaits, and in the same transported them ouer into
Britaine, in the 449 yere after Christ, as our histo-
ries do affirme: where they were receiued with
great ioy and gladnesse of Wostigerne, who trusted
by their aid to ouercome his fierce and dreadfull eni-
mies.

Therefore when they had refreshed themselves
somewhat after their trauell by sea, they were sent
forth with an other armie which Wostigerne had as-
sembled of his owne subjects the Britains, to the
frontiers of the enemies countrie, where at their first
comming they passed ouer the riuer of Humber, be-
fore the Scots or Pias had knowledge that anie
such people were come in support of the Britains to
bid them battell. They being therefore amazed with
the strangenesse of the thing, some of them fled into
the inner parts of their countrie, & other that made
but foxie shift, fell into the hands of the Saxons, who
to begin their enterprize with blood, slawe all such as
they could laie hands vpon, without anie respect of
person. Great was the slaughter by them commit-
ted in all those parties where they passed, namelic a-
bout the riuer of Tine. And when they had made an
end there, they entred into Northumberland, and so
into the dales about Berwike, next adioining vnto
Dieland, destroing all before them with fire and
sword.

The British king in the meane time had sent vn-
to Dongall the king of Scots to come with all sped
to support him against the dreadfull inuasion of the
enemies, whose force being now increased with a
power of Saxons, would worke much mischiefe, if
the same were not the more speedilie in the begin-
ning repelled: but hearing that the Saxons and
Britains daile approached, he thought not good to ta-
rie for the comming of the Scots, but hastied forth
with his owne power to incounter his aduersaries,
and rashlie giuing battell, he was ouercome, and
thereby lost no small number of his people. In this
conflict the Saxons wan them a great name for
their high baliance, where contrarilie the Britains
got them no small note of gillie cowardize, fighting
so famtlic, that their captains had much adoe to cause
them to keepe their ground, being readie still to haue
run awaie: which their faintnesse of stomach being
noted of Hengist, euen then put him in no small
confidence that it should be an easie matter for him
to conquire them at his pleasure, when time and oc-
casion might serue thereto.

Th: Pias nation hauing receiued this grieuous

ouerthrow at the hands of their cruel enemies, sent
again an other ambassage vnto the Scottish king
Congall, to signifie to him by way of lamentation,
what losse had happened to them by that most cruel
people the Saxons void of all religion and mercie,
and what mischiefe by the same people was intent-
ed, aswell against Scots as Pias, vnto the great
danger of the utter ruine of both nations, if the eni-
mies in time were not resisted. They that were
sent, declared all this matter vnto king Congall,
and as they had in commission, be fought him of spee-
die succors. Congall not onlie moued for the harins
and losses of the Pias his friends and allies, but al-
so much more for the likelihood of the imminent dan-
ger and perill towards himselfe and his owne peo-
ple, determined speedilie to go with all his power,
and to ioine with the Pias, as fullie resolved to pre-
uent that mischiefe which was like to follow, if the
violent rage of the enemies were not the soner re-
sisted.

He sent word therefore to the Piasish king, that
if he might keepe off the enemies by light skirmishes
and incursions for a small time, he would come to
his aid shortly, with all the whole puissance of his
realme. And herewithall he commanded by open
proclamation, that all those within his dominions,
which were able to beare armour should by the twen-
tith day after assemble together at the south side of
Calidon wood, all and euerie of them bringing then
and there with them vittels sufficient to serue them
for two moneths. According to the which proclama-
tion, there came together at the day and place assig-
ned, about the number of 40000 able men, fit and
mete for the warres. On the morrow after, when
Congall had taken the musters & bew of his whole
numbers, he set forward towards the place where
he vnderstood that the king of the Pias as then lod-
ged, who had likewise assembled his people, and in
campe taried for the comming of the Scottish armie.

On the first day after, both the kings met together,
and shewed great tokens of intire loue and friend-
ship the one towards the other. After this they go to
heare diuine seruice, where they make their deuout
prayers vnto almighty God for their good sped and
luckie successe in that tourne: which being done,
they march forth toward the enemies, as then lieng
in campe not past ten miles from them. Were at the
first sight of the enemies, diuers of the Scots and
Pias being stricken with feare to behold so great a
multitude, as the like had not bene scene in those
parties manie a day before, they flike awaie and se-
cretlie hid themselves in the next woods. But the
kings, to giue example to other, caused them that
were thus flied awaie, to be sought out, & brought
again into the campe, where they were hanged in
open sight of all the armie.

The Saxons & Britains also vpon the approach of
their enemies gathered their companies together, &
maintenantlie herewith the Saxons encouraged
with such comfortable speech as Hengist uttered a-
mongest them, required to haue battell without de-
lay: whose example the Britains following, shewed
themselves also right willing thereto. Congall
the Scottish king perceiuing the enemies to make
readie for battell, went likewise amongst his folks,
and exhorted them in best wile he could, to play the
men. The like also did Galanus the Piasish king a-
mongest his people, omitting nothing that might
incourage them to fight manfullie. After this, the
battell on both sides comming forward to some, the
arrows and darts flue freshlie betwixt them, but
neither part minding to giue place for all the shot,
at length they ioined at handblowes, first the Bri-
tains in the right wing with the Scots in the left
wing;

The Scots
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their people to
resist the Sax-
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The Scots
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The Pias
enemies follo-
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Cogall promi-
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The Scottish
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enemies.

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gills exhorta-
tion desire
battell.

The Scottish
and Pias
kings exhort
their people to
fight valiant-
lie.

The battell
is begun.

The Britains flee.

A great tempest.

The Saxons close themselves together.

The Scots and Picts pursue the Britains.

The Saxons assault the Scots and Picts disorderd in pursuit of the Britains.

Hengist purposed at the first to make conquest of the Britains.

Hengist returneth to London.

Hengist offereth to send for more aid into Germany.

Hengist's offer is disliked of some of the nobilitie of Britaine.

The honors shewed unto Hengist by Alostigerne.

Britains sent to defend the borders, are distressed.

wing; but the Britains not able long to indure against the force of the Scots, gaue backe and fled. In the meane while came a great sholwer of raine, mixt with such a tempest of haile, that the hardiest there wished himselfe thence, the storme beating so fast upon them, that one might binneath see an other, so that the Scottishmen and Picts wist not whether were better to pursue the Britains that fled, or to keepe their places.

On the other part, the Saxons according to their maner in time of anie present danger, closed themselves togither and drew nere vnto their chiefe teins standard. Finallie the tempest no longer began to ceasse, but the Scots and Picts leauing their order of battell, fell to follow the chase of the Britains, supposing the victorie had bene wholie theirs. Which the Saxons (now after that the element began to cleare by) plainelie perceiuing, by commandement of Hengist their generall, assailed the Scots and Picts here and there dispersed about the spoile and slaughter of the Britains, and made such murder of them on euerie side where they found them, that pittie it was to behold. Those that escaped by flight, neuer staid till they were gotten into places faire enough out of danger. This was a blacke day with the Scots and Picts. Neither was it verie ioisfull to the Britains, of whome no small number died in the place by the enimies sword lamentable to see. Hengist hauing thus gotten the victorie, with-drew to Pothe, leauing those countries betwixt Tine and Ewe in the enimies handes, of purpose ceassing from further indamaging them, that the Britains might haue neighbours whome to feare: for that (as he thought) should make much for his purpose, already hauing determined to make a conquest of this Ile.

When summer then was well nere passed, he placed his souldiers in harbrough to lodge for the winter season, and went himselfe to London, where he counsell'd Alostigerne to send of his owne people to the borders of his enimies, to keepe the same from their inuasions till the next spring, against which time he promised to cause such notable numbers of his countriemen to come to his aid, as should suffice not onelie to vanquish the Scottishmen and Picts, but also utterlie to destroy both the nations, or at least wile to driue the more forth of the whole countrie. This offer vnto some of the nobilitie was not greatlie liked, as euer suspecting that which followed, least in time to come Hengist should seeke the dominion of the realme in placing his owne people, and expelling the former inhabitants. But Alostigerne did not onelie giue him most hartie thanks for those his offers, but also thewed by the maner of his interteinement, which he vsed towards him, that he thought he could not doe vnto him so much honor for such notable seruice as he had done already, and trusted he should doe hereafter. According to Hengist's aduise also, there was a crue of men of warre of Britains sent vnto the borders to the number of five thousand, who shortly after their comming thither, were quicklie dispatched and made awaie in sundrie skirmishes and incounters with the Scots and Picts, that assailed those places which they were appointed to defend.

Shortly after was sent thither also an other compaignie, double in number to the first, to redresse the deaths of their fellows; but they finding fortune as forward vnto them as the former had done before, sped much what a like, for in sundrie confli-duers of them being slaine, and diuers other by treason of the borderers themselves deliuered cap-tiue into the aduersaries hands, the residue that was left, perceiving in what danger they stood, thence they

might not trust their owne countriemen, returned backe into the inner parts of the land, and so left the borders altogether unfurnished. In this meane while a new supplie of five thousand Saxons, with their wives and children, came ouer into this land, in eightene hoies, and amongst other came Hengist's wife and his daughter the ladie Korena. Shortly after king Alostigerne gaue vnto Hengist his Saxons a great part of the countrie called Lind-seie, with a castell of great strength called Thong-castre. Some haue written that Hengist required of Alostigerne so much ground as he might compass with an ore hide, and hauing that granted, he took a nightie ore hide, and cut it into small thongs, and so compassing about a right strong plot of ground with those thongs line wise, began there the foundation of a castell, which took name of those thongs, wherewith the plot of ground was first measured, and so was it called Thong-castell. But vpon what consideration so euer it took that name, certelie it is by record of all the Scottish histories, that there the Saxons first inhabited after their entring into Britaine.

When Hengist had set things in order for the placing of his people there in dwellings (appointed them by Alostigerne) according as seemed best vnto his politike head and craftie forecass, he took forth the souldiers and men of warre, ordered vnder certaine capteins and officers of bands, and led them forward by slow iournies as it were staing for the comming of the Britains. Alostigerne had gathered as then an huge host of his subjects, and appointed his generall lieutenant ouer them his sonne Alostigerne, a yong man of great force and valiantie, but so that he should be ordered in all things by the aduise and discretion of Hengist, whose authority for the warres he commanded chiefelie to be followed.

When both the armies of Saxons and Britains were met togither, Hengist led them ouer the riuer of Humber and Tine, marching directlie towards the place where he thought the enimies laie. The Scottish and Pictish kings, hauing knowledge of such preparation made by the Britains, they gathered their powers togither, to the number of 60000 men, furnished with provision of vittels for a long time. But before their comming to the riuer of Tine, vpon knowledge had that the Saxons and Britains were passed the same, they made straight towards them, in purpose to haue giuen battell without longer protracting of time: howbeit comming to the place where they were lodged, they found them so stronglie incamped, that no aduantage could be perceiued which waie they might be constrained to raise and come forth of their strength to receiue battell vpon some euen ground, which Hengist of purpose for a time seemed to deferre.

Betwixt them also and the armies of the two kings there was a ballie, in the botome full of mires and marish grounds, which the Scottishmen and Picts must needs passe, per they could find meanes to doe ante notable displeasure to the enimies. Wherefore at length they determined with turfe and fagots to make passage ouer those mires, which being accomplished in the night following, the next morning they passed ouer and got them vnto certaine hilles lieng right ouer against the Saxon and Pictish camps, some of them taking their lodgings vpon the brow of front of an hill so nere to the lodgings of their enimies, that they might throwe a dart into their campe: and hereof they took no small occasion to worke a feat against their aduersaries, to their great annoiance and vexation.

There was growing in that place, where they were

Some writers of Saxons comming into Britaine

Thong-castell

The Saxons first inhabited in Britaine

Alostigerne generall of the Britains

The Saxons and Britains against the Picts

60000 of Saxons and Britains to meet the enimies

Hengist's long time to giue battell

60

A pollicie of the Britains

The tumult and feare raised in the campe of the Saxons

Hengist calleth his people togither

Congals exhortation to the Scots

Hengist exhorteth the Saxons to fight manfully

The Scots and Picts giue the charge

The Saxons in danger to lose the ouerthrow

An ambush of three thousand men

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The Scots
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The Sarons
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thrown.

The Sarons
were to
be the over-
thrown.

were thus incamped, verie much of that kind of
heath or ling, which the Scottishmen call hadder. Of
which heath or hadder, they gathered a great quanti-
tie together, and binding it in bundels like unto fa-
gots, in the night season they set the same on fire,
tumbling it downe the hill, on that side where the
Sarons laie. The wind in that instant being some-
what aloft, caused these bundels of ling to blase and
burne vehementlie, and hereto standing that waies
forth, droue the flame so fireinable amongst the
tents and cabins of the Sarons, that the fire cat-
ching in the straw and twigs which they had couched
together vnder them in stead of beds, increased the
feare amongst the soldiers wonderfullie, by reason
that the blasing bundels of the ling or hadder, still
comming downe the hill vpon them, seemed as
though the same had fallen from aboue; and euen
forth of the heauen it selfe.

Great was the tumult and noise throughout the
whole campe, with such roing of beastes, and run-
ning vp and downe both of them and of the horses
which were there in the campe, that if heauen and
earth had gone together, there could not haue bene
a more terrible noise nor clamor. At length, when the
soldiers had done what they could to quench the
fire, and to appease the trouble, not without some vp-
rore and disorder raised on each side, they got them
with their armor and weapons forth into the next
field, which hengist himselfe perceiving (having first
done what he could to stay them) inuironed with a
companie of his choicest men of warre, he got him
vp vnto a little hill next adioining, and there gaue
knowledge by the sound of a trumpet that all his
people should draw thither vnto him. After this,
when they were come together, he disposed them in
order of battell with all diligence, abiding for the
spring of the dale, to vnderstand more certeinlie the
meaning of his enemies.

The Scots and Wiltis supposing the enemies to be
farre disordered, by reason of the fire defended
downe from the hill, fullie determined to assaile
them in their camps: but vpon their approach to the
same, perceiving how the Sarons were gotten
forth, and stood readie in good order of battell, min-
ding to defend their ground, both the kings thought
it best to tarie till the morning, yet they made anie
exploit, for doubt of perils that might befall thereof.
In the breake of the daie Congall came amongst
his people, exhorting them to remember their woy-
thie elders, and by their example to chafe rather to
die in defense of their countrie & ancient liberties,
than by cowardize to saue a dishonest life, which (if
their chance was to be vanquished) they should passe
in great thalidome and miserie. The Wiltish king
also with like words encouraged his men to do val-
iantlie. Neither was hengist slow in perswading his
Sarons to plaie the men, that obtaining the victorie
they might deliuer themselves from terror of all en-
mies from thenceforth in Britaine.

Whilist he was thus exhorting his people, the
Scots and Wiltis with great force and violence be-
gan to giue the charge vpon him, which whilist the
Sarons and Wiltains went about to defend, they
were beaten downe by heaps so fireckle on each side,
that the discomfiture had light vpon them forthwith,
had not hengist by sound of trumpet called forth a-
bout three thousand fresh men to their succors, which
he had placed in an ambush a little before the spring
of the daie within a thicke groue of wood, fast by his
campe, appointing them to remaine there in a readi-
nesse, to come at his call, vpon what danger soeuer
happened. These most fireckle setting vpon the
backes of the Scots, brought them streight out of all
order: for they being occupied with the other Sar-

ons before, and now assailed of these behind, they had
vnnearth some for anie aduantage to turne their
weapons. In the meane time the Wiltis being mat-
ched with the Britains did put them to flight, and
chased them out of the field, not ceassing to pursue
them in the chase, till they came to a riuer in the which
a great number of them were drowned, as they ieo-
pardied to passe ouer the same, and to saue them-
selues by swimming. On the other side, the Scots
being fore handled by the Sarons, both before and
behind, were at the length constrained to giue
ground and breake forth by flight, & so to escape the
cruell hands of the enemies. Some were slaine in
the chase, and some taken prisoners. The residue get-
ting away, fled streight to the Wiltis: but Congall
himselfe, through helpe of his household seruants es-
caped to the top of an high hill, and saued himselfe
all wounded as he was.

The Wiltis returning from the chase, and under-
standing how the Sarons had giuen the Scots the
ouerthrow, and that they were now marching for-
ward to encounter also with them, determined not to
abide their comming at that time. And so night ap-
proching yet the Sarons had got sight of them, order
was giuen by commandement of their king, that
all their carriage, and a great quantitie of logs and
fagots, should be placed and piled together before
them, and in the darke of the night to be set on fire,
which being executed according to the appointment,
when the fire was once kindled, the Wiltis with the
Scots which were got vnto them, departed as secre-
lie as they might, and staid not to make atwaie, till
they were farre enough out of the danger of the Sar-
ons. Hengist hauing thus got the victorie, and per-
ceiving no enemie abroad to bid him battell, muste-
red his men, and found that he had lost in this tour-
nie as good as foure thousand of one and other. Af-
ter this, hee withdreweth to York, and leaving his
armie there, went himselfe vnto London, where
he was receiued with ioy inough by king Closti-
gerne.

Shortlie after, vpon knowledge that Aurelius
Ambrose, and Uter, the sonnes of king Constantine
prepared to come ouer with a mightie armie of Ar-
morike Britains, and other Frenchmen, to claime
the crowne of Britaine, as lawfullie descended to
them from their father: the Sarons were sent for
out of the north parts, and had dwellings appointed
vnto them in Kent, to be at hand if need were to re-
sist anie such attempted inuasion. But shortlie after,
for a policie, hengist caused it to be vniued abroad,
that the Scots and Wiltis meant easines to inuade
the British confines, & therefore was there an other
power of Sarons called into the land, and placed in
the north parts, to defend the same against the
Scots and Wiltis. Decca the sonne of hengist had the
leading of these Sarons, who brought them ouer, be-
ing ten thousand men of warre, in fiftie plaits, and
fiftie hies. They brought with them also their wiues
and children, and settled themselves in the north parts
betwixt the riuer of Humber and the borders of the
Wiltish dominions. And euen then it began to take
the name of Northumberland, which is as you wold
say, the land by north the riuer of Humber, and so it
doth continue.

Shortlie after, Clostigerne forsaking his lawfull
wife, married the ladie Korena or Kowen, hengists
daughter, to the high offense of God, and great dis-
pleasure of his subiects. And in the meane time, De-
cca not attempting anie exploit against the Scots
and Wiltis, rather sought to get into his hands all the
fortresses betwixt Tine and Humber, euen from the
east sea to the west: which his purposed intent he
greatlie aduanced, winning castles and fortresses
there

The Wilt-
tains put to
flight by the
Wiltis.

The Scots
forced to flee.

Congall was
wounded, but
yet escapeth
through helpe
of his household
seruants.

The policie of
the Wiltis to
escape out of
danger.

Aurelius Am-
brose & Uter,
sons to king
Constantine.

The Sarons
placed in
Kent.

A new power
of Sarons
came ouer
with their
captain Decca.

Northumber-
land when it
first began to
be so called.

Clostigerne
married henga-
st's daugh-
ter.

York in possession of Hengist.

Maxtignerne deposed by his subjects. Maxtigner chose to govern the Britains. The Britains require aid of the Scots and Picts against the Saxons.

The answer of Congall K. of Scots unto the British messengers.

Upon what conditions Congall consented to support the Britains.

A league concluded betwixt Scots Picts and Britains.

there in those parties, some by force, and some by surrender: and amongst other places of importance, he first got possession of Yorke, and feigning accusations against manie of the nobles and gentlemen, surmising that they would betray the countie unto the Scots & Picts, he put diuerse of them to death, some secretly, and others openly, as consuit of such offenses as were forged and laid against them.

Hereupon the Britains for the stay of such mischief as they saw at hand, deposed Maxtigner from his kingly seat, and placed his sonne Maxtigner in his come, which being done, ambassadoers were sent both unto the Scots and Picts, to require their aid and support against the cruell oppression of the Saxons, who sought not onlie by craftie meanes and fraudulent waies to attaine the dominion of the whole Ile, but also to extinguish and utterly subuert the faith of Christ, and the vse of his religion throughout the same. Therefore they earnestly desired the Scottish and Pictish kings, to assist them against such common enemies as had bene called into the realme, not by publike consent of the nobles, but onlie by the private commandement and ordinance of Maxtignerne, to helpe as well toward the subduing of the Scots and Picts, as also to repress all commotions of the Britains, which they might happlie raise against him for his wicked tyrannie vsed amongst them, as his guiltie conscience might put him still in feare of.

The Scottish king Congall (unto whom first the ambassadoers were sent) for answer declared, that he was loathe to vnderstand into what danger the miserable christians of Britaine were thus fallen, and therefore if nothing else might moue him to ioin with the Britains against the Saxons, yet that were sufficient cause to inforce him to doe the best he could, to helpe to deliuer the whole Ile from such an ethnike generation, as not onlie vsed the rites and ceremonies of their false religion, and that openly among the christians, with doing sacrifice in the honor and worship of their hellish gods, to the great horror and terrible offense of the beholders consciences; but also sought by all meanes they could devise, how to destroy and quench viterlie the faith of our Saviour Christ in all places where they might get the upper hand.

He promised therefore to imploie his whole puissance to recover out of the enemies hands all such countries as laie betwixt the frontiers of his dominion and the river of Humber, and further to aid the Britains to drive them quite out of the Ile, if the Britains would assure him, from thenceforth neuer to make claime, title nor interest, to any of the countries aforesaid, lieng betwixt the said river of Humber and the confines of his realme; but to leaue the same in the hands of the Scottishmen and Picts, to haue hold and inioy for euermore in quiet: which to performe, the ambassadoers had (amongest other things) already promised in name of all the British nation, as a recompense or meed to haue for support and succors of the Scots. The like answer the same ambassadoers receiued of the Pictish king, and returning therewith unto Maxtigner, declared afore him and his counsell how they had sped.

Shortlie after, for the moze and better assurance of all promises, couenants and articles passed betwixt the Scottishmen, Picts, and Britains, there was an amitie and bond of peace now renewed, ratified and established, according to the tenor of the ancient league, which had bene concluded in times past betwixt them, with some new conditions of agreement included in the same: all old iniuries being ended and quieted clearelie betwixt them, so that no cause of grudge or displeasure might be

thought to remaine in remembrance. The first enterprise put in execution after the concluding of this league, was made by the Scots against Decca and his Saxons, which (as partly ye haue heard) had nestled themselves betwixt the rivers of Tyne and Humber.

Against those Scots, as they were verie earnestlie occupied in ouerthrowing castles and towers, with slaughter of such Saxons as stood at defense, Decca commeth into the field with an armie ready to encounter with them, but perceiuing the multitude of his enemies to be such, as he doubted least he should not be well able to match with them, he staid a while from giuing the onset: but in the end perceiving he could not retire backe but to his great disadvantage, he boldly gaue signe to his people to set upon their enemies: which they fiercely executing, it was hard to tell for a while to whether part the victorie would incline. But at length the Saxons not able to susteine the force of the Scots, ouerpressing them with multitude, began to giue backe: which Decca perceiuing, did what he could to hem them in from running awaie, but yet notwithstanding all that he could doe, feare at length ouercomming regard to their captiues commandement, shame of rebuke was quite set apart, and so they toke them to their feet, and fled awaie so fast as they might, the Scots pursuing after them amaine.

Decca yet escaped with diuerse of his nobles, and coming to the mouth of Humber, got a ship, and sailed forth in the same with great danger, till at length he arriued within the Thames. The slaughter of the Saxons vpon the discomfiture was great, speciallie in the chase, for the Scottishmen calling to remembrance that they had to doe with infidels, and with the enemies of the christian faith, were so eager vpon them, that they saved few or none that fell into their hands. About the same time was Maxtigner entered into Kent against Hengist and his Saxons there, and encountering with them in battell, slue ten thousand of them, and chased the residue south of that countie. Thus Kent returned unto the Britains, and the countries beyond Humber northwards unto the Scots and Picts, according to the tenor of the league before mentioned.

Hengist and his sonne Decca (who a little before this battell in Kent was come unto his father) with the residue of them that escaped, hasted with all speed toward Northumberland, in purpose to remaine in that countie till they had recovered their strength by some power to be sent ouer unto them out of their owne countie: but being repelled with no small slaughter from thence by the Scots and Picts, they withdrew vnto the mouth of Humber, where getting certelie vessels, they passed ouer into Saronie, leauing a great sort of their nation behind them, dispersed abroad here and there in this Ile, as fortune then best serued. Maxtigner hauing got the victorie, as before is mentioned, vsed not the same verie cruellie, for taking onlie from the Saxons which were taken prisoners their armor and weapons, he suffered them to depart into their countie: other of the same nation being but husbandmen, and as it were poore laborers of the ground, he permitted to tarie in the countie with their wiues & children, as seruants unto the Britains.

After this, Maxtigner gaue order for the repairing of churches, and restoring of the christian religion into the state of the former puritie thereof, as then sore decayed, partly through the euill example taken by dallie conuersation amongst the Saxons, and partly also by the infectiue heresie of the Pelagians, as then mightilie spread ouer the most part of Britaine. At length the said Maxtigner through treason of his

The Saxons must needs be driven out of Northumberland.

The Saxons encounter with the Scots.

The Saxons banquished by the Scots.

Decca fleeth by sea into Kent.

The Saxons banquished by Britains and expelled out of Kent.

The Saxons flee out of Britaine.

Maxtigner doth the victorie modestly.

The heresie of the Pelagians.

Stepmother was Maxtigner kingdome, the Saxons reigne people red thus vnto causing due to be executed of all inuasive reigne power his subjects towards him as by all other also to renew with like concluded lastlie. But notwithstanding to auoid all lie after Maxtigner till shifts, at Britaine, fle into Kent maintained the King Ambrosius Constantine calling Maxtigner house and a him, according to his father had said that this which are called as conueller illusion (a man) do liener of car.

In this like tale of not long but abiding piers 148 parted out rose a woman ther, so other the matter my pere, for length which increased looked for neath the led them by Gods told then a spirit, and that the pleat In the th maiters and find person, table est comfort and hope length offenses uen from should a pumpe cloud, winke, lie ther in great safetie

Stepmother reuenced be- rict Maxtigner and Picts.

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treason of his
stepmother

The heretic
of the Dela-
gians.

stepmother Korena was poisoned, and died. Then
was Cloxtigeme againe restored to the rule of the
kingdome, first forced by oth to promise neuer to aid
the Saxons, nor to receiue by way of aid ante for-
reine people into the realme. Cloxtigeme then resto-
red thus vnto the crowne, shewed such diligence in
causing due administration of iustice without rigor
to be executed, and prouision made for the resisting
of all inuasions that might be attempted by anie for-
reine power, that his praise was great amongst all
his subiects, who to shew their good willes like wise
towards him as to their naturall prince, were not
slacke in honoring him as well by gifts and presents,
as by all other manner of waies. He found means
also to renew the league with the Scots and Pias,
with like conditions and articles, as it was conclu-
ded lastlie betwixt them and his sonne Cloxtimer.
But notwithstanding his politike proceeding, thus
to auoid all inconuenience that might happen; short-
lie after Hengist returned, and that by force and sub-
till shifts, at length got possession of the more part of
Britaine, so that the Britains were constrained to
fle into Wales, whither also Cloxtigeme fled, and re-
mained there a certaine time, till at length Aureli-
us Ambrosius, and Aler, the sonnes of king Con-
stantine came ouer out of little Britaine, and besie-
ging Cloxtigeme in a castell, burnt him with the
house and all, when they could not other wise come by
him, according to that which Merlin the British
soothsaier had prophesied before. It is soothlie suppo-
sed that this Merlin was got by a spirit of that kind
which are called Incubi, that is to understand, such
as conueiung mans seed from him (and there with by
illusion taking vpon them the shape and figure of
man) doe lie with women, and vse them after the ma-
ner of carnall copulation.

In this place Hector Boetius by the way reciteth a
like tale of two, of such illusions of spirits, wrought
not long before his time in Scotland, which somewhat
abridging the same we haue here inserted. In the
yeere 1480, saith he, it chanced as a Scottish ship de-
parted out of the Forth towards Flanders, there
rose a wonderfull great tempest of wind and wea-
ther, so outrageous, that the maister of the ship with
other the mariners wondered not a little what the
matter ment, to see such weather at that time of the
yeere, for it was about the middelt of summer. At
length when the furious pirrie & rage of winds still
increased, in such wise that all those within the ship
looked for present death, there was a woman under-
neath the hatches, called vnto them aboue, and wil-
led them to throw hir into the sea, that all the residue
by Gods grace might yet be saued: and there vpon
told them, how she had bene haunted a long time with
a spirit, daile comming vnto hir in mans likeness,
and that euen as then he was with hir, vsing his fil-
thie pleasure after the maner of carnall copulation.
In the ship there chanced also to be a priest, who by the
maisters appointment going downe to this woman,
and finding hir like a most wretched and desperate
person, lamenting hir great misfortune and mis-
erable estate, vfed such wholesome admonitions and
comfortable aduertisements, willing hir to repent
and hope for mercie at the hands of God, that at
length the seeming right penitent for hir greuous
offences committed, and fetching sundrie sighes e-
uen from the bottome of hir heart, being witnessse (as
should appeare) of the same, there issued forth of the
pumpe of the ship a foule and euill fauored blacke
cloud, with a mightie terrible noise, flame, smoke and
stinke, which presentlie fell into the sea: And sudden-
lie ther vpon the tempest ceased, and the ship passing
in great quiet the residue of hir iourne, arrived in
safetie at the place whither she was bound.

Not long before the hap hereof, there was in like
manner a yong man dwelling in Carroth, within a
village there, not passing 14 miles from Aberdine,
verie faire & comelie of shape, who declared by waie
of complaint vnto the bishop of that diocesse, how
there was a spirit which haunted him in shape of a
woman, so faire and beautifull a thing, that he neuer
saw the like, the which would come into his chamber
at nights, and with pleasant intisements allure him
to haue to doe with hir, & that by no maner of means
he could be rid of hir. The bishop like a wise man ad-
uised him to remoue into some other countrie, and
to giue himselfe to fasting and prayer, so to auoid his
hands of that wicked spirit. The yong man follow-
ing the bishops counsell, within a few daies was de-
liuered from further temptation.

About the same time also, there was in the coun-
trie of Spar, a yong gentlewoman of excellent beau-
tie, and daughter vnto a noble man there, refusing
sundrie wealthie mariages offered to hir by hir fa-
ther, and other friends. At length she promised with
child, and being rigorously compelled by hir parents
to tell who was the father, she confessed that a cer-
taine yong man used nightlie to come vnto hir, and
kept hir companie, and sometimes in the day also, but
how or from whence he came, or by what meanes he
went awaie, she was not able to declare. Hir pa-
rents not greatly crediting hir words, laid diligent
watch, to vnderstand what he was that had defiled
their house: and within three daies after, vpon signi-
fication giuen by one of the maidens, that the forni-
cator was at that verie instant with their daughter,
incontinentlie there vpon, making fast the doores,
they enter the chamber with a great manie of tor-
ches and lights, where they find in their daughters
arnes a foule monstrous thing, verie horrible to be-
hold. There a number comming hastilie in, to behold
this euill fauored sight, amongst other there was a
priest of verie honest life, not ignorant (as was
thought) in knowledge of holie scripture.

This priest (all other being afraid) and some of
them running their waies, began to recite the begin-
ning of Saint Johns gospel, and comming to these
words, *verbum caro factum est*, suddenlie the wic-
ked spirit making a verie sore and terrible roaring
noise, flue his waies, taking the rofe of the chamber
awate with him, the hangings and coverings of the
bed being also burnt therewith. The gentlewoman
was yet preserved, and within three or foure daies af-
ter was deliuered of such a mishapen thing, as the
like before had not bene seene, which the midwives
and women, such as were present at hir laboz, to a-
uoid the dishonor of hir house, immediatlie burnt in
a great fire, made in the chamber for the same in-
tent. Thus much out of Hector Boetius, which, with
more, he hath written to proue that all is not feined
which is written of the illusions of diuels and euill
spirits, the credit whereof I leaue with the author.

Now to returne where I left touching Aurelius
Ambrose. He shall vnderstand, that he hauing once
subdued and dispatched his aduersarie Cloxtigeme,
determined to make warres against Hengist and
his Saxons, to proue if his chance might be to reco-
uer the realme out of their hands, and so to restore a-
gaine the christian religion. But first yer he attempt-
ed anie exploit against the enimies, he sent ambas-
sadors both vnto Congall the Scottish king, and also
vnto one Loth a towardlie yong gentleman, and of
verie comelie personage, as then reigning among
the Pias, requiring them both to aid him in so ne-
cessarie an enterprise as he had in hand against the
enimies of Christ and his religion. Where vpon both
these kings, weling with themselves the dutie of all
christian princes, in respect of the aduancement of
the

A yong man
haunted with
a spirit.

Aurelius
Ambrose para-
polety to make
warres a-
gainst the
Saxons.

Ambassadors
sent vnto the
Scots and
Pias to re-
quire their aid
against the
Saxons.

The Scots
and Brits
promise to aid
the Britains
against the
Saxons.
The league
renewed be=
twixt Bri=
tains, Brits,
and Scots.

the cause of faith, and suppressing of ethnike idolatry, promised their helpe to the uttermost of their powers against the Herons, who had in such tyrannike sort subverted and abolished the christian profession within the British confines. And therefore the old league, according to the articles and covenants afore time concluded betwixt the three nations, was once againe renewed, and an armie prepared by exhortie of them, to meet at a place and day appointed, for the better expedition of this their attempted voyage.

Burelins
 Embrose ma-
 keth an ozati-
 on.

First Aurelianus Ambrose, with such power as he brought with him forth of France, & joining thereto a great multitude of those Britains which had escaped the Saxons hands, either by withdraving themselves into Wales, or else by conueysing themselves into the countreies of the Scots and Picts, set forth toward the Scottish armie. But first calling together those Britains that he had about him, and going vp to a little hill, where he might be heard of them all, he made a long oration by waie of complaint, of the great iniuries and cruell practises vsed by Hengist, against the linage of king Constantine, and the whole estate of the British common-wealth: also of the horrible persecution made by him and his people the Saxons, against the professors of the christian religion. All which matter he handled in words so pittifull, his talke yet fauouring of the Romane eloquence, that the minds of the souldiers being kindled therewith, required nothing but battell, as men not doubting but by his wise and politike conduct to achieve some glorious victorie. And to the end all thing might be done in better order, according to his appointment, immediatlie they proclaimed him king. Which was by account of the Scottish chronicles, in the yere 498, after that Maximigierne with his sonne Maximian had reigned 17 yeres in the whole.

Murcius
Ambrose pro
claimed king
of Britains.

Commanus
generall of the
Scots.

Nothing of
the Dogs.

Aurelius in this tyme being established king of Britaine passeth forth with his people, and within six daies after met with the armies of the Scots and Picts. Generall of the Scots at that time was one Conranus brother to king Congall, who was troubled with the gout, so that he could not come himselfe in person. Both the Pictish king was there himselfe amongst his people, verie desirous to shew some proofe of his manlie prowesse and manhood. Aurelius Ambrose shewed all the honor that might be deuised, as well to the one as to the other of those two nations, promising to requite them with as much friendship when time and occasion should craue the like assistance. These three nightlie armies therefore being thus assembled, marched forth towarths a place called Spahschell, where they understood that Bengist with his power as then did sojorne. Where when both the camps were pitched, and one lieng not farre from the other: at the first certaine light skirmishes were procured by both parts betwixt the light horsemen, therewith at length being the more prouoked to displeasure, they come into the field with their whole maine battels, verie fiercelle countring ech other, so that (as it appeared) their force was not so great, but that their mortall hate was euen as much, or rather more, if the histories saie right.

**The Albions
and Saxons
in counter in
battel.**

The Atmosphere Breathe

The Armieske Britains with a new kind of order in their fight, sore troubled the Saxons, in persuing their battels, with their men arrayed in certaine wards, broad behind and narrow before, wedgewise. The Scots also & Pils bare downe both the wings of the Saxons, in such manner, that the standards of all the thre nations, Scots, Pils, and Britains, were at point almost to meet, having made waie thereunto through the middest of their enemies. Wherewith the Saxons (being sore discouraged) began to grue backe; and finallie, notwithstanding all

that Hengist could saie or doo to haue slaid them, they fell to running awaie, and fled amaine, which when he thoughtlie saw, & perceiued that there was no recouerie, he himselfe (in manner the last man that abode) fled likewise his waies out of the field, with an ambushment of ho:men about him, but being pursued by Aurelius verie fiercely, he was run through the bodie by him with a speare, and so was there slaine out of hand, in the 488 yere of Christ, and 40 after his comming into this Ile. whol- licit the other of the Saxons conuered his sonne We- ra (being also sore wounded) awaie with them vp in to the next mounteins, whither they fled for their re- fuge, leaving the dead bodie of his father Hengist in the field, to the great reproch, there to be spoiled and abused of his enimies.

Aurelius Ambrose hauing thus got the better hand of his enimies, halsted forth with all speed into London, where hauing both the citie and towne deliuered into his hands, he recovered the whole plant from the possession of the Saxons: and such of them as were apt men, able to beare armor, and to serue in the warres, he commanded to depart forth of the land. The other that were minded to tarrie behind their fellows that were thus forced to depart, became subiects to the Britains, and couenanted to become christians. ¶ Thus much haue I written touching Aurelius Ambrose, according to the report of the Scottish writers, but more hereof ye may read in the historie of England, where ye shall find this matter set forth more at large. For that which we write here, is but to shew in what sort the Scottish writers make relation of the warres which their nation had with the Saxons, when they began first to set foot here in this land.

To our purpose then. In the meane time Aurellus hauing thus recovered the land out of the Sarons hands, and now remaining at London, did all the honoz he could imagine, both vnto Loth the Pictish king, and also vnto Conranus generall of the Scottishmen, and knowledging how that by their aid chiefly he had got the vpper hand of his enimies, and so he willed to haue it notified amongst his subiects. Hæreto he caused the league to be renewed betwixt the Scots, Picts, & Britains, the ancient ordinance for the countries beyond Yumber, being appointed to remaine vnto the Scottishmen and Picts: also that the Sarons should be repeated common enimies to all the threë nations, and that vpon inuasion made by anie fozen power, the Scots, Picts, and Britains, should aid one another as occasion serued.

This league being concluded with these articles of covenants, was the more strongly confirmed, by reason of such affinity and alliance as then also ensued. For whereas Aurelius had two sisters, the one named Anne, and the other Ada, virgins both; Anne being the elder, was given in marriage unto King Loth, by whose certaine peeres after he had issue two sonnes, *Sporobed*, and *Malwan* or *Calwan*, with a daughter called *Thametes*: Ada being the younger sister was married unto *Conranus*, generall (as is said) of the Scottish armie. Whobeing liued not past two yeares after, but died in trauell of child, which also died with the mother: and so ended the alliance of Aurelius and *Conranus*. The Britains being deliuered through the victorie and means afore rehearsed from the cruell hands of the Saxons, inioined full peace certaine yeares after, but in the meane time diuers of those Saxons which were licenced to remaine in Britaine, counterfeiting to become christians, vsed neuertheless to make sacrifice vnto idols, according to the manner of the gentiles, whereof their priests bring accused and condemned, suffered death by fire for that offence.

sense, accord
Whilste these
king of the S
departed this
na, otherwile
pompe and ac
uer the Scoti
and glozie.

Contr. 4-
WKS.
Contraries
great king
of Scotland
col. H.B.

After his great rebellion admitted. It is our 512, and Anastasius, the emperor, being that the former age, should be the governor of the masters, to discipline, according to the order of the quietness, no matter to his the disturbance within the circuit round all manner of business with or kin.

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Hengist being
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Boetius saith)
land.

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...scientia
...turne into
...pitane.

10



sense, accordinglie as the law did then appoint them. Whilest these things were thus in hand, Congall king of the Scots being worne with long sicknesse, departed this life, and was buried in the Ile of Jona, otherwise called Colmekill, with all kinglie pompe and accustomed ceremonies. He reigned ouer the Scottismen about 20 yeares in great fame and glorie.

After his deceasse, his brother Conranus with a great reioicing of all the Scottish nation was admitted k. in the yeare after the birth of our Saviour 512, and the 22 of the reigne of the emperor Anastasius. This Conranus otherwise called Conranus, being established king, first tooke order that the sonnes of his brother Congall being within age, should be brought vp in the Ile of Man, vnder the gouernance of certeine wise instructors & scholemaisters, to be trained in learning and vertuous discipline, according to an ancient ordinance therof made and enacted. Also doubting least peace and quietnesse, now after long warres, should minister matter to his people of raising some commotion, to the disturbance of all ciuill order & politike gouernment within his realme, he rode as it had bene in circuit round about the same, making inquirie of all maner offenders, on whome he caused due punishment to be executed, without respect either of kith or kin.

And amongst other enormities which he vnderstood to be vsed in maner through all his countreies, this (as he thought) was most grieuous, that the husbandmen and other commons of the countrie, being euill intreated and misused at the gentlemen's hands, durst not complaine, nor procure anie redres; by reason wherof, when they were oppressed, or suffered anie manner of wrong or iniurie, they were without remedie to haue the same reformed; he ordeined therefore, that the names of all such offenders, with the maner of their offenses, should be secretlie registered in a booke euerie yeare, by certeine inquisitors thereto chosen and appointed. And if it chanced that those which were thus accused, might afterwards be found guiltie before the kings iustices by matter plainelie proued against them; they should then be sure to be punished according to the measure of their offenses.

This custome of accusations, commonlie called inditeiments, continueth euen vnto these our daies. Conranus himselfe (as is reported) vsed much to be present at assises and sessions to see the lawes duellie ministered, either else to passe the time in hunting within some forest or chase, nere to the place where the iustices sat. Now whilest Conranus king of Scots thus studied for the good gouernement of his people, Aurelius Ambrose the king of Britaine fell sicke of a consumption, which brought him to such weakenesse, that all recouerie of health in him was despaired; wherof Decca and Pascentius sonnes to Hengist being aduertised, returned with a mightie power of Saxons into Britaine, which (as Hector Boetius saith) they named at that present Hengists land.

After the brother of Aurelius late also at the same time sore sicke of a flir in the parties of Wales, so that to auoid dissention that was raised among the Britains, about the appointing of a generall to go against the enemies, Aurelius euen sicke as he was, caused himselfe to be caried forth in a litter; with whose presence his people were so encouraged, that incountering with the Saxons they won the victorie, although with such losse on their side, that Aurelius was glad to take truce for the space of foure moneths, and therewith breaking vp his campe, went into Wiltshire, and sent ambassadours vnto the

Scottish and Pictish kings for aid against the time when the truce should expire, which was granted, and so he prouided for all things ready for the warres against the appointed time of their assemble. Decca also sent his brother Pascentius into Germanie for more aid, but as some write, he was driuen by contrarie winds into Ireland, & getting a great power of men together there, he came backe to his brother with the same. But whether he had those men out of Ireland or Germanie, sure it is that the power of the Saxons was greatlie increased therewith. In the meane time died Aurelius Ambrose, who was poisoned by a malicious monkie, a Saxon borne, named Copia or Cope (as some booke haue) that tooke vpon him to be skilfull in physicke, and a monkie by profession. His death was sore lamented of the Britains: but contrariwise, the Saxons reioiced greatlie thereof, so that immediatlie after, Decca with his power inuadeth the Britains, vsing great crueltie in all places where soeuer he came.

In the meane time the Scottish and Pictish armies were come forward towards Aurelius, according to promise made vnto his ambassadours; but when his death was certeinlie knowne amongst them, the capitains and leaders of both those armies, resolved to returne home againe, and so they did, for that they doubted in what state and order things should stand amongst the Britains now after the deceasse of their late king. After the death of Aurelius Ambrose, his brother Uter was made king of Britaine, and falling in loue with the wife of Gothlois duke of Cornewall, he did not onelie force hir to lie with him; but also to the end he might inioy hir the more freelie, he ceased not to pursue hir husband to rid him out of the waie, whome at length he tooke within a castell into the which he was fled, & forthwith caused him to be executed, surmising mater against him, for that he had forsaken one of the capitains called Paschaliod, in battell against the Saxons. By the wife of this Gothlois, Uter had issue the great Arthur, and because he had no legitimat sonne, he appointed that Arthur should succeed him in gouernement of the realme. Herewith Loth the Pictish king was not a little moued, disdainning that Arthur being a bastard, and begot of another mans wife in adulterie, should be preferred before his sons the rightfull heires of the British kingdome: and therefore by ambassadours he did what he could to dissuade Uter from making anie such ordinance. But when he saw that he could not remoue him from his opinion, he thought best to content himselfe with silence, till the time serued better for his purpose. At length when the wars were againe reuelled betwixt Uter and Decca the Saxon king, Loth in reuenge of the iniurie done to him and his children, ioined himselfe to the Saxons, and was with them at the battell, in which the Britains got the victorie by the presence of saint Germane that holie bishop of Aurer, as the Scottish writers make mention. Which battell as the same is set forth by Hector Boetius, because it touched the state of the Picts, we haue thought good here to expresse.

It was therefore about the feast of Easter, when the armies came into the field, the Saxons with the Picts on the one side, & the Britains on the other, of whom no small number (being either growen to be idolaters through conuersation with the Saxons, either els infected with the heresie of the Pelagians) euen there in campe, by hearing such good sermons as saint Germane preached amongst them, were conuerted to the true beliefe, receiuing at the same time the sacrament of the Lords bodie, together in companie with other of the faithfull christians. Finally when both parties were ready to giue battell,

J. ii. saint

Aurelius Ambrose poisoned by a monkie.

The Scottish armies returne home againe.

Uter begat Arthur.

S. Germane preacheth vnto the campe.

saunt Germaine tooke vpon him to haue the leading
of the foze ward, wherein he had all the pæffes and
ecclesiasticall miniffers, giuing commandement,
that when he should crie Alleluia, they should all an-
swere him with one intire voice.

Thus proceed they forth to the battell, saint Ger-
mane bearing the kings standard in the fore front,
& upon the approach to the enemies, he with the rest of
the priests crieng with a loud voice thrice together
Alleluia, was answered by all the whole host, & utter- 10
ring and crieng the same crye so whole together, that
the verie sound thereof caused such an echcho on each
side by reason of the hollow mounteines and cliffes
hard by them, that the Saxons amazed at this doub-
led noise, and doubting not onelie another power of
their enemies to be hidden privilie among the billes
which they saw on each side of them, but also least the
verie rocks & mounteines would haue fallen downe
upon their heads together with the frame of the ele- 20
ment, readie (as it seemed to them) to breake in sun-
der, they toke them to their feet in such dreadfull hast,
that their breath was not able to suffice halfe the de-
sire they had to continue their course. Panie of
them made such hast, that running to the next river
in hope to passe the same, were drowned therein.
To conclude, all of them generallie threwe away
both weapon and armour, the more lightlie to make
away. Thus through the policie of that blessed man
saint Germane, the victorie remained with king
Aster and his Britains, without anie bloodshed. 3

Hyperbole.

Saint Beda making mention of this battell, assigneth the time to be at the first comming of S. Germane into this land, where as Hector Boetius following Veremond, supposeth it to be at the second time of his comming hither, which was in the daies of king Alfer. But at what time soeuer this victorie thus chanced, certaine it is, the Britains waring proud thereof, nothing regarded the power of the Saxons, nor toke anie heed for prouision of further defense; but after that those holie bishops Germane and Seuerus were returned into their countrie, they fell to all kinds of gluttonie and excess, in following onelie their sensuall lusts and fleshlie concupiscence: which abuses, the bishops and other godlie men lamenting, ceased not most earnestlie to reprove, menacing destruction to the whole countrie, if the people leaving their wicked living and most heinous offenses towards God, did not amend and repent in due time and space.

The threat-
ning of ven-
geance to suc-
ceed vicious
living.

King Occa
Name.

The younger
Occanephue
to the former
Edca by his
brother Dis-
cus.
Both contra-
rie to his oth-
er of credence
aided the Bri-
tains against
the Saxons.
Coigerne of
Coigerne a
Saxon is
sent for by
Occa.

sing for recompense of his trauell and aduagaing
 the Pias, to deliuer vnto him all such lands as lay
 beyond the water of Humber, which might be reco-
 uered out of the hands of the Pias, to inioyn vnto
 him and his for ever. Colgerne accepting the offer,
 landed shortly after in Northumberland, putting the
 whole countrey vnto fire and sword. Which cruell
 dealing caused a great number of Scots & Pias,
 which held diuerse castles in that quarter, to come
 forth into the field to defend the countrey, and fol-
 lowing battell with their enimies were discomfited,
 their slaughter being much increased by the com-
 ming of Decca at vnwares vpon them. For he first
 taking truce with Alster king of the Britains, batten-
 ing with all speed to ioine his power with Colgerne, af-
 ter he heard once that he was come on land.

These newes being brought by such as fled away into Gallogway and Picland, caused both the kings, Moth and Contranus in most speedie wise to assemble their forces, and with the same to march forthwith towards the Saxons: but being come within sight of them ready to giue battell, great was the feare and terroz of both their hostes, to ioine in fight with such a number of fierce people, as they saw there before their faces. Which feare arose first through the Britains, of whome no small number was there, in aid of the Scots and Picts against the Saxons, declaring manie things of the great valure, strength of bodie, and huge forme of lims of the same Saxons, being so fierce and cruell in fight, as they allowed, that they were able to put their enemies to flight euen with their grim looks and terrible countenances. Whereof such feare and terroz was spread through both the whole armies, that if thaine had not partlie wrought amongst the men of warre, manie of them would haue fled their waies before anie battell had bene attempted at all.

The kings perceiving such discorde amongst their men, caused them to assemble together, and appointed one such as was thought meet for the purpose, to declare unto them on their behalves, how they could not but maruell to vnderstand such feare & lacke of courage, as appeared generallie through both the armies, considering there was no cause thereof, they being such a number of able warriors throughlie appointed, and therewithall led by such governours and capitains, as there was no reason why to be doubtfull of victorie, before they had seene some triall and iust occasion of disadvantage. For as touching the Saxons, they were no such men, but that they might be overcome well enough, as it might sufficientlie appeare, both by proofe of such victories as Wostimer the Westish king had obtained against them; and also Aurelius Ambrose, who had vanquished them in such sort, that when they durst not encounter with him in battell, they sought means by poison to make him awaie.

60 Then ſith the Britains (whome the Scots & Picts ſo often had ſubdued) had at ſundry times vanquiſhed the Saxons, why ſhould they feare in ſuch wiſe to fight with them in common deſenſe of their countrie, and reuenge of ſuch iniuries as they had lately receiued at their hands, ſith the righteous God (as all good men ought to truſt) is euer readie to aduance a righteous quarrell. And where it was byted amongſt them, that the Saxons were ſo huge of ſtature, and mightie of lims, that no force was able to withſtand them, it was certeinly knowne, that the Scots & Picts were indured with no leſſe mightinneſſe and ſtrength of bodie than the Saxons, ſo that if they were not of like ſtomachs, that reſt in their owne ſlouthfull cowardize, & not in nature twice, hauing done hir part in beſtowing hir giſts vpon them touching bodilie force, in ſuch plentions may
ner,

Colgerne lant
beth in No:
thumberian

The king of
Scots and
Wicks raised
their power
to resist the
Daxons.

The Sec
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The
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The Scots
through com-
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oration reco-
mmend new cou-
rages.

The Scots
and Picts a
to flight.

Edgerme
nd duke of
Dorset
nd.

The Byle
rings ouer
shown in
tall by the
berongs.
After with-
paweth int
pales.
London re
tered by the
stones.

The death
after poison
by drinking
water of a
well.

Both require
with the King
some of B
King.

1

Proposed
Woman.

The Byt
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receiue
for Lorth
one of his
manes to
signe oue
you,

ner, as no other nation did lightlie anie waies surmount them.

Spanie other arguments were alledged and laid forth to remove feare out of their hearts, and to incourage them to fight, insomuch that in the end it appeared the same wrought the wished effect, in such wise, that they generallic required battell, offering to live and die at their captains feet, and to follow them whither soeuer it should please their kings and liege lords to appoint them. Herewith the kings being satisfied, forth they march towards their enemies, whome they found readie to receiue them, and that with such rigorous violence, that in the end, after great slaughter made on both parts, the Scots and Brits were put to flight, the Saxons pursuing in the chase till the darke night caused them to withdraw & returne into their campe. The next day following, the Scottish king with the residue of his armie hastened away with all speed towards Gallo way, and the Brits king withdraw into Walsland. The Saxons using the victorie most cruellie, slue all such of the Brits and Scottish nations as they met with, in all places betwixt Ene and Tived. Then did Decca create the forenamed Colgerme duke of Northumberland, who repairing all such castles and strong houses, as he thought expedient to haue kept, placed garrisons of souldiers in the same to defend the countrie against all manner of eniries. After this, Decca turned his power against the Brits, which in the last battell had aided the Scots and Brits, as before is partly touched. The Brits tains reclaiming a great overthow in battell, after the Brits king was glad with such as might escape the enemies hands, to withdraw into Wales, leaving the residue of his countries unto the Saxons, who thereupon recovered not onelie the citie of London, yielding it selfe unto them for doubt of some long siege, but also all those countries and provinces which Hengist the first of the Saxons that reigned as king within the bounds of Albion at anie time, had holden or inioined, and ceased not after recouerie of the same, to bere and disquiet the Scots, Brits, and Brits, with continuall incursions, hoping by such means to keepe them still occupied. In the midst of this trouble after A. of the Brits tains departed this world, poisoned (as some haue written) by drinking water taken out of a fontaine which the Saxons had inuenomed. He died in the yeare after the birth of our Saviour 521, and in the eighteenth of his owne reigne. After his decesse, 50
Loth king of the Brits sent his ambassadours unto the lords, and other the states of the Brits dominions, requiring them, according to the accustomed lawes and ancient ordinances of the realme, to receiue him as king, sith he had married the sister and heire of the two brethren Aurelius Ambrose, and Uter, their two last kings, being as then both deceased, without leaving behind them any lawfull issue, by reason whereof their estate was fallen unto him, so inioy the same during his life, hauing married (as is said) their owne naturall and lawfull borne sister, and after the decesse of him and his wife the said sister, then it ought by course of the lawes of all realmes and countries to descend unto such issue as he had begot of hir, which was two sonnes, the one named Morozed, and the other Maluan, or Maluan, as some do call him.

The Brits did disdainfullie using the Brits ambassadours that came with this message, refused not onelie to come vnder subiection of Loth, but also denied that his sonnes begot of his lawfull wife, the sister of Aurelius and Uter, should haue any rule or gouernement amongst them, as those that were no Brits bozne, but strangers vnto them, being

both bozne and vnpread in a forren countrie. Those ambassadours then hauing their answer, and being sent home with reproch, the Brits contrarie to the lawes of all nations, proclaimed Arthur, being a bastard bozne, king of their realme, and forthwith assembling their powers vnder his leading, marched on against the Saxons, in purpose to abate some part of their strength, before the Brits (which was doubted would shortly come to passe) should come with them.

Therefore hauing procured aid of the Armoike Brits within ten miles of London at the first, where the Saxons being at two severall times vanquished, were constrained not only to paie tribute, but also to receiue magistrates to gouerne them by the said Arthurs appointment, with other grievous articles of agreement, to the great reioysing of the Brits, for these so luckie beginnings in the first exploits of their late elected king. Afterwards was London castle won by the Brits, wherein Arthur remaining for a season, took advise with his nobles how to proceed in his warres against the rest of the Saxons. Finally hauing prepared a mightie armie, he determineth to go against those which inhabited beyond Humber northwards, with whome (as he had certaine knowledge) the Brits were joined: for Loth comming to agreement with Colgerme, concluded a league with him, whereby they were bound to aid one another against the Brits, as common enemies and aduersaries to them both.

The Brits at their comming into Dorsetshire pitched their campe not farre off from their enemies, who were already joined together and incamped abroad in the field. The next day after, knowledge being had that they should haue battell, Arthur appointed Howell leader of the Armoike Brits to encounter with the battell of the Brits, and he himselfe to match with the Saxons. Thus they met together on both parts verie fiercelie, and a sore battell was fought there betwixt them, so that for a good space it was doubtful whether part should haue the advantage of the day, but at length the Brits were put to flight, which advanced the Brits to the gaine of the whole field. For the Saxons, after they perceived how the Brits were discomfited, dreading to abide the whole hunt by themselves, betooke them also to their heels, and made their race towards Dorke, as fast as their feet might beare them.

Arthur pursuing them thither, besieged the citie almost three moneths together, but the Saxons defended the walles so stoutlie, making often issues forth upon the Brits, that till hunger began to constrain them, they cared little for the siege. In the end, when they were determined to haue yielded by the citie, they had knowledge, how there was a huge armie of Brits and Saxons newlie assembled, and readie to come forward to their succours, also that king Decca (escaping from the battell wherein he had received the overthrow at Arthurs hands, and fleeing afterward into Germanie) was now returned with a new power, and arrived within the mouth of Humber. Which newes caused them to deferre all communication, in hope that if they might abide the siege but for a small time, the Brits should shortly be compassed in on each side, and oppressed on the sudden.

Arthur heard of the comming of their succours in like manner, and iudging it no wisdome to tarie the comming of his so puissant enemies, considering what a number of diseased and sicke persons he had already in his host, by reason of their lying abroad in the field, raised his siege, and withdraw himselfe so speedilie as was possible with his whole armie into Wales,

Arthur proclaimed king of Britaine.

Arthur goeth forth against the Saxons.

The Armoike Brits in aid of Arthur.

The Saxons vanquished, are constrained to pay tribute to the Brits.

London is won by the Brits.

Arthur raiseth a power against the Brits.

A league concluded betwixt Loth & Colgerme.

Howell leader of the Armoike Brits.

The Brits put to flight.

The Saxons chased, made their race towards Dorke.

York besieged.

Decca returneth out of Germanie with a new power.

Arthur raiseth his siege.

Arthur retur-
neth to Lon-
don.

Arthur dis-
cometh the
Saxons
twice in battell
& then againe
laeth siege to
yozke and
winneeth it.

Arthur bleth
the victorie
with gentle-
nesse.

The Bri-
tains sojour-
ning for the
winter time
within yozke,
gave themselves
vnto banquet-
ting & voluptu-
ousnesse.

Christmasse
banquets re-
sembling the
feasts Bac-
chanalia.

The Bri-
tains through
rest and ease
became vnapt
to susteine the
paines of
warres.
A league con-
cluded be-
twixt Arthur
king of Bri-
tains, & Loth
king of Picts.

Wales, where he appointed the Armozike Britains to sojorne for that winter, with other of the meaner sort of his owne souldiers: whilst he took the residue of his chosen bands, and went to London, there to provide that no rebellion should be raised among the Saxons of Kent, or other of the countries nere about. In the beginning of the next spring, he gathered his host together againe, and with the same went forth against Colgerme and Decca, who being issued forth of Northumberland, were entered into the British confines, spoiling and wasting the countrey with their accustomed crueltie.

Whereupon encountering them twice in battell, he obtained the victorie, and then besieging Poyke, at length he entered into that citie, by meanes of a Britaine, who dwelling amongst the Saxons there, in the night season conueied a sort of Britains into the citie, the which breaking open the gates in the dead of the night, did let in all the whole host. Where Arthur would not suffer his men to make any great murder of the enemies, which were content to yield themselves, but bled them very gently, thereby to win more praise amongst all those that heard of his two victories. The Britains hauing thus conquered the citie of Poyke, manie feasts of armes were daily practised betwixt them and the Saxons, which held possession still of the countrey thereabouts. But the Britains lieng in that citie all the summer and winter following, at length began to take their ease, namelie in the depth of winter, and therewith gaue themselves to banquetting, drinking, plaie, and other kinds of voluptuous pleasures, so that it seemed they trusted more to their passed victories, than to their present force, not fearing such dangers as was like to follow.

It is thought of some, that about the same time, Arthur first instituted, that the feast of Christmasse should be kept with such excess of meats and drinks, in all kinds of inordinate banquetting and reuell for the space of thirteene daies together, according to the custome vsed still through both the realmes of England and Scotland euen vnto this day, resembling the feasts which the gentiles vsed to keepe in the honor of their drunken god Bacchus, called in Latin Bacchanalia: wherein all kinds of beastlie lust and sensuall voluptuousnes was put in vze. But whence soeuer, or by whom soeuer this insatiable gourmandise came vp amongst vs, suerlie a great abuse it is, to see the people at such a solemne feast, where they ought to be occupied in thanks giuing to almighty God, for the sending downe of his onelie begotten sonne amongst vs, to giue themselves in manner wholie to gluttonie, and excessive filling of their bellies, with such manner of lewd and wanton pastimes, as though they should rather celebrate the same feasts of Bacchanalia, and those other which the gentiles also kept, called Floralia, and Priapalia, than the remembrance of Christs natiuitie, who abhorreth all manner of such excess.

But now to my purpose. When the next summer was once come, Arthur led forth his Britains against their enemies, but by reason of such ease and pleasure as they had taken whilst they sojourned in Poyke, being now come into the field, they were able to abide no paines, so that no good was done of certaine yeers after, till finally Arthur joined in league with Loth king of the Picts. The conditions of which league were these. That Arthur during his naturall life should reigne as king of the Britains, and after his decease, the kingdome to remaine vnto Godfred and his issue, if he chanced to haue any. That the Picts should aid the Britains against the Saxons, and haue all such land as might be recovered of them beyond Humber. Also the league which was betwixt

them and the Scots, they should duly obserue. Godfred should marrie the daughter of Calvolan a notable man amongst the Britains, and of highest authority next vnto Arthur himselfe: the children of this marriage to be brought vp with their grandfather in Britaine, till they came to yeeres of discretion. Calwan the brother of the foresaid Godfred, should serue king Arthur, and receiue at his hands large intertainment, and great possessions to mainteine therewith his estate.

Other articles there were comprised in this league, according as was thought requisite for the maintenance of stable friendship betwixt these kings and their nations. So that Arthur hauing concluded this league, and still being desirous to purge the whole Ile of all miscreants and enemies of the Christian faith, he sent vnto the Scottish and Pictish kings, requiring them on the behalfe of that dutie which they ought vnto the aduancement of Christs religion, to assemble their powers, & to meet him at Cimmouth, whither he would repaite to ioine with them, at such day as they would appoint, from thence to march forth against the Saxons.

Loth king of the Picts, and Contranus king of the Scottishmen, failed not in this so necessarie an enterprise, but agreeable to Arthurs request, within few daies after they came forward, and ioining with the Britains, forth they went against the Saxons, whom they vnderstood to be already in campe, vnder the conduct of their king Decca, in purpose to stop their passage. When both the armies were approached nere together, they prepared to the battell, and first Colgerme duke of Northumberland mounting vpon a light gelding, rode almost euen hard to the face of the Picts, where they stood in their order of battell right frontlie, and there uttering manie reprochfull words vnto Loth, and other of his nobles, for breach of their promised friendship to him and his Saxons, declared that he trusted shortly to see iust punishment light vpon them for this falshood and vntruths sake, in thus ioining with their former enemies against their most trustie friends and steadfast allies.

The Pictish king not greatly moued hereunto, commanded his standards to aduance forward, and the Saxons likewise halted apace towards them, so that the one being come within danger of shot of the other, the Picts let sic their arrowes verie freshlie. Arthur in the meane time hauing set his people in a raie, exhorted them to fight manfullie: and so lone as he perceived that the fraie was begun by the Picts, he in semblable wise commanded the Britains to giue the onset, so that immediatlie there ensued a fore conflict, the Scots being in the right wing, & cleaving Chelbyke one of the chiefeest captains amongst the Saxons, quicklie discomfited that wing with the which they were first matched. Colgerme with his Saxons incountring (as is said) with the Picts, placed in the left wing, rushed in amongst his enemies (vpon an earnest desire to be reuenged of his aduersarie king Loth) with such violence, that at their first encounter he ouerthrew the same Loth: but immediatlie thereupon two Pictish hoymen running at Colgerme sidelingwise, bare him quite through.

In the meane time, Loth by meane of his strong habergion escaping without hurt, was relieved by such as stood about him, and restored againe to his companie: but Colgerme being dead before he could be recovered from amongst the throng of his enemies, his men were so discomfited therewith, that straightwaies thereupon they fell to running away. The maine battell of the Saxons being thus left bare on both sides, began to giue backe, which Arthur perceiuing, the more earnestlie pressed forth vpon them, so that in the end Decca being constrained to

Decca con-
strained to flee.

Upon what
condition Ar-
thur receiued
the Saxons
vpon their
submission.

Arthur first
deth embel-
dysed vnto
the kings of
Scots and
Picts.

Scots, Picts
and Britains
ioined together
against the
Saxons.

Colgerme
proueth &

Arthur caused
churches to be
repaired.

Arthur par-
tially to de-
stroye the
whole race of
the Saxons
in Albion.

The opinion
which men
had conceiued
of Godfred
by his wit &
hardnesse.

Colgerme
run through
by his aduers-
aries.

Arthurs
page.

Arthurs ex-
ultation to
his people.

The Saxons
are put to
flight.

Arthurs ex-
ultation to
his people.

The Saxons
are put to
flight.

Arthurs ex-
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ie obserue. **How**
Cawolan a no-
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The Saxons
coming vpon
Howzred
and Cawolan
put them with
their people to
the sword.

What answer
the Saxons
ambassadors
had at Ar-
thurs hands.

The excuse of
the Saxons.

The sudden
invasion made
by the Bri-
tains vpon the
Saxons.

The great
tumult in the
Saxons
campe.

Howzred de-
sires to be re-
uenged.

The Saxons
are put to the
fight.

The crueltie
of the Brit-
tains in slay-
ing the Sax-
ons.

Arthurs ma-
nificence.

A conspiracie
practised a-
gainst Con-
rane.

An enill offi-
cer.

A presumptu-
ous act.

The determi-
nation of the
murderers to

that side for a season: other of the Saxons hauing no leasure to arme themselves, nor to draw into anie order of battell, by reason of the sudden impression of the Britains, brake forth of the campe on the contrarie side, & fled so fast as their feet might beare them. But being pursued by the British horsemen, and beaten downe, a great number of them ran into the next riuer, and there were drowned, choosing rather that kind of death, than so cruellie to be murdered by the aduersaries hands: verelie the Britains shewed no mercie that day, for so manie as came within their danger, died without redemption. And this blondie battell made an end of such an huge number of Saxons, that it was thought they should neuer haue recovered againe anie puissance able to haue indamaged the Britains in anie manner of wise.

Arthur hauing thus vanquished his enemies, gaue licence vnto those nobles which he had detained (as is said) in his campe, being sent vnto him as ambassadors, to depart ouer into Germanie, appointing the residue of such Saxons as were men of no defence, to remaine still in the land, yielding a yerelie tribute vnto the Britains, and also with condition that they should become christians. The Scottis men and Picts which had aided the Britains in this tourne, sojourned a while after at London, where Arthur feasted & banketted them in most roiall wise, shewing them all the honor that might be deuised, and afterwards sent them home verie princelie rewarded with manie great gifts and rich presents. Whiles such businesse as ye haue heard was thus in hand betwixt the Saxons & Britains, the estate of the Scottis common-wealth was gouerned by great wisdom and policie, without anie notable trouble or disorder. But finally, when king Conrane began to wax aged, and that such as had the chiefe dowings vnder him, sought not the execution of iustice, but their owne commodities, to the hinderance of a multitude, the people began to repine thereat, and to practise a conspiracie with diuerse of the nobles against Conrane, and those which ruled by his appointment.

It chanced that there was one Concet, a man of base birth, assigned by the kings commission to be chiefe iustice, or as it were chancelor for the administration of the lawes in Murray land, a person passing full of rigorous crueltie, especiallie in iudgements of life and death, and in gathering vp of all manner of forfeitures of penall lawes, which he did onelie to purchase fauor of the king, by the enriching of his coffers, in respect whereof he had small regard either of right or wrong, so that there were hope of somewhat to be gotten. Amongest other the violent dowings of this Concet, he caused diuerse merchantmen of the towne of Forres in Murray land (as then the chiefe towne of all that countrie) to be accused of treason by a light information, and in the end executed without anie apparant matter, onelie vpon a couetous desire to haue their goods and riches, because they were men of great wealth and substance. Diuerse noble men of the countrie there abouts, and namelie of the towne of Forres, being partlie of kin vnto those merchants, were soze offended with this act, and herebpon they first came vnto Concet, and reuiled him with manie high reprochfull words, and afterwards fell vpon him in the place of open iudgement where he sat as then in his iudgement seate, & there murdered him, getting them forthwith vp into the mounteins, to auoid the danger which they knew impossible for them to escape, if they should happen to be taken while Conrane should be liuing.

After this, they deuised how they might increase their heinous deed and bold enterprize with an other farre moze horrible and notable, which was to slea

the king himselfe, as the originall cause of all such mischief that then reigned in the realme through the vniuersitie gouernment of his trustie ministers and couetous magistrats, hoping withall to obtaine the fauor of some of the noble men, whome they knew to maligne the king and his counsell most extremelie, and thereby in short time to be assured of their pardon. Shortlie after it chanced that one Donald also with the king, had vnderstanding that these outlawes intended, and therebpon practised with them by priuie messengers, that they should come in secret manner vnto Ennerlochke, where the king sojourned, promising them by most assured meanes of oths and vowes, that they should haue all the furtherance he could deuise towards the atchiuing of their enterprize.

Wherebpon these outlawes, according to their instructions, came in secret wise vnto Ennerlochke, and were closelie conueied into Conrans bedchamber by Donalds meanes, who as though he had knowne nothing of the matter, got himselfe quickelie out of the waie when he saw them once entered within the doore of the chamber. Conrane the king perceiuing how he was betrayed, and that his enemies were got into his chamber ready to murder him, leapt forth of his bed, and falling downe vpon his knees besought them to take pitie of his age, and not to defile their hands in the blood of their naturall lord and king, considering the fault was not his, if they had bene anie waies wronged. Howbeit they doubting nothing but least he should escape their hands, straightwaies dispatched him out of life, and withall made haste awaie. This was the end of king Conrane, in the 20 yere of his reigne, being the 16 of Arthurs dominion ouer the Britains, the 11 of the emperor Iustinianus, and in the yere after the birth of our Saviour 531. But his corps was buried in the abbey of Jona, otherwise called Colme-kill, with such funerall pompe and erequies, as in those daies were vsed.

After him succeeded his nephew Eugenius, the sonne of his brother Congall, the which Eugenius (as aboue is said) was with Arthur in the last mentioned tourne against the Saxons. There were that counsellled him in the beginning of his reigne (which he began in Argile, being placed there vpon the chaire of marble) that he should see in anie wise the authors of his vncles death punished, to the example of others, that they should not attempt the like hereafter against their liege lord and crowned king: but he contrariwise did not onelie forgive the offense, but also receiued the forenamed Donald with other the murderers into his seruice, and made them of his priuie counsell, which caused manie men to suspect, least he himselfe had bene of counsell with them in committing that murder. The talke thereof was so common in all mens mouths, namelie amongst the common people, that the quene Dowager late wife to king Conrane, doubting not onelie the surtue of hir owne life, but also of hir two sons (which she had by the said Conrane, the one named Reginar, and the other Aidan) fled with them ouer into Ireland, where within few yeres after, she died with the one of hir sonnes, that is to say, Reginar: the other Aidan was honorable brought vp by the king of that countrie, according to his birth and degree.

Eugenius in the beginning of his reigne, to win thereby the peoples fauor, demeaned himselfe most gentlie in all his proceedings, doing nothing that talked in anie part of crueltie. He would oftentimes sit amongst the iudges himselfe, and if he suspected least anie man had wrong, he would licence them to

Donald
was
the
king
of
the
Picts
and
M
G
king.

The
victori-
ous
conquest
of
the
Picts
by
Arthur.

Conrane
murdered
within
his
bedchamber
by traitors
meanes.
35. H.B.
20. H.B.
535. H.B.

Reginard
king
of
the
Picts
ought
to
be
punished
for
the
murder
of
his
uncle
king
Conrane.

The
quene
Dowager
with
her
two
sons
fled
into
Ireland.

The
quene
Dowager
with
her
two
sons
fled
into
Ireland.

The
quene
Dowager
with
her
two
sons
fled
into
Ireland.

Big of king
Eugenius to
be his
people.

Comrade-
his opinion:
was.

The victori-
ous conquest
of the
Picts
by
Arthur.

This cruelty
no small doubt
to the
great
disorder
described
vnto
Arthur.

Geffrey of
Monmouth.

The
Brit-
tains
repent
themselves
of
the
league
concluded
with
the
Saxons.
The
request
of
the
Brit-
tains
to
haue
one
of
their
owne
nation
appointed
to
be
king
Arthur.

The
quene
Dowager
with
her
two
sons
fled
into
Ireland.

The
quene
Dowager
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two
sons
fled
into
Ireland.

The
quene
Dowager
with
her
two
sons
fled
into
Ireland.

plead their case anew. And such as he perceived were not of abilitie to follow their sute in anie cause of right, he would helpe them with monie of the common treasure. He ordeined also, that no orphan should be compelled to answer anie action, or otherwise be vered by sute of law. Moreover, that no widow should be constrained to come past a mile forth of hir owne doores for anie matter in controuersie betwixt hir and anie other person, to be heard afore a nie iudges or publike officers. Robbers, theues, and their receiuerers he caused to be dulle punished, to refrain other from attempting the like offenses. And also he had a speciall regard for the obseruing of the league betwixt his subiects and the Brits, with the Britains, according to the tenor of the same.

About this season should it be also that Arthur did atchieue all those worthie victories, which are ascribed vnto him against the Scots, Irishmen, Danes, Norwegians, and other northerne people. Moreover it is written by some authors, that he should subdue the most part of Germanie with the low countries, Britaine, Normandie, France, and the Romans, with the people of the east: but the credit hereof resteth with the same authors. Onelie it is certeine (as Hector Boetius affirmeth) that Arthur liued in the daies of Iustinianus the emperour, about which time the Gotthes, Vandals, Burgonions, & Frenchmen did invade sundrie parts of the Romane empire, plittillie wasting and spoiling the same, where yet such writers as haue set forth those warres, make no mention of Arthur at all. Therefore letting all doubtful things passe, I will proceed with mine author, and declare what he hath found written in such Scottish chronicles as he followeth touching the British Arthur, which for that it partlie varieth from the other our common chronicles, namelie Geoffrey of Monmouth, I thinke it worthie to be noted here, to the end that euery man maie iudge thereof as to him seemeth best.

To the purpose then. After that the Britains were deliuered from the terroz of the Saxons, and that with quietnesse they began to war wealthie, they repented them of the league, which they had concluded afore with Loth king of the Brits, speciallie for that they could not in anie wise be contented to haue anie stranger to reigne amongst them, and hereupon comming vnto Arthur, requied of him, sith he himselfe had no issue to succeed him, that it might please him yet, to name one of his owne nation to gouerne them after his decesse. Arthur not gainsaieng their request, willed them (sith their pleasure was such, in no wise to haue a stranger to reigne ouer them) to name one themselves, being descended of the blood roiall, and such a one as in whome they had perceived some towardlie prouise of wisdom and valiance: and he for his part promised to ratifie their election. The nobles with great reioicing of the people drawing together to consult for the choise of such a one, as might be acceptable to all the British nation, at length agreed vpon Constantine, the sonne of Cadore duke of Cornwall, a goodlie young gentleman, both for his person and other his worthie qualitties much to be commended. Who being brought by the pères of the realme into the counsell chamber, and there presented vnto king Arthur, as one most meetest to succeed him; Arthur accepted their election verie gladdie, and caused the same Constantine forthwith to be proclaimed heire apparant to the crowne, by the name of prince of Britaine, which notified him to be successor to the king in gouernement of the realme. Constantine being in such wise preferred, behaued himselfe so honorable, and with such a shew of gentle demeanour, that he wou him much praise, with an opinion of high worthinesse amongst all the

British nation.

In this meane time was Loth the king of the Brits deceased, leauing his name as a perpetuall memorie vnto his countrie of Britland, the which euer since as a remembrance of his worthinesse, hath bene called Lothian, or Louthian; but his sonne Morozed, succeeding him in gouernement of the British kingdome, and hearing that Constantine was proclaimed heire apparant of Britaine, was sore moued therewith, and immediatlie sending his ambassadours vnto king Arthur, complained, for that contrarie to the honor of his kinglie estate, he had broken the league concluded betwixt him and his father late of famous memorie king Loth, wherein it was agreed amongst other things, that there should none succeed in the kingdome of Britaine, after Arthurs decesse, but the children begot betwixt him. Loth and his wife quene Anne, or such as descended of them; where contrariwise it was notified vnto the British people, that Constantine the sonne of Cadore was elected prince, and thereby inabled as heire apparant to the crowne.

They required him therefore to call himselfe to remembrance, and not so lightly to agree vnto the flattering persuasions of the Britains, aduising him vnto that thing which was maxellie repugnant to reason, and against both gods lawes and mans, admonishing him withall to obserue the league, according to the oth, which he had solemnlie taken vpon him, and to moue his subiects to doe the like, least for the contrarie, they should prouoke the wrath of almighty God against them, who is the iust reuenger of all such as go about to breake leagues and couenanted pactions. Herevnto answere was made by consent of the nobles of Britaine, that the league which was concluded betwixt Arthur and Loth, indured but for the life times of them two onelie, and to cease by either of their deaths: therefore Arthur had done nothing contrarie to anie pact or promise made, but according to the duetie of a prince that tendered the weale of his subiects, had prouided them one to succeed him of their owne nation, for doubt least the realme after his decesse should fall into the hands of strangers, which in no wise ought of right to be suffered. Therefore if the Brits sloued the suertie of their owne estate, it should be good for them to hold themselves contented with their owne bounds, least if they fought for other mens liuings, they might happlie within short time perceiue, that doth insue oftentimes vpon such rash and vnadvised attempts.

The British ambassadours returning home with this answer, caused the whole nation to take such disdain therewith, that immediatlie they resolved to reuenge their wrongs by open warres; but first they thought good to trie if they might procure the Scottishmen to take part with them, in reuenge of such iniuries as they had in like manner lately receiued at the Britains hands. Moreover, repenting themselves, that they had in times past aided the Britains against the Saxons, they purpose to trie if they might now moue the same Saxons to make warres vpon the Britains, thereby to be the better able to maintaine their owne quarrell against them. First, such ambassadours as were sent from Morozed vnto Eugenius king of the Scots, found him verie agreeable vnto their requests, and the sooner, for that such Scottish rebels as fled vnto Arthur, were not onelie receiued by him, but also maintained to make rodes and incurfions into the Scottish borders.

Arthur hauing knowledge of the deuises of his enemies (the warres being first proclaimed) he furnished all the sea-coasts with notable numbers of men,

Lothian taketh the name of Loth the British king.

Morozed succeedeth Loth in the kingdome of Britland.

Morozed complaineth vnto king Arthur, for that Constantine was created his heire apparant.

The answer made to the British ambassadours.

The Brits purpose to be reuenged on the Britains by open war.

The Brits solicit both Scots and Saxons to make warre vpon the Britains.

Eugenius the Scottish king agreeable to the request of the Brits.

of all such dispatch the king alle.

These out-riouers, their paronals also and trust with them e in secret goiomed, of oth and perauance he their enter-

to their in-merlochte, bedcham-ugh he had life quick-

ce entered ne the king hat his ent-to murder owne vpon his age, and ir naturall not his, if

Conuene is murdered South in his bedchamber by traitorous means. 35. H.B. 26. H.B. 535. H.B.

genius, the Eugeniu-which Euger in the last There were his reigne there vpon n anie wise

ished, to the attempt the and crowned the forgiue the ned Donald

ce, and made o manie men of counsell

. The talke ouths, name at the quene doubting not lso of hir two e, the one na

eres after, the to say, Regl- brought up by his birth and

reigne, to win himselfe most nothing that if he suspected licence them to plead

The queene Dowager with his sonnes into Ireland.

Constantine became prince of Britaine.

The humber and fauorable friend

The humber and fauorable friend

The humber and fauorable friend

Arthur set
teth forward
toward the
Scots and
Picts.
Humber a fa-
tail place for
the Britains
to be banqui-
shed in.

Bishops tea-
well betwixt
the parties to
bring them to
communica-
tion for a
peace.

Howard and
Eugenius
were persua-
ded unto
peace.

The Bri-
tains would
not consent to
have anie
peace talked
upon.

The battell is
begun.

A cruell bat-
tell.

A craftie po-
licie.
This was
one of the
Picts.

The Bri-
tains put
to flight.

Twentie
thousand of
Scots and
Picts slaine.
Howard is
slaine.

men, to withstand the landing of the Saxons, if they should fortune to attempt anie invasion. That done, he passed forth with the residue of his people towards the Scots & Picts, who were already assembled in campe, and were come as farre as the river of Humber, nere to the bankes whereof they had pitched their tents, as in a place fatall for the Britains to be banquished in. Both the armies being brought here into order of battell, the one in sight of the other, there were certaine bishops of those three nations that took great pains to ride to and fro betwixt them, to exhort the kings unto peace and concord, considering what mischief and great bloodshed should ensue, if upon wilfullnesse they would keepe to trie that by dint of sword, which they might make an end of by means of amiable treatie and friendly agreement. Again, they could not do the thing that might more content the Saxons, common enemies to christian religion, than if by their incountring together in battell, they should so infectible their whole powers, whereby the Saxons might have ready means and occasion offered to execute their greedy desires to conquer the whole Ile. Howard and Eugenius were persuaded by this earnest travell of the bishops, to put their matter in compromise, and to lay away their armour and weapon, if they might have assurance that the league made with king Loth should in euerie point be observed. Arthur likewise at the sute of the same bishops, would have bene contented for his part to have agreed hereunto; but other of the Britains, namely those that were of kin and alliance unto Constantine their prince, could in no wise be persuaded thereunto; but rather with manie reprochfull words rebuked the bishops for their unkinde sute, seeing the enemies ready ranged in battell at point to give the onset, so that (as they alledged) it might be doubted what they meant by their motion, unless they went about to betray the armie, under pretense of a cloked treatie for an unprofitable agreement. These of such like words were vnneth ended, when suddenly the noise being raised on both sides, the battels rushed together right fiercelie. The Britains had the disadvantage of the place, being so incumbered with mires, bogs, and mosses, that they could not well aid themselves, nor handle their weapons to anie purpose. Yet did the battell continue a long time, to the destruction of such numbers of men; that the river Humber (nere unto the which this field was fought) was so mingled with blood, that the water thereof being all coloured red, carried no small number of dead bodies downe into the sea. In the midst of the fight, there was one with lowd voice in the British tong cried out to the Britains (of purpose prompted thereunto) that Arthur with other of the nobles on his side were slaine, and therefore it were but follie to trust anie longer upon victory, but rather were it wisdom for euerie man by flight to prouide for his owne safetie.

This voice wonderfullie encouraged the Scottish men and Picts, but the Britains were put in such feare therewith, that the most part of them immediately hereupon fell to running away. Others of them iudging this to be but some craftie and subtil practise of the enemies devised of purpose, as it was in deed, to discomfort them with, abode by it still: manfullie continuing in fight, till they were beaten downe and slaine in maner euerie mothers sonne. This victorie being thus hardlie got, cost more mens liues than anie other had done of manie yeares before; for of the Scots and Picts being banquishers, there died in that mortall battell about 20000 men, together with Howard, and a great number of the nobilitie of both the nations. Of the Britains and

such other as were with them in aid, there were slaine, what in battell and what in chase, at the point of 30000, among whom was Arthur himselfe, with Gawain or Galuan (as some booke haue) brother unto Howard, who bare such good will and intire loue unto his lord and maister the said Arthur, that he fought that day most earnestlie on his side against his owne naturall brother the said Howard. Also there were killed Caline and Galolan, with the most part of all the residue of the British nobilitie, and manie prisoners taken, by reason that Humber kept them in from fleeing anie way forth on the one side, which prisoners also were afterwards slaine, the gentlemen onelie excepted.

The day next after the battell, the campe of the Britains was rifled, and amongst other rich spoiles there was found queene Guainore Arthurs wife, with a great number of other ladies and gentlewomen. The whole spoile of the campe and field being equally divided by lots betwixt them, the Scots had for their parts certaine faire charets laden with rich stuffe and tewels, also horses and armours, beside sundrie noble men, whom they had to their prisoners. Unto the Picts fell for their portion queene Guainore, with the ladies and gentlewomen, and others of the noble men, besides a great quantitie of other rich preie and booties. These prisoners, which the Picts had, were conueied into a castell in Angus, called Dunbarre, a place of great strength in those daies, though at this present there remaineth nothing but the name with the ruines thereof. In which castell they were detained vnder sure ward, during the residue of their naturall liues. In witness whereof there be remaining vnto this day, the graues and monuments where manie of these captive Britains were buried, in the fields of a towne in that countrie called Hegill, not past 10 miles from Dundee: but amongst the residue, that of Guainore is most famous.

There goeth a plaine tale ouer all that countrie, told for an assured trueth, that if anie woman chance to tread vpon that graue, they shall remaine barren without bringing forth anie issue more than the said Guainore did. But whether this be true or not, certie it is (as Boetius writeth) that there dare no woman come nere that graue, not onelie eschewing it themselves, but also commanding their daughters to beware thereof. This bloudie battell weakened so much the forces both of the Scots, Picts, and Britains, that manie a day after they were not able to recover againe their former states and dignities. The yeare also that these three nations incountered thus cruellie together, was after the birth of our Saviour 542, the 26 of Arthurs reigne ouer the Britains, and the 11 of Eugenius his gouernement ouer the Scottishmen.

In the same yeere before the battell, were seene manie strange sights in Albion. Grassie and heards in Dorsetshire appeared to be all stained with blood. Nere vnto Camelot, a cow brought forth a calfe with two heads. Also an ewe brought forth a lambe that was both male and female. The sunne appeared about none daies all wholie of a bloudie colour. The element appeared full of bright starres to euerie mans sight continuallie for the space of two daies together. In Wales there was a battell betwene crows and pies on the one side, and rauen on the other, with such a slaughter of them, as before that time had not bene heard of.

But to proceed. Eugenius king of the Scots at his returne from the battell, gaue to those that had escaped with life, and abid by him in the chiefe danger of the fight, manie bounteous & large rewards. The sonnes and next kinsfolke of such as were

Arthur with
30000 Bri-
tains slaine.
Gawain
slaine.

Caline and
Galolan
slaine.

Queene
Guainore
taken.
The spoile
of the
camp
divided.

Dunbarre
Angus, not
that in
Angus.

The table
of
queene
Guainore
great
buried in
the
grave.

542.
8. H.B.

Strange
and
wonderful
signes.

Eugenius
king of
the
Scots
542.
11. H.B.

small
ele-
ment
of
king
of
Wales.

Eugenius
king of
the
Scots
542.
11. H.B.

small
ele-
ment
of
king
of
Wales.

Eugenius
king of
the
Scots
542.
11. H.B.

slaine, be-
land & li-
be a with
their an-
countrie,
warding
which no-
amongst
he gover-
ment, &
immedia-
slaine, &
British
none am-
the same
such as be-
lie mur-
wife run-
to saue the
They were
grand fat-
familie ar-
died was

Eugenius go-
verneth his
people with
clemencie.

Constantine
crowned king
of Britaine.

The crueltie
of the Bri-
tains in mar-
turing the in-
nocent childre
of Howard.
The lineage of
Howard
clearly exting-
uished.

The S
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lie by the
teine Arth
stitude of
pare a mi
same into
beat down
B. Confir
part of the
his name
hane with
reigned ce
been died,
forsooke hi
about and
pleasing him
at length
monkie be

The Saxons
came into
England, and
the Brit-
tains were
driven out.

Constantine
king of
Wales, and
the Brit-
tains were
driven out.

Constantine
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Wales, and
the Brit-
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driven out.

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Constantine
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Wales, and
the Brit-
tains were
driven out.

After
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fores, his
in admini-
inclination
tuffie won-
tion towar-
put men in
take it) that
be) he ha
his getting

name, he also advanced to sundrie preferments of land & livings, that they inioining the same, might be a witness in time to come of the good service of their ancestors, shewed in defense of their king and countrie, and also of his princelie liberalitie, in rewarding the same upon their issue and progenie. Whiche noble benevolence, he wane him such love amongst his people, that afterwards it seemed how he governed the state of his kingdome more by clemencie, than by any rigour of lawes. The Britains immediately upon knowledge had that Arthur was slain, crowned Constantine his successor in the British kingdome, and for that there should remaine none amongst them alive to make any claime to the same kingdome, other than he with his issue, or such as he should appoint to succeed him, they cruelly murdered thousands children, in most pittifull wise running unto their mothers lap, beseeching him to save their lives, according to his motherlie dutie. They were brought up in Calvolane their fathers grandfathers house, and being thus made awaie, the familie and lineage of their father the foresaid Arthur was utterlie thereby extinguished.

The Saxons at the same time having advertised what losse the Britains had sustained, not onlie by the death of their most valiant king and chiefeine Arthur, but also for the slaughter of such a multitude of their nation as died in the battell, they prepared a mightie naule of ships, and passed over the same into England, where being landed, they easily beat downe the Britains, and drove them with their king Constantine into Wales, so recovering all that part of the land which Hengist sometimes held, & after his name was afterwards called England. Some have written, how that after king Constantine had reigned certaine yeeres in Wales, his wife and children died, whereupon wearing wearie of this world, he forsooke his earthly kingdome, in hope of that other above, and secretly departed into Ireland, where applying himselfe for a time in ministering to the poore, at length being knowne, by the persuasion of a monk he became one of his cote and profession.

Afterwards being sent by the bishop of the diocese over into Scotland, to instruct the people of that countie in the true faith and articles of the christian religion, he there suffered martyrdom by the hands of most wicked and godlesse persons, and was at length (but manie yeeres after his death) canonized a saint, and sundrie churches (as are to be seene even unto this day) built and dedicated unto him in Scotland by authority of the bishops there. At the same time that the said Constantine was driven into Wales, there reigned among the Englishmen one Iurmirike the first (as Beda saith) from Hengist. The same Iurmirike though he were not christened himselfe, yet he permitted the christian faith to be preached amongst his people, and concluding a league with the Scottishmen and Picts, kept the same inviolate during his life time most sincerely. The Scottish king Eugenius also lived in peace the residue of his life, without any trouble either by foreign enemies, or intestine sedition, & at length died in the 38 yeere of his reigne, after the birth of our Saviour 569.

After his funerall obsequies finished in Colmeakill, where he lieth buried amongst his ancestors, his brother Connall was chosen to succeed him in administration of the kingdome, a prince of such inclination to vertue and godlines, as all men may justlie wonder thereat. He bare such zealous devotion towards the worshipping of Christs passion as he took it that which way soever he rode (as it is reported) he had the same borne before him; and at his getting up and lighting downe from his horse,

he with all the multitude of people standing about him, would worship it, kneeling downe, & reverentlie kissing it. This crosse was of silver with a crucifix thereon, and letters grauen in a plate fastened to the backe, containing these two words: *Christianorum gloria*. He commanded also that the signe of the crosse should be set upon the tops of steeples, and on the highest towers of the gates of castles & towne. Moreover he forbade the crosse to be grauen or painted upon any pavement, least any man should irreverentlie tread upon it. Furthermore he had priests and other religious men in such honor, as nothing could be more, appointing them to have the tenths of all those fruits which the earth yielded. Sundrie ordinances he made also, for the grave punishment of all such as in any wise misused a priest, or other religious person: as he that gaue any of them a blow, should lose his hand for it; and he that slue one of them, should forfeit his goods, and be burned quickie. Again, he bestowed manie rich felowes, and gaue divers great gifts unto churches, providing the ministers of sufficient livings, and appointed that they should have their houses nere unto their churches, to be ready to execute that which appertained unto their offices, when any need required.

The king being thus vertuously disposed, caused the whole number of his subjects by his example to be the better affectioned towards the advancement of religion. The report and fame thereof moured that holie man saint Colme or Colombe, to come over south of Ireland (where he had the governance of sundrie houses of monks) with twelvet other vertuous persons into Albion, and there gathering together a great number of monks, being here and there dispersed abroad in the countie, he placed them orderlie in such houses, as king Connall had builded and founded for that purpose, appointing amongst them rulers & ministers, such as he thought most convenient. But saint Colme himselfe, and the other twelve, which he brought over with him from Ireland, placing themselves to inhabit in the Ile of Jona, now called Colmekill, took great paines to instruct the Scots and Picts in the true articles of the faith.

Amongst the Picts at the same time the heresie of Pelagius had infected the minds of many, by means that diverse of that nation having dwelled a long time in Britaine, returning into their countie, brought that pestilent doctrine home with them, and taught it unto other. Saint Colme therefore informed hereof, passed into Louthian unto Brudeus as then king of the Picts, earnestlie travelling to instruct both him and his people in the right believe, and to extirpe out of their hearts all erroneous opinions of that damnable sect of the Pelagians lore. At the same time, that blessed man Kentigern, otherwise called Gungo, governed the church of Glasgow, as bishop of the same, who resorting into the companie of this saint Colme, had much conference with him, to both their comforts, concerning the true articles of our faith.

This Kentigern was descended of the blood royal of the Pictish kings, as son unto that vertuous woman Chametes or Chameis, daughter unto Loff king of the Picts, whome a young lustie gentleman, or (as some have written) the last mentioned Eugenius the Scottish king ravished by force, and begot of hir the said Kentigern. He was greatlie in favour with the foresaid Brudeus the Pictish king, as one that was neere of his blood. For the same Brudeus was nephew unto the foresaid Loff by his brother called Alethor, and therefore succeeded in the kingdome of the Picts, after that Brudeus was slain,

Crosses set upon the tops of steeples.

Connall's devotion towards churchmen.

Connall's liberallitie towards churches.

Saint Colme continued out of south of Ireland into Scotland.

The heresie of Pelagius in Britaine.

Kentigern bishop of Glasgow, otherwise called Gungo bishop of Glasgow.

Chameis or Chametes ravished by Eugenius king of Scotland, of which ravishment she bare the foresaid Kentigern.

Arthur was slain, 30000 Britains slain, Calvolane slain.

Queen Guatnoze taken, the spoils of the Britains camp burned.

Donbarre in Angus, not that in Louthian.

The fable of quaine Guatnozes grave buried in Angus.

542. H.B.

Strange and unkinde deeds.

Eugenius rewarded his soldiers.

The castell of
Calidon now
Dounkeld.

The bishops
see of Doun-
keld.

Saint Colme
returneth into
Ireland.

Saint Colme
cometh againe
into Scot-
land, bringing
with him A-
idan some to
king Conran.

The death of
Conuall.
578. H.B.

Saint Colme
present at the
buriall of king
Conuall.

Kinnatill elec-
ted king of
Scotland.

Saint Colme
and Aidan re-
turned by
Kinnatill.

The prophesy
of Kinnatill.

The death of
Kinnatill.
Kinnatill li-
eng upon his
death bed, sur-
rendereth his
kingdome into
Aidans
hands.

saire, as before is expressed. Kentigorne went with
saint Colme vnto the castell of Calidon, otherwise
called Dounkeld, where they remained six moneths
in a monastirie there, builded by king Conuall, tea-
ching and preaching vnto the people of Athole, Cali-
don, and Angus, that in great numbers came vnto
them, to heare their goodlie instructions. There is in
the same place, where the said castell sometimes stood,
a church dedicated vnto saint Colme, built of satre
square stone, being at this day a bishops see, com-
monlie called Dounkeld, indowled with manie satre
reuenues and great possessions, for the maintenance
of the bishop and his canons.

At the six moneths end, those two vertuous per-
sons taking their leaue each of other, not without
shedding of teares, departed in sunder, Kentigorne
returning into Glascow, and saint Colme into Ire-
land, where reporting manie things, touching the
great vertue and holines of king Conuall, and with
what deuotion he had bene receiued both of him and
his people, he moued manie to wonder greatlie
thereat, to heare that a king in the midst of all his
allurements to pleasure, should yet be so mindfull of
diuine meditations and goodlie exercises. In the yere
following, saint Colme prepared to returne into
Scotland, taking Aidan ouer with him thither, by
commandement of king Conuall, which Aidan (as
ye haue heard) to auoid the traines of Eugentius, fled
ouer into Ireland with his mother, for doubt to bee
made away by the same Eugentius. Saint Colme
taking the sea with this Aidan, and comming on land
on the coasts of Scotland, was no sooner there ar-
riued, but that presentlie he had knowledge how the
king was dead, being the yere of his reigne the 10,
and after the birth of our Saviour 579.

Saint Colme then being throughlie certified of
his death, and that the corps was forwarde on the
way towards Colmekill, there to be buried, he
thought it a peece of his dutie to go thither to be at
the funerall, and so doing, was as one of the chiefe-
st there in executing of the obsequies. Which being en-
ded, and hearing that Kinnatill the brother of Con-
uall was inthronized king in Argile, by the free elec-
tion of all the estates, he neuerthelesse kept on his
former purposed iourne, and came vnto Kinnatill,
bzinging Aidan with him (appointed by Conuall to
haue receiued the gouernement of the kingdome if
he had liued) they were both receiued with all bene-
uolence of the said Kinnatill contrary to most mens
expectation: insomuch that imbracing Aidan, he had
him be of good cheere, for it should shortly come to
passe, that he should attaine to the possession of his
grandfathers dominions, and haue issue that should
succeed him, to the great reliefe of the Scottish com-
mon-wealth.

By what spirit of prophesie he vttered these words,
it is uncerteine, but sure it is that his purpose was
to haue giuen ouer the gouernement of the king-
dome (as he confessed himselfe lieng vpon his death
bed) and to haue restored it vnto Aidan who had a
right therevnto. Whowbeit being preuented by death,
he could not haue time to accomplish his desire, for
within twentie daies after his coronation, being
surpassed with a grieuous disease of a catarrhike
rheume, and the squinancie, he was constrained to
keepe his chamber, committing the publike admini-
stration of the realme vnto Aidan. Whereupon follo-
wed a feuer through increasing of a flegmatike hu-
mor, by long rest, that after 14 moneths space
vnbodied his ghost, which by instruction of saint
Colme, being present with him at the houre of his
death, he rendred in most deuout wise into the hands
of his redeemer; appointing his kingdome as it
were by deliuerie of scissin, even there vpon his death

bed vnto the foresaid Aidan.

After that the bodie of this Kinnatill was in-
terred, according to the maner, in Colmekill,
Aidan receiued the crowne, sitting vpon the marble
stone, after the custome in those daies vsed, by the
hands of that holie father saint Colme. Who willing
that silence might be kept, laid his right hand vpon
the kings head, and in his left hand holding his
crosser stasse, made a brieue exhortation, as well
to the king as to his people, admonishing them
of their duties each towards other, but especiallie he
exhorted them vnto peace and concord, and before all
things to remember to walke in the waies of the
Lord, for in so doing they might hope for wealth and
prosperitie in the state of their commonwealth, with
all other good graces, whereas otherwise, if either
the people forgot their duties towards God, or that
the king regarded not duilie to execute or fulfill his
office, in giuing God thanks for his bountions libe-
ralitie and high benefites bestowed vpon him, it
should come to passe, that intestine seditions, conspi-
racies, and other mischiefes should rise among them,
to the irrecoverable losse of the realme, by bzinging
the same into danger to be ouerrun with some for-
rein power, if they did not repent in time, and call to
God for his fauour, that it might please him to re-
duce them againe into the right path of his lawes
and ordinances, whensoever they should so fall from the
same. When saint Colme had made an end of these
or the like his wholsome aduertisements, all the peo-
ple reioicing thereat, promised with one voice, and
therewith bound to follow the same, and to be euer
readie to obeie the commandement of their prince,
and the holie instructions of their bishops and other
the ecclesiasticall ministers. The assemble being once
dissolued, the king departed into Galloway, and
there deliuered the countrie of certeine British ro-
bers that had invaded it. After this, studing to
mainteine god orders and quiet rule through his do-
minions, he appointed an assemble of the chiefe-
st peeres of his realme, to be holden yereilie in three se-
uerall parties thereof, as in Galloway, Loughgub-
ber, and Cathnesse, there to heare and determine all
sutes and quarrels of his subiects, & to giue order for
the administration of the lawes and all publike af-
faires, as they should see cause and occasion. He re-
quired also S. Colme to be present euer with them,
that matters touching religion might be the bet-
ter provided for, and that the people might take all
things done in those publike sessions in right god
part, because such an holie and vertuous father of the
church was amongst them, and hauing the chiefe-
st authoritie.

Thus continued the realme in quiet state for cer-
teine yeres together, till it chanced that diuers of
the nobles being together on hunting, fell at vari-
ance, and therevpon making a frate, sundrie of them
were slaine. The beginners and such as were most
culpable were sought for by the kings officers, to
haue bene had to ward, but they in disobeying the
arrest, stroke and beat the officers berie fore, and im-
mediatlie therewith fled vnto Brudeus king of the
Pictis, so by wilfull exile to safe gard their liues. King
Aidan according to the maner in such cases accus-
med, required to haue those outlawes deliuered vnto
him, that he might do iustice vpon them according
lie as they had deserued. Brudeus taking pittie of
the yong gentlemen, alledged manie things in their
excuse, still deferring to deliuer them, till at length
he procured warre to himselfe and his countrie.
For Aidan the Scottish king, offended in that he
might not haue those rebels and publike offenders
restored vnto him, caused a number of his people,
first to settie a great bottie of cattell and prisoners out

Aidan.

Aidan recei-
ued his inu-
sured of the
kingdome at
the hands of
saint Colme.
S. Colmes
exhortation to
the king and
the people.

The repen-
tance of king
Aidan.

Saint Colme
returneth into
the king of the
Pictis.

The promise
of the people.

The kings
tourne into
Galloway.

Aidan ap-
peareth seem-
ing to be bap-
tized in the
pactis of his
realme.

Saint Col-
me present at
the sessions
and
sessions.

A fray
between
the nobles
being a hunt-
ing.

King Aidan
requirith
to haue cer-
tain
Scottish
lawes deli-
uered at the
hands of
Brudeus king
of the Pictis.

Brudeus
excuseth
himselfe
in manie
things
promising
to deliuer
the
Scottish
gentlemen
and
prisoners
out.

A vague com-
pany be-
cometh the
Scottish
armie, with
the article of
the lawe.

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out of Angus.

Wherewith the Picts being kindled, made a like rode into Galloway. Finallie the matter grew vnto a fiell, which was foughten in Dientie, not farre from Calidon castell otherwise called Dounkeld, with great slaughter on both sides, though in the end the victorie yet remained with the Scots; but losing Arthurnus the sonne of Aidan their king, they reioised not greatlie at the gaine. That holie man saint Colme troubled with such newes, came vnto Aidan, and declaring vnto him how grievouslie he had of- fended almightie God, in procuring such mischief as had insued of this warre, and reciting in particu- lar the branches thereof, he moued the king vnto such repentance for his trespasse, that he wholie sub- mitted himselfe vnto saint Colmes chastisement, who being about to depart in semblance soze offen- ded, the king got him by the sleue, and would in no wise suffer him to go from him, till he had declared vnto him some comfortable meanes how to redresse the matter, for the quieting of his conscience. At length saint Colme lamenting the kings case, suffe- red himselfe to be intreated, and thereupon repaired vnto Brudeus the Pictish king, mouing him by way of diuerse godlie aduertisements to incline his af- fection vnto peace. At length he did so much by tra- uelling sundrie times to and fro betwixt the two kings, that he brought them vnto agreement, for all matters depending in controuersie betwixt them and their subjects.

Thus saint Colme hauing accomplished that which he came for, returned againe into the westerne Isles vnto his wonted home, where he did by whole- some documents and vertuous examples instruct the seruants of God in the way of his lawes and com- mandements. In this meane time the Saxons ha- uing binen and put backe the Britains into Wales, and occupieng all the residue of their lands and coun- tries, they diuided the same into seuen parts, orde- ning seuen seuerall kings to gouerne the same as kingdomes.ouer that of Northumberland, adoi- ning next vnto the Picts, one Edelred reigned, a man of exceeding desire to enlarge his dominion. He went by all means he could deuise, to persuaue Bru- deus the Pictish king to renew the warres with the Scots, promising him all the aid he could make a- gainst them, not onelie for that he knew the Scots to haue bene ever enemies vnto the Saxons, but al- so for that he himselfe was descended of the nation called Agathypses, of the which the Picts (as was thought) were also come. But the cause why he wi- shed that there might be warres raised betwixt the Scots and Picts, was not for anie good will he bare to the Picts, but onelie to the end that their power being weakened through the same, he might haue a more easie preie of their countrie, the which he purpo- sed vpon occasion to inuade, and ioine vnto his owne kingdome of Northumberland.

Brudeus at the first gaue no care vnto his earnest motions and large offers, but at length through the counsell and procurement of some of his nobles, cor- rupted by bribes receiued at Edelreds hands, and still putting into the kings head sundrie forged in- formations of the Scotchmens daile attempts a- gainst the Pictish nation; he determined to ioine with the Saxons against them, and caused therupon warre to be proclaimed against the Scots, as those that had spoiled and robbed his subjects, contrarie to the league and all bonds of old friendship and former amitie betwixt them. The Scottish king Aidan per- ceiuing the practise of the Saxons, and togither ther- with the vntruth of the Picts, the better to be able to resist their malice, ioineith in league with the Bri- tains: this article being the chiefest in the whole co-

uenant: that if the enemies first inuaded the Bri- tains, then an armie of Scots should be sent with all speed into Britaine, to helpe to defend the coun- trie against such inuasions: but if the Scots were first inuaded, then should the Britains in semblable maner come ouer to their aid.

The Saxons hauing knowledge of this appoint- ment betwixt Scots & Britains; to draw the Scots forth of their countrie, and so to haue them at more aduantage, procured the Picts to ioine with them: and so both their powers being vnited together, en- tred into the British confines. Aidan according to the covenante came straight vnto the aid of the Bri- tains. Edelred and Brudeus refused to fight for certeine daies, as it were of purpose, thereby to wa- rie the Scots with watch and trauell, being as then far from home. Also they looked daile to haue Cen- line king of the Westsaxons to come vnto their aid: but the Scots and Britains hauing knowledge ther- of, first thought it best to encounter with him, before he should ioine with the other, and thus vnderstan- ding that their onelie refuge remained in their ar- mois and weapons, gaue the onset so fiercelie vpon those Saxons, that at the first, slaying Cutha Cen- lines sonne, with a great number of other, they easi- lie distressed and put the residue to flight.

Aidan would not suffer his men to pursue too far in the chase, but called them backe by the sound of a trumpet, who being assembled hetherwith about their standards, made such ioy and triumph, as greater could not be deuised, what with dancing, singing, and plaicng on pipes and other instruments, accor- ding to the manner in those daies. But as they were thus in the midst of their chiefest mirth, suddenlie appeared the Saxons and Picts, which were with Edelred and Brudeus, appoaching towards them in god order of battell, with whome were also the resi- due of the Westsaxons, that had escaped from the late bickering. Whereupon the Scots and Britains amazed with the sight hereof, were suddenlie stri- ken out of countenance, inso much that Aidan went amongst them, and with a bold countenance exhor- ted them to remember how valiantlie they had al- ready put to flight the other of their enemies, so that there was great hope for assured victorie of these likewise, if they would now shew the like manlie courage against them, as they had shewed before in assailing the other. Manie other words he vsed in ad- monishing them to fight manfullie, till the onset gi- uen by the enemies caused him to make an end.

The Saxons laid about them so frontlie in the be- ginning, that they forced their aduersaries, with whome they were matched, to giue backe. Neither did Edelred faile in that occasion to encourage them to follow the aduantage now thus gotten. Bru- deus with his Picts likewise made great slaughter in that wing of the Scots, with the which he incoun- tred; so that finallie the same Scots perceiuing the Britains beaten downe and soze distressed on their side, fell through discomfort thereof to running a- waie. There were slaine in this battell on the Sco- tishmens side, Brennius lieutenant of (as they ter- med him) thane of the Ile of Man, with Dungan the kings third sonne, and no small number of other gentlemen beside. The king himselfe escaped by helpe of his sonne, who stateng to get his father out of the preasse, was slaine (as is said) amongst the residue. On the Saxons side, there was slaine Theobald Edelreds brother, and Cutha the king of Westsaxons his sonne, as before ye haue heard, with a great num- ber of other. Edelred himselfe lost one of his eyes. Brudeus the Pictish king was hurt in the thigh, and besides this, he lost a great multitude of his people. Thus Edelred hauing got such a notable victorie

The Picts & Saxons enter into the land of the Britains.

Cenline of the Westsaxons.

The Scots and Britains put the Saxons to flight, and slay Cutha the sonne of Cenline king of the Westsaxons. The triumph made by the Scots and Britains vpon their new victorie.

The Saxons and Picts.

The sudden feare of the Scots and Picts, after all their great top & triumphing.

Aidan exhor- ted his men to manfullie.

The Saxons fight stoutlie.

Edelred.

Brudeus & the Picts maketh slaugh- ter of the Scots.

The Scots run awaie.

Edelred lost one of his eyes. Brudeus hurt in the thigh.

B. J.

at

Deaglastone the place wher this battell was fought. Galloway invaded by the Scots.

Certaine companies of Saxons overthorne.

Passages thorough Shilleway lands.

The diligence of king Aidan in providing to resist his enemies.

The Scots and Britains dislodge. The Scots and Britains enter into Northumberland.

The fight betwixt Scots and Britains on the one side, and Saxons and Picts on the other.

The Saxons and Picts discomfited and chased.

at Deglastone in Britaine, he could not be so contented, but eftsoones assembling his people, and joining againe with Budeus and his Picts, the next summer after invaded Galloway, and began to rob and spoile that countrie, to the end he might either enforce the inhabitants, with other the countries next thereunto adjoining, to yeld unto him; either els to bring them into extreme povertie in wasting all afore him. But Aidan being advertised hereof, sent to the Britains for their couenanted aid, and committing forward with his owne people which he had assembled together, overthrew certaine companies of his enemies, as he found them dispersed abroad in seeking for prey: then passing by their maine armie, he cometh into Anandale, where he joineth with the Britains, being come so farre forward on their waie to meet him. The Saxons and Picts having knowledge of their enemies doings, wan such a place of advantage, as they thought it an easie matter for them in keeping the same, to distresse both the Scots and Britains through stopping by the passages, by the which they must of force passe, if they minded to come forth on that day. These passages late through certaine quicksands, and by a river which had but few fords passable.

The Scots and Britains, perceiving how they were thus inclosed, with all speed trenched their campe about, raising certaine bulwarks and turrets in places where they thought expedient, as though they had ment still there to have continued. Aidan himselfe toke such pains in seeing euerie thing done in due order, that his people moved more through his example than by anie exhortation, were most diligent in their duties, desirous of nothing so much as to have occasion ministered, to shew some proofe of their worthie valiances. At length, when the enemies were most at quiet, and (as was supposed) nothing in doubt of anie attempt to be made by the Scots and Britains in the night season, leaving a great number of fires in their campe, they suddenly dislodge, and passing the water by secret fords, they entered into Cumberland, and so after passing into Northumberland, they wasted and destroyed with fire and sword all that came within their reach: the report of which their doings brought Celsred and Budeus backe into that countrie to resist their invasion, neither resting day nor night, till they had got sight of their enemies.

The next day, the souldiers on both sides requiring battell, together they go with great noise and din both of men and instruments. So much hardinesse in the Saxons caused no small number of them to be slaine, rather chosing to die with reputation of manhood, than to give backe neuer so little ground to the enemy. Thus the battell continued for a space, verie doubtfull which waie the victorie would incline. On the Britains and Scottismens side, there were foure chiefe rulers amongst them, beside Aidan himselfe, as Constantius and Alencrinus Britains, Calian and Moridacke Scottismen. Of these taking a severall charge vpon him, did earnestlie applie their bittermost indevours therin, encouraging their hands to put awaie all cowardlie feare, and manfullie to sticke to their tackle, since by victorie there was hope of eternall fame, beside suertie of life, and advancement to the common wealth of their countrie; where otherwise they might looke for nothing, but the contrarie mischaps, as shame, rebuke, and importable servitude. So that the Scottismen and Britains encouraged herewith, pressed vpon the enemies so fiercely, that at length as well the Saxons as Picts were compelled to breake their arraie, & fall to plaine running awaie: the Scots following so cgerlie in the chase, that more of their enemies were thought

to die in the fight, than before there had done in the battell.

S. Colme as yet being alive, and within his monasterie in the Ile of Iona, had knowledge by divine inspiration (as the Scottish chronicles make mention) of all these matters how they went: and at the verie time that the battells were in fight together, he had assembled a companie of verie vertuous and godlie disposed persons, making intercession for the prosperous speed of their king the foresaid Aidan: and at the verie instant (as it was knowne after) that the Saxons began to flee (as they which had the overthrow) that holie old father shewed great token of ioy and gladnesse, declaring vnto his brethren by the spirit of secret knowledge or prophesie, how Aidan had the better, and that his enemies were discomfited, willing them thereupon to give vnto God thanks for the same. There was an huge multitude slaine in this conflict, but namelie the death of Cealine king of the West Saxons, with other two worthie captains of that nation, made the slaughter more sorrowfull on that side, the one of them was called Caliane, and the other Dubhtelline.

The day next after the battell, the spoile of the field being gathered together, all that which was knowne to have bene taken out of Galloway, and other countries of the Scots, was restored by the kings authoritie vnto the owners againe. The residue which remained was divided amongst the souldiers, the tenth part onelie excepted, which was distributed vnto priests & curats, to bestow the same vpon ornaments for their churches. The banners and standards of the Saxons and Picts, with manie other rich offerings, king Aidan sent vnto the abbeie of Colmekeill, there to remaine as perpetual monuments and tokens of so notable a victorie. The yere next ensuing, that holie father S. Colme now almost wasted through age, and hereto also sore troubled with a rheumatike humor, fell sicke and died. Some saie he ended his life in his house amongst his brethren, within the Ile of Iona, otherwise called Colmekeill, but S. Beda writeth, how he died in an Island called Heu; where againe the Irish writers affirme, that he deceased in a towne in Ireland called Dume, & that his towe is there in verie great veneration of the people: vpon the which are these Latine verses ingrauen for the lookers on to read, if they list:

Hic in Duno, tumultu tumultantur in uno, Brigida, Patricius, atque Columbanus.

Saint Colme, Saint Patrike, and Brigitta pure, Thir three in Dune lies in ane sepulture.

Neither did Aidan the Scottish king live long time after, for hearing (as is said) that saint Colme was dead, hostile thereupon, more through griefe than by force of sicknesse, he departed this world, after he had reigned 37 yeares in gouernement ouer the Scottismen, he died about the yere of our Lord 606. In the daies of this Aidan there was sent into Albion from Gregorie the pope of Rome, diuers learned men (amongest whome were Augustinus and Mellitus) to instruct the English people in the faith of Christ, which as yet they had not received. By the earnest trauell and exhortation of these instructors, Ethelbert king of the Kentish Saxons was baptised with all his people. The British priests nor their doctrine the Saxons could in no wise abide, because (as is supposed) the one nation through a naturall hatred, still sought the destruction of the other. The South and East Saxons moved with the example of the Kentish Saxons, hostile after also renounced their old superstitious idolatrie, and likewise received the christian faith. Celsred king of Northumberland moved vnto displeasure herewith, sent word vnto these Saxons of the south parts (as

S. Colme vnto the spirit of secret knowledge.

Celine king of West Saxons.

The buriall of the spoile.

S. Colme departed out of this life.

which bein Bellenden translated.

Aidan being the Scotch king, men, departeth this world.

606.

Augustinus and Mellitus sent into Albion.

Ethelbert king of Kent.

The Saxons hated the British priests.

Celsred king of Northumberland.

then

then all of English institution he would me into there liu Scottish Picts, therefore parted on Basse, land with thier the there w bodie, as forth, th it, but mongest continu morning who was the buri found th red with man m mande the peop rallie b same b maine mon po A in bled to king. Keneth king o was i to the after into t lungs kingd hands of all was crasse T said, long of his day after death appo byu Cu got 606 you whi sch inge he g ter a N his tot self der self for

re had done in the

and within his mo-
knowledge by di-
chronicles make
they went and at
were in fight toge-
nie of vertie vertu-
making intercess-
king the foresaid
as it was knowne
flee (as they which
either shewed great
being unto his be-
ledge or prophesie,
his enemies were
upon to give unto
was an huge mul-
namelie the death
ns, with other two
made the slaughter
one of them was
hitelline.

Sh. Colme in-
bued with
the spirit of
secret know-
ledge.

Colme king
of wellforn
name.
Whitelline
of Whitelline

The division
of the spale.

Colme
king of
Scotland

Sh. Colme
king of
Scotland

Colme
king of
Scotland

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king of
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Colme
king of
Scotland

then all of them generallie knowne by the name of
Englishmen that sich they had forsaken the old
institutions & ancient religion of their forefathers,
he would sacrie from thenceforth be no lesse em-
nie unto them than unto the Scots and Britains.
There lived in these daies that holie man called a
Scottish man borne, but dwelling amongst the
Picts, whome he instructed in the right faith, and
therefore was named the doctor of the Picts. He de-
parted out of this life within the Glais called the
Wasse, lying about two miles off from the maine
land within the sea, where the Forth hath entrie be-
tween the same Isle, and an other called the Hebrides.
There were three parishes fell at contention for his
bodie, as Alotham, Tinningham, and Dysson, so far
south, that they were at point to have fought about
it, but that by counsell of some discrete persons ac-
mongest them, it was ordeined that they should
continue in prayer for that night, and in the next
morning stand to the order of the bishop of the Diocesse,
who was come thither the same time to be present at
the buriall. The next day in the morning these men
found three bodies with three bodies decerned cov-
ered with clothes, so like in all resemblance, that no
man might perceive any difference. Then by com-
mandement of the bishop, and with great top of all
the people, the said severall bodies were carried seve-
rallie unto the said three severall churches, and in the
same buried in most solempne wise, where they re-
maine unto this day, in much honor with the com-
mon people of the countreis nere adjoining.

After that the corps of king Aidan was buried
in Colmehill, the nobles of the realme assem-
bled together in Argile, about the election of a new
king. Where, by the generall voices of them all,
Iacynthus lair the sonne of Comgall (sometime
king of the Scottis men, as before is mentioned)
was now proclaimed king, and requied according
to the manner; but he lived not past four months
after, but died of a catarrhe the next falling down
into the windpipe, and so stopping by his light and
lungs. He delivered as it were the possession of his
kingdome, by way of surrendering the same, into the
hands of Eugenius sonne to king Aidan, by consent
of all the nobles, a little before he died, for that it
was knowne he had a right thereunto after the de-
cease of Iacynthus.

This Eugenius was the fourth of that name,
which had ruled over the Scottis men. As it is
said, saint Colme prophesied that he should be king
long before his fathers death, for when all the sonnes
of king Aidan were brought before him, and that day
demanded of him which of them should reign
after him, he overpassing the residue (which he in-
ferred by secret knowledge should die in the same)
appointed fourth this Eugenius, called by some also
Eudius, declaring that it should be onelie he. This
Eugenius then being placed in the kinglie seat, for-
got not such holie lessons and vertuous precepts,
as the foresaid saint Colme had taught him in his
youth, so that studying how to defend rather than
which was his owne in peace and quietnesse, than to
seek anie waies or means how to enlarge it, by
wrongfull inroaching upon other mens possessions,
he grew into such favour with all good men, as grea-
ter could not be desired. Unto all offenders he was
a sharpe officer, not sparing anie transgressor of
his lawes, neither in respect of nobilitie or other-
wise, but rather those gentlemen which misused their
felves in breach of god orders, he chiefelie gave or-
der to see them punished; where if they behaved them-
selves worthilie, and according to their calling, there
was no prince more glad than he to advance them
unto honor.

By these and the like his piteous doings, he was
both belovd of his people and also feared. He new-
ther favoured the Picts nor Saxons of Northum-
berland, for that the one nation being schismatike, per-
fessed in their idolatrie, and the other called not by
all manner of means to support them; but yet taking
a truce with them both, he firmelie caused the same
to be observed. In the tenth yeare of his reigne, Cy-
nigell king of North Saxons & Elfred king of Wes-
sex, both with aid of the Picts, banquished Ead-
wald king of Britains, and chased him into Scot-
land, where he remained not long, sailing from
thence into France, and purchasing aid
of the king there named Cadwall, returned into
Wales, where he conquering his enemies the Sax-
ons, and despoiling many thousands of them, he was
replaced againe unto his kingdome. About the same
time was Eadwald king of Northumberland slain
in battell, at a place called Wintonham, not far
from the mouth of the Forth, by Eadwald and Ethel-
bert, the one being king of the east Angles, and the
other of the middle Angles, in revenge of such inju-
ries as the same Eadwald had done unto the Sax-
ons of the countreie called Mercie, consenting as in
the English historie more plainelie may appear) all
those shires from the river of Thames unto the
river of Merse in Lancashire. Then was one
Cadwall a right christian prince appointed to reigne
in his place, by the assignement of the two foresaid
kings Eadwald and Ethelbert.

Whilist these things were a doing, there were
seuen sonnes of the foresaid Eadwald, that de-
fending the true dealing of the Picts, which refused
to aid their father in his necessitie, and desiring to
fall into the hands of Eadwald, got them to Eng-
land the Scottish king for more succour of their lives.
Their names were Euseid, Oswald, Eadgar, Os-
win, Eadric, Eadmund, and Eadric. Eadric the onelie
daughter of Eadwald being taken amongst other
prisoners, and escaping from hir taker, miraculou-
lie got a boat in the river of Humber, and with the
same taking the sea alone, without all humane helpe
(as bathymie reported) she sailed forth, & at length
safelie arrived at the point of land which stretched
forth into the sea, in the mouth of the Forth, called
can. King, this day after hir name, saint Eadric
head, where being received by the bishop of that dio-
cesse, she was professed a nun, and after continuing
in great perfectness of observing that profession, she
was instituted abbess of hir house, shewing still in
trade of life an orderlie example for hir flocke to fol-
low.

Eugenius the Scottish king did longlie receive
the loves of Eadwald, though their father had ever
been a cruell enimie against the Scottish nation;
and within a while after their coming into Scot-
land, hearing oftentimes the godlie sermons and
preachings of the bishops and monks, who in those
daies continuallie gave themselves unto that exer-
cise, they finally abhorred their superstitious idola-
trie, and received baptism, that salutiferous signe
and sacrament of our christian religion. Those chur-
ches also, which the Saxons in time of the warres had
overthrowen and destroyed in Galloway and other
countreies thereabouts, Eugenius caused to be re-
pared; moreover also he redified sundrie castles in
those marches, and placed in them garrisons of sol-
diers, to defend them against all invasions that
might happen. Thus continuing his reigne the space
of fiftie yeares or thereabouts in honorable peace,
to the great advancement of the commonwealth of
his subjects, he lastlie died in the yeare 420, and was
buried amongst his elders in the Isle of Jona, with
in the monastrie of Colmehill.

Cadwall bene
quibed.

Cadwall is
referred unto
his kingdome.

Saxons
king of Eng-
land.

King Ead-
wald.

Eadwald.

S. Eadric
head.

which being
Bellenden
translateth.

Aidan king
the Scottis
men, depart-
eth this
world.

606.

Augustinus
and Agellin
sent into Bri-
toun.

Ethelbert
baptised.

The Saxons
baptised
the Britishe
people.

Elfred king
of the English
people.

Elfred king
of the English
people.

Bonifacius a
godlie pre-
cher.

About this time, that reuerend father and bishop Bonifacius Mutinus came forth of Italie into Scotland, to instruct the people in the faith of Christ there. Whether he were pope, and resigning up the papalitie came thus into Scotland (as some haue supposed) or whether he was sent from the pope called Bonifacius that succeeded Saninianus, it is not certeinly knowne; but certeinly it is, as the Scottis wyrters affirme, that vpon his first comming into Scotland he arrived in the water of Tete, comming on land at the mouth of a little riuer, which blindeth the countrie of Colvrie from Angus. His name is yet famous amongst the Scots elien this day, for that he traueled through the worst part of the land, in preaching and instructing the people to the confirmation in the faith, and erecting diuers churches in the honor of almighty God, which he dedicated to the name of saint Peter. And amongst other he built one at the place where he came on land, another at a village called Tulline, the walking thre miles from Dundee, and the third at Kellenroth, where afterwards an house of chanoines of saint Augustines order was builded. At length he came into Kasse, continuing there the residue of his life, and is buried at Kellenmarken.

Molocke a
preacher.

Molocke were
preachers in
those daies.

There was also at the same time amongst the Scots an ancient godlie man named Molocke, who following such rules & doctrine as in his youth he had learned of Brandon that reuerend abbat, he ceased not to exhort the people of Mar and Argile (in which countreies he was most reseruent) to flee and forsake their vicious liuing, and to endeavour themselves to imbrace vertue, to the comfort and health of their soules. This Molocke kept continuall companie with the forenamed Bonifacius after his comming into Scotland: and finally died also in Kasse, being about 94 yeares of age, and was buried in the church where Bonifacius lieth, though they of Argile say that his relikes rest among them in the church of Lismore, which is dedicated to his name.

Ferqu-
hard.

Ferquhard
king of Scot-
land.

Fiacre giueth
himselfe for to
liue a solitarie
life in France

After the deccasse of Eugenius, his son Ferquhard succeeded in his place, for Eugenius had three sonnes, Ferquhard, Fiacre, and Donald, these being appointed by their father to be brought up with Connane bishop of Sodor (that is, the bishop of Man) in vertuous discipline, did not altogether follow his godlie precepts and lessons. Ferquhard and Donald gladly gaue eare to him, but they thought his instructions did not much appertene vnto their birth and degree: but Fiacre printing his diuine documents deepe in his heart, determined to forsake all worldly pompe and dignitie, and to get him some whither farre from home, where he might serue God more frelie without let or interruption of his friends or kinsfolke. This being supposed, he got vpon him simple apparell, and went ouer into France, where seeking a solitarie place, Pharas the bishop of Meaux gaue vnto him a peece of ground, in the which at this day he is worshipped with great deuotion.

There hath gone a tale in that countrie, that no woman might enter into the chappell where he lieth buried; for if anie doe, she hath some mishap that falleth vnto hir, as either the losse of sight, priuation of wit, or some such like. As touching the state of the Scottish commonwealth, vnder the gouernement of Ferquhard, the same was quiet enough, & without trouble of outward enemies; but his subjects among themselves fell at such diuision, that euery part of the realme was full of murder, burning, and other destructions of men and houses, with such spoiling, robbing, reining, and all kinds of other mischiefs, that no where was any quietnes of life or goods: all the which misorders sprang, were now

risen and maintained through the kings owne diligence: for he mistaking his office and dutie, was of this opinion, that so long as the nobles and states of his realme were thus ready one to kill another, there was no likelihood they should haue time to practise anie rebellion against him; and herevpon he rather holpe to further such discord amongst them, than take order for to appease it. But it came to passe by this means, that he was nothing regarded within a while amongst them, so that by means of other arbitrators which they chose by common agreement, all matters in controuersie were taken vpon ended betwixt them, the king not once made priue therewith.

At the same time it was noised abroad in the realme, that Ferquhard, besides other his wicked behauiours, was also infected with the erroneous opinions of the Pelagian heresie. Which suspicion was the more increased, for that he used to haue sundrie Bristish priests in his companie: the which nation had bene euer noted with the spot of that damnable infection. The nobilitie of the realme moued herewith, summoned him by an herald to come to a counsell, which they had appointed to hold of all the states, that they might there vnderstand, if it were true or not which was commonlie reported of him. But he refusing to come at such summons, they assembled together, and besieged him in the castell wherein he had inclosed himselfe; and winning the place, got him into their hands, and immediately therevpon committed him to safe keeping. This done, they consult together for the administration of the realme, whether they should quite depose Ferquhard, or restore him to his place. In fine they rest vpon this agreement to send an honorable ambassage into France vnto Fiacre, to require him to returne home into his countrie, and there to receiue the gouernement of the realme.

Fiacre (as the report goeth) hearing that there were others of the Scottish nobilitie comming towards him vpon this message, in his prayers besought seruente of almighty God, that it might please him so to worke for him, that he might continue in his contemplatiue still, and not be occasioned to resort vnto the troubles of the world, which all contemplatiue godlie men ought to abhorre. And euen as he had wished, it came to passe. For when those that were sent vnto him, came to the hermitage wherein he had his lodging, they found him (as appeared vnto them) so disfigured with the leprosie, that vpon his earnest refusal to forsake his solitarie life (which he professed to lead as an heremite) for anie worldly preferment of kingle gouernement, they were content to returne with that answer, that his infirmitie (as they supposed) was such, as was not conuenient for him that should haue anie publicke gouernement. This Fiacre had a sister named Sara, which hearing of hir brothers vertuous trade of life, came vnto him with a companie of godlie virgins, and being of him confirmed in his purposed intent of chastitie, she repaired into Champaigne in France, where she with hir fellowes remained in great holinesse of life, leaving in those parties a worthy memorie not forgotten amongst them thre till this day.

The foresaid ambassadors returning forth of France, declared in what plight of deformitie they had seene Fiacre, and how earnestlie he had refused the offer which they had made vnto him in name of all the states of Scotland. The Scottish nobilitie herevpon assembling together, chose forth foure of the ancientest peeres amongst them, to haue the rule and gouernement of the kingdome, till it were otherwise prouided. These were named by that

Ferquhard
maintained
will vnto
him.

The desperat
end of king
Ferquhard.

632

The king
hard and
south the
lagian etc.

Donald.
Donald is
of Scotland.

The king
summoned
an herald,
he is taken
prisoner.

King Edwin
is slain.

Embassy
sent into
France
Fiacre

Fiacre
is slain.

But,

Like an in-
cell.

age, war
as some
time Fer
ed with
miseries
and so no
had bene
mens liu
euer now
hard, wh
the lords
in Argile
by comm
Eugenius
out of th
great toy
This
Tadmir
fathers r
estate su
wealth,
gouerned
cello for
grew into
time Ca
king of
of Engla
powers
thunder
dome. &
trie, and
toke a gr
Brideus
for aid v
his intru
times pa
wins dea
the Brit
son of
kingdom
This b
still in
where by
inuested
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time they
berland
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the kings owne
e and dutie, was
nobles and states
to kill an other,
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amongest them,
But it came to
nothing regarded
that by means of
y common agre
were taken by
once made priuie

Ferquhard
maintained
will becom

The desperat
king
Ferquhard.

King Ferqu
hard intere
with the
lagian eroy.

Donwald
Donwald
Scotland.

The King
summoned
an herald
He is taking
prisoner.

by Edwin
plunt.

Ambassadors
sent into
France
France.

France
France

thine.

Coler on the
hill.

age, wardens, and had full authoritie to order things
as seemed them good in all points. In the meane
time Ferquhard remaining still in prison, and vex
ed with sundrie diseases, to rid himselfe out of such
miseries, flue himselfe in the 13 yeare of his reigne;
and so nothing spared his owne life in the end, which
had bene the occasion of the losse of so manie other
mens liues in time of the ciuill discord, that he had
euer nourished. After this wretched end of Ferqu
hard, which happened in the yeare of our Lord 632,
the lords of the land assembled themselves together
in Argile, about the choosing of a new king, where
by common consent, Donwald the third sonne of
Eugenius, being called thither with bishop Conan
out of the Ile of Man, was inuested king with
great ioy and triumph.

This Donwald hauing taken on him the roiall
administration, transforming himselfe into his
fathers manners, restored againe into the former
estate such things as appertained vnto the common
wealth, and had bene anie wise decayed and mis
governed by the slothfull negligence of his prede
cessor Ferquhard, by means whereof he quicklie
grew into great fauor of his subiects. In the meane
time Cadwallo king of the Britains, and Penda
king of those Englishmen which inhabited that part
of England ancientlie called Mercia, ioining their
powres together against Edwin king of Nor
thumberland, depriued him both of life and king
dome. After this, passing through the whole coun
trie, and entring into the confines of Pictland, they
toke a great part of the same by force of arms from
Budeus king of the Picts, who in baine had sued
for aid vnto Donwald king of Scotland, for that
his vntuall had bene notified more than inough in
times past. But Donwald being certified of Ed
wins death, made means vnto Cadwallo king of
the Britains by his ambassadours, that Cufred the
son of Edelred might be restored vnto his fathers
kingdome, which Edwin had wrongfullie vsurped.

This being granted, Cufred leauing his brethren
still in Scotland, came into Northumberland,
where by authoritie of Cadwallo and Penda he was
inuested king of Bernicia, that is, of the countrie
which is now called the marches. For at the same
time they had diuided the kingdome of Northum
berland into two kingdomes, appointing Cufred (as
is said) to reigne ouer the one called Bernicia, and
one Driake ouer the other called Deira, a man of
great wickednesse, as by his works most plainelie
appeared. For certaine yeares after his aduance
ment to that dignitie, he found means to marie one
of his daughters vnto the foresaid Cufred, persua
ding the same Cufred to consent with him in resto
ring againe the hethenish religion throughout their
whole dominion, & bitterlie to renounce the christian
faith, which they had latelie before receiued by the
instructions of the two bishops Conan & Pauline.
But they inioined not long felicitie after so wicked
and most diuelish a purpose, for the princes of Albion
under the leading of Cadwallo & of the Britains,
and Penda king of Mercia, with a great armie as
sembled of Saxons, Britains, and Picts, entring
into Northumberland, and incountring in battell
with Driake and Cufred, discomfited their power,
and toke them prisoners, who being put into a com
mon prison, flue each other to auoid sharper tortures,
which by due execution they daile looked for.

Then was the kingdome of Northumberland gi
uen vnto Oswald brother to Cufred, both in respect
of the right which he had thereto, and also of the zeale
which he bare to the aduancement of Christs religi
on, shewing himselfe in consideration thereof, an
earnest enimie to his brother Cufred, and all his

partakers, in so much that in the day of the battell,
he was one of the forwardest captains against them.
Vnto this Oswald was sent a Scottishman called
Corman, to instruct the Northumberland men in
faith, and after him Aidan, as in the English historie
ye may read more at large: finally he was slaine
by Penda king of Mercia, as in the same historie
appeareth. His death chanced in the third yeare of
Donwald the Scottish king, who sore lamented the
same, as of that prince whome he loued right intire
lie. Neither liued the said king Donwald anie long
time after the death of his deere friend; for that in
the fifteenth yeare of his reigne, being got into a
bote to fish in the water called Lochtaile for his re
creation, his chance was to be drowned, by reason
the bote sank vnder him. Certaine daies after,
his bodie being found and taken vp, was buried
amongst his ancestors in Colmekill, in the yeare
of our Lord 647.

About the same time there liued in France three
brethren of great holinesse of life, being sonnes vnto
Hiltan king of Ireland, the which he begot of his
wife Galghetes, descended of the linage of the
kings in Scotland. The names of which three bre
thren were as followeth, Furseus, Follanus, and
Ultanus. Furseus professing himselfe a monke of
saint Benets order, passed ouer into France, there
to set forth and enlarge that profession, and being re
ceiued of king Clodwis, began the foundation of a
monasterie there called Latnie, in the which he pla
ced monks of that order, and began to shew in those
parties the seeds of the gospell, but not without the
darnell of mens traditions, as John Bale saith in the
14 centurie of the British writers. His two bre
thren Follan and Ultan followed him ouer into
France, and both by word and example instructed the
Frenchmen to embrace the faith of Christ, and to re
nounce the religion of the gentiles.

So that it seemeth as yet, such as professed them
selues to be monks, and men of religion (as they
were called) had not left off to labour in the Lords
vineyard, spending their time in reading the scrip
tures, to instruct and teach others, and to exercise
prayer and thanksgiving: so as no small number by
their wholesome doctrine and good example were
conuered to the christian faith. Follan at length
was martyred in a monasterie which he had founded
in France called Fosse. About the same time there
was also a contention amongst them in Albion for
keeping of the Easter day, the Scottish bishops and
some of the Britains varieng in their account from
all other prelats of the west: but at length through
persuasion of the pope they confessed their error (if it
ought so to be taken) and consented to celebrate that
feast according to the account of other nations.
These things chanced in the daies of king Don
wald.

After the decess of Donwald, his nephew Fer
quhard the sonne of his brother, the other Fer
quhard, succeeded in gouernement of the realme, a
man of quicke and liuelie spirit, but inclined neuer
theless rather vnto euill than vnto good, speciallie af
ter he had attained the crowne, insomuch as it was
commonlie spoken of him, that from a liberall and
most gentle humane person, he was suddenlie chan
ged into an insatiable and most cruell monster. Be
fore he came to the crowne he was liberall beyond
measure. There was no gentleman that wanted
monie, either to redeeme his lands ingaged, or to
bestow in doler for the marriage of his daughter,
but if he had wherewith to helpe him, he might ac
count himselfe sure thereof. Priests and other de
uout persons, speciallie such as were poore and in any
necessitie, he oftentimes most bountifullie relieued
to

I 2. H.B.

Donwald
the Scottish
king drowned
645. H.B.

Anno 854.
Higebertus.
Fossens mon
asterium.
Strife about
the celebra
ting of the
feast of Easter

Fer
quhard.
Ferquhard
the second of
that name cre
ated king of
Scotland.
Ferquhard
being hung
was conuicted
before he
was king, be
lieved libe
ralitie.

to their great ease and comfort. To be briefe, such a readinesse was in him to helpe all men, that (as was thought) he could better be contented to want himselfe, than to see other men haue need of anie thing that was in his possession, so that all men iudged him most worthy of all princelie authoritie. But after he was once placed in the kinglie seat, he so altered his conditions, that men could not but wonder much therat. Where before he was knowne to be liberall, well disposed, righteous, sober, and a reformer of offenses, he was now forthwith become couetous, wicked towards God, a tormentor of the iust and righteous people, and insatiable in all vnlawfull affecti-
ons. That which before time he had giuen vnto anie of the nobilitie, he now without all shame most vn-
courteously demanded to be to him restored, alledging that he did but lend it for the time. And such as went about to delay restitution, pretending anie excuse, he caused their goods to be confiscate, and also their bodies to be committed to prison. Now then he found means without cause or matter to put some of them to cruell death. Such of the prelates as he vnderstood to be wealthie, he rested not till he had picked one matter or other vnto them, whereby they were sure to forfeit all their treasure vnto his coffers, that neuer might be filled.

The bishops of the realme, namely those two reuerend fathers, Colman and Finnan, perceiving such wickednesse in the prince, blamed him sharpelie sundrie times for the same: and at length because they saw he regarded not their admonishments, he was by them excommunicated: whereof he so little passed, that when other went vnto the church to heare diuine seruice, he would get him to the woods and forrests to hunt the hart, or some other game. Neither were such wanting as were willing to keepe him companie: so readie is the nature of man at all times to follow licentious libertie. He used also, contrary to the custome of his countrie, to eat three meales a day, hauing such number of dishes and abundance of delicate fare, as the like had not bene used at anie time before those daies in that realme: and all to serue his greedy appetite, together with theirs that followed his companie.

Drunknes & other strong drinks he would part-
cipate abundantly at all times and places, without regard of health or honor, being exceedingly giuen vnto most beastlie drunkennesse. He customably v-
sed to sit at supper till it were verie late in the night, hauing his banquetting dishes and cupes to come in one after another, till he were so misshapen, that being laid to sleepe, he would streight vomit out such beauiie gorges, as he had in such most gluttonous wise receiued. Wherevnto he was so drowned in the filthie lust of the flesh, that he defiled his owne daughters: and for that his wife was about to dis-
suade him from such villanie, he slue hir with his owne hands. Thus continuing in his wickednesse certeine yeeres, at length the nobles began to conspire against him, so that they would haue deuised a meane how to haue rid him out of the way, if bishop Colman had not forbidden them that practise, pro-
phesying as it were by diuine inspiration, that Fer-
quhard shoulde be punished by the hands of almighty God, according to his deseruings.

And sure his words proued true: for within a mo-
neth after, as the same Ferquhard followed in chase of a wolfe, the beast being all intraged by the pur-
sute of the hounds, slue backe vpon the king, and snatching at him, did wound and bite him right soe in one of his sides, immediatlie wherevpon, whether through anguish of his hurt, or by some other occa-
sion, he fell into a most filthie disease: for a venemous

humor with a soft consuming heat, did so eat and waite his members and lims, that a lothsome sight it was to behold the same: for out of his legs, feet, and priue parts, there issued filthie corruption and matter, with so vile a sauour, that bnneth might any creature abide it. His bellie was swollen, as though he had bene infected with the dropsie, and thereto was it verie hard withall. Finallie lice bred so abundant-
lie in his secret parts, that he might in no wise be rid
of cleansed of them.

At length, when he had bene bered in this sort for the space of two yeeres together, or thereabouts, he began to call himselfe to remembrance, and to con-
sider how this punishment was worthy fallen vpon him for his sinnes, and therevpon causing bishop Colman to be fetched vnto him, being as then about 20 miles off, he confessed vnto him the whole summe of his offenses, declaring himselfe right penitent for the same. Colman reioicing hereat, did not onelie release him of the sentence of excommunication, pro-
nounced against him; but also willed him to be of comfort, and to put his confidence in the mercie of almighty God, who was readie to receiue all such sinners as turned vnto him with repentant hearts: so that being put in hope by these & the like words of Colman to haue forgiveness of his sinnes, with bitter teares he besought God to haue mercie vpon him: and humbly receiuing the sacrament, got him into simple clothing of heare and sackcloth. Then causing himselfe to be borne into the next fields, he there yelded vpon the ghost in the presence of Colman, who (according to the dutie of a good ghostlie father) was still about him, in exhorting him to commit himselfe wholly to the mercie of God, & not to doubt but he should be sure to attaine the same. This Fer-
quhard ended his life, in the 18 yeere after he began his reigne ouer the Scottishmen, and in the yeere of Grace 664.

In this Ferquhards daies bishop Aidan depar-
ted this world, and then was Finnan sent for forth of Scotland, to take vpon him the gouernement of the church of Lindeferne, where the bishops of Nor-
thumberland as then had their see. This Finnan was well learned, and no lesse renowned for his vertuous life than his predecessor Aidan. He died a-
non after the deceasse of Ferquhard, and then was Colman remoued vnto that see of Lindeferne, who with his vertuous instructions and examples of ho-
lie life conuerted a great multitude of Saxons vnto the true worshipping of the liuing God. And a-
mongst other was Penda sonne to the former Pen-
da, king of Mercia. There be that write how Pen-
da the father also was baptised by this Colman: and that the same Colman trauelled through the most part of all the English prouinces, setting forth the word of life amongst the people, purchasing him great fame for his worthy merits. He came to the church of Lindeferne in the daies of Galdwin that succeeded the last mentioned Ferquhard.

This Galdwin was the sonne of king Don-
wald: and after that Ferquhard was dead and buried in Colmekill, he was inuested king: which function he right sufficientlie discharged, studieng to mainteine peace with his neighbors the Picts, Sax-
ons and Britains: giuing thereby a good example to be followed of his subiects. Hereto he had a speciall care for the administration of the lawes in due forme and order, causing offenders to be punished, that o-
ther harmelesse persons might liue in quiet, so that by this meanes all things in the beginning of his reigne had prosperous successe. Afterwards there fell no small discord betwixt them of Lennor and Argile: for first through bralling among the hear-
men, their maisters made a fraie, whereof rose such
deadlie

Gifts are re-
quired as a
loane.

Lo, what a
pretense coue-
tousnes hath.

For their
goods sake
prelates are
troubled.

The king is
excommuni-
cated.

The king is
hunting.

He was a
glutton.

A drunkard
he was also.

A prophesie.

The king is
sicke.

The Westerne
Men take
part with Dr-
gile, Galloway
with Lennor.

Galdwin
went about
by to punish
the author of
this commo-
tion.

The captiues
began friends
together, and
so into the
Picts.
The Pict-
men appe-
ared the cap-
tives of the re-
bels.

He buildeth
the church of
the abbey of
Colmekill.

A great pesti-
lence & death
vpon earth.

Scotland
was free of
the pestilence
and plague.

His stoutnesse
the mother of
licentiousnes.

Colman erec-
ted a monast-
ry.

Galdwin the
Scottish king
strangled in
his bed.

did so eat and
loathsome sight
his legs, feet,
corruption and
eth might any
len, as though
and there to was
d so abundant
no wife be rid

in this sort so;
ereabouts, he
ce, and to con-
hile fallen up-
causing bishop
as then about
whole summe
right penitent
did not onelie
munication, pro-
d him to be of
the mercie of
ceceue all such
eritant hearts:
e like words of
e times, with
e mercie vpon
ament, got him
kerloth. Then
next fields, he
ce of Colman,
ghoslie father)
him to commit
, & not to doubt
me. Thus Fer-
after he began
in the yere of

664
p Aidan depar-
n sent for forth
ouernement of
bishops of For-
This Finian
notomed for his
dair. He died a-
, and then was
indelferne, who
examples of ho-
of Saxons vi-
God. And a-
he former Pen-
uite holo Pen-
s Colman: and
ough the most
etting forth the
purchasing him
He came to the
Galdwin that

of king Done-
was dead and
ed king: which
yed, studieng to
to the Idias, Sar-
god example to
he had a speciall
es in due forme
nished, that o-
quiet, so that
ginning of his
terwards there
of Lennor and
ong the heard
herof rose such
deadlie

deadlie enmitie betwixt the parties, by reason that
the inhabitants of the westerne Isles aided them of
Argile, and the people of Galloway the other of Len-
nor: that if the king had not come into those parties
to appease the businesse, and to haue punished the of-
fenders, there had ensued much manslaughter, vnto
the great danger of the bitter ruine of those coun-
tries.

The king at his arrivall amongst them minded
not to pursue the people that followed their cap-
tains, but rather the captives and authors of this tur-
mult themselves. Whereof they hauing knowledge,
made an attouement together, being enforced there-
to of necessitie, so to auoid the prepared punishment
deuised by the king against them. And forthwith
they fled ouer into the Isles, but the inhabitants
doubting the kings displeasure, would not consent
to succour them, but contrariwise took them and de-
liuered them to the kings officers, whereupon they
were safelie conueied to the places where they were
borne, and there suffered their deserved execution.
Thus that commotion vnadvisedlie begun, was
speedilie appeased, and the name of Galdwin by rea-
son hereof so feared amongst his subiects, that dur-
ing his reigne no such trouble chanced in anie part
of all his dominions.

After this he went ouer into Iona or Colmekill,
where perceiuing the abbete church, wherein his an-
cestors had their sepulchres, to be in decaye, he caused
it to be pulled quite downe, and workemen forth-
with set in hand to build it vp againe, at his owne
proper costes and charges. Such speed also was vsed
about this worke, that before he departed out of this
life, the same was finished, and dedicated vnto our
Saviour Christ, and saint Colme. About the same time
there reigned throughout the most part of the world
a sore and greivous pestilence, consuming a greater
number of men (before it ceased) than there were
left alive: for it continued the whole space of three
yeres together. At length, through common prai-
ers, fasting, giuing of almes, & other vertuous works,
the wrath of almighty God was pacified, so that
such great mortallitie by his mercifull appointment
did cease and grow ouer.

The Scottishmen were free from that infection as
well at that time, as also for manie yeres after. Yet
ther were they in manner troubled with anie sharpe
feuers, or agues, till time that omitting the ancient
and wholesome spaciouse diet, which their fathers
in times past had vsed, they fell vnto riotous banquet-
ting and excessive feeding, whereby they became sub-
iect vnto all kinds of diseases, through malicious hu-
mours growing therupon. Colman bishop of Lindes-
ferne seeing wonderfull numbers of Englishmen
perish daily of that contagious sickness, by licence
of the king, to auoid the present danger of death,
which by tarrying there he saw no meanes how to es-
cape, returned into Scotland with his disciples,
and after getting him ouer into one of the westerne
Isles, he erected a manastrie there, wherein he re-
mained during the residue of his life.

After the departure of Colman south of For-
thumberland, the people of that countrie joining
with the Idias, made fardie roads into the Scottish
borders: which intire when Galdwin reuenged
with more displeasure done to them of Forthum-
berland, than the Scottishmen had received, it caused
the Idias and Forthumbers to prepare themselves
with all speed to haue made sharpe warres against
the Scots: but in the meane time Galdwin died,
being strangled in his bed one night by his owne
wife, vpon suspicion of gelousie, for his vnlawfull
company keeping with an other woman. The next
day after he was apprehended with those that were

pursue to the deed, and burnt openlie vpon an hill, ac-
cording as the law most iustlie deserued. Galdwin
was thus murdered in the yere after the birth of
our Saviour 684, and in the 20 yere of his owne
reigne.

After him succeeded Eugenius the fifth of that
name, nephew to Galdwin, as sonne to his bro-
ther Dongard. About the same time Eugenius king
of Scots sent with all diligence his ambassadors vnto
Egfred king of Northumberland, to moue him
vnto peace. Egfred hauing heard the ambassadors
which were thus sent, seemed as though he had bene
willing to haue had peace, where he minded nothing
more than to haue warres with the Scots, so lone
as his prouision should be once readie and he re-
vpon granted to them a trespasse for the space of 11 moneths,
in which meane time he might make his preparati-
on. Eugenius hauing learn secret knowledge of Eg-
freds purpose, prouided likewise for the warres on
his part: but for that he would not seme to giue the
occasion, he streitlie commanded that none of his
subiects should be so hardie, as to attempt anie thing
founding to the breach of the truce.

In the tenth moneth Egfred hauing all his pre-
paration readie, sent a companie of his men of war
into the Scottish borders, to fetch some bottie, where-
by the peace might be broken. Those that were thus
sent, fetched not onelie from thence a great number
of cattell, but also some bladders of the borderers that
went about to rescue their beasts and cattell. In-
mediatlie hereupon were sent ambassadors from
Eugenius to demand restitution: but they not with-
out much ado, after certaine vaines attendance, got
audience, and boldlie declaring vnto Egfred their
message, received for answer a plaine publication of
warre. For he alleging how the Scots, since the
truce was granted, had sundrie times fetched botties
out of the confines of his dominions, and therefor
had well deserued farre more damage than as yet
they had received, whereupon he minded not to con-
tinue friendship with them that knew not how to
keepe their hands from robbing and stealing from
their neighbours: so that he commanded them to
declare vnto their king, that within eight daies af-
ter, he should take his open warre at the hands of
him and other his aduersaries.

Eugenius receiving this answer from Egfred,
besought God, with the other onelie sought to vi-
olate the peace, that the vengeance might light vpon
his owne head, that had thus giuen the occasion.
Wherewith gathering his power together, he repa-
red into Galloway, into the which he had knowledge
that his enemies would first enter. But before he
could get thither, a great armie of Englishmen
were come already into that countie, and had be-
sieged a strong castell called Downie, the chiefest
fortresse in that parte of all Galloway. And yet
Egfred might haue the same, he was constrained
to raise his siege, and to march forth to encounter
with Eugenius, who haden fast towards him. They
met nere to the banks of the water of Lewis, as
then being verie deepe, by reason it was raised with
abundance of raine which latelie before had fallen,
where they fought a verie sore and bloody battell: for
the Scots had vowed neuer to giue ground to the e-
nemies, so long as anie life remained in their breasts.

At the first there was no great advantage per-
ceiued on either side, the kings, according to the cu-
stomes of valiant captives, exhorting their people to
sticke to it manfullie: but in the meane time, cer-
taine bands of Egfreds part getting themselves to
the side of an hill, gaue the looking on, without con-
suming downe at all to aid their friends: which man-
ner the residue of his people perceiuing, doubted of
some

Eugenius
the fifth
king of
Scotland.

Egfred king
of Northum-
berland.

A trespasse
granted.

Egfreds
command-
ment.

The truce
broken.

Ambassadors
sent by Eg-
fred vnto
Eugenius for
restitution.

Egfreds
answer.

Eugenius
gathered
armie.

The castell of
Downie be-
sieged.

King Egfred
slaine.
See more
hereof in
England.

Twentie thou
sand Saxons
slaine.

Hyndens
king of the
Picts.

Inuasion in
to Northum
berland.

Cuthbert bi
shop.

A slaughter
amongst the
Picts.

Egfred slaine
by Picts and
not by Scots.
Eugenius the
first died.
688

Eugenius the
first succeedeth
Eugenius the
first.

A league be
tweene the
Scots and
Northumber
land men.
Truce taken
with the
Picts.

Some treason denised against them, and thereupon began to thinke backe. Egfred abused therof, came amongst the foremost ranks of his battell, desiring the Englishmen in no wise to giue place to their enemies: and for that daies seruice he promised them high rewards, and all the pleasure that afterward he might be able waies able to shew or do them. But whildest he was thus buslie occupied in comforting & exhorting his men to fight stoutlie, he himselfe chanced to be wounded in the face with an arrow so sore, that immediatlie he fell downe and died in the place. The Englishmen discouraged with this mischance, were quicklie thereupon put to flight and chased, a great number of them toke the riuer so to escape the enemies hands, of whome the more part being pressed downe by weight of their armor, were drowned in the raging waues of the flood, the residue by casting from them their armors and clothes, escaped by swimming ouer to the other side, but those that made their course by land, being cumbered in mires and moles, also amongst streits, rocks, mounteins and cliffes, were overtaken by the Scots and slaine. Few of that number escaped awaie in safetie, so that there died in the fight and chase at the point of twentie thousand Saxons with their king the foze said Egfred: of the Scots were slaine, besides those that were hurt and wounded, not manie about six thousand. By this ouerthrow the force of those Saxons or Englishmen of Northumberland was not onelie fore diminished, but also of such other Saxons, the which in no small number were come into Egfred, to aid him against the Scots in that iournie.

Hyndens the Pictish king having knowledge of this slaughter, which had chanced betwixt the Englishmen and Scots, was nothing sozie, as one that was friend to neither part, and now perceiuing that the Northumberland men were so weakened, that they were not able to resist an inuasion, he entred with his whole power which he had raised, into Northumberland, soze afflicting th inhabitants, insomuch that he had vndoubtedlie either subdued that countrie wholie into his dominion, either els utterlie destroyed it, had not the deuout prayers of S. Cuthbert (who then held the see of Lindesferne) preferred the people from that present desolation. For at length after the Picts had raged a while through the countrie, they chanced to fall at variance amongst themselves for parting of the spoile, and buckling together by the eares, there was an huge slaughter made amongst them. And this was the cause, that contenting themselves with those countries about Wertwicke, ancientlie called Deira, out of the which they expelled the Saxons, they abstained from all the residue, as not willing to deale withall. Neither were the Saxons of Northumberland, being thus scourged, able to recover their former forces againe, of manie yeeres after insuing.

Here is to be noted, that whereas the Scottish writers ascribe the victorie of that battell, wherein Egfred was slaine, unto their king Eugenius, Beda which then liued, declareth that the Picts were those that fought with him and slue him. Finallie, Eugenius departed this life in the 4 yeere of his reigne, and after the incarnation 688. After Eugenius the first, succeeded Eugenius the first, who was the sonne of Iferquhard, and by perswasion of bishop Adarnan (with whome he was brought up) & of S. Cuthbert, he entered into league with the Northumberland men: but he would at no hand ioine in amitie with the Picts, notwithstanding he was contented to take truce with them. But when he saw the same oftentimes by them violated & broken, to the great perill, damage, and hinderance of his subiects, he caused the warre to be proclaimed, and sent them his

defiance by an herald. Hothobett, through the earnest prayers (as is supposed) of the two bishops, Cuthbert and Adarnan (who had laboured earnestlie to haue brought those people to a quietnesse) this warre continued without anie notable encounter, saue onelie by light incursions (wherein no great bloodshed chanced) enen vnto the death of Eugenius, which fell in the yeere of our Lord 697, and in the tenth yeere of his owne reigne. He was buried together with the other Eugenius, that lastlie reigned afore him, in the Ile of Colmekill, amongst their predecessors.

Manie wonderfull visions were seene that yeere in Albion, as the Scottish chronicles make mention. In the riuer of Humber there appeared in the sight of a great multitude of men, a number of ships vnder saile, as though they had bene furnished forth for the warres. In the church at Camelon there was heard a noyse, as it had bene the clattering of armor. Milke was turned into blood in diuers places in Scotland, and chaele conuerted into a bloudie masse or cake. Come, as it was gathered in the harvest time appeared bloudie. In the furthermost parts of Scotland, it rained blood. These sights being seene of some, & declared to other, caused a wonderfull feare in the peoples hartis, imagining some great alteration to insue.

Ambriskeleth the nephue, or (as some say) the son A of Eugenius the first, succeeded Eugenius the first in the government of the realme; who after his attaining to the crowne, shortly changed the rebwith his manners and good disposition: for where before he shewed himselfe to be an earnest defender of the poore and simple, that all men iudged that he would haue proued a patron of all vertue, he contrarie to that expectation, became suddenlie a paterne of all vices and couetousnesse, delighting in nothing but in following his sensuall lusts, as in taking exesse of meats and drincks, and wallowing in fleshlie concupiscence of lecherous lust. To be brieffe, when he toke nothing in hand worthe of his estate and degree, it was thought that of necessitie the forme of the publike gouernement must needs throught his negligent slouthfulness fall into decaye and ruine: whereupon Carnard king of the Picts, supposing he had convenient time to reuenge all former injuries receiued at the Scottish mens hands, gathered a great host of men, and with the same entring into the Scottish confines, made verie pitifull slaughter of the inhabitants.

At length Ambriskeleth (being soze blamed of his his nobles for his negligence, in suffering his subiects thus to be destroyed) gathered an armie together, & with no small feare to shew his head amongst his people (as those princes which through their owne default haue their people in mistrust, do euer stand in doubt of their owne safeties, and namelie when anie present danger beginneth to appere) forth he goeth without anie great god order (God wot) for that might be looked for at his hands, which was so ouerwhelmed with all kind of excessive gluttonie, immoderate surfeiting, insatiable lecherie, and deliting altogether in slouthfull ease, and sluggish idleness, the root from whence all such filthie vices taking their beginnings, are nourished & maintained.

To conclude, he liued as one that toke no manner of regard to that which chiefe appertained to his calling: whereby now when he should come into the field, he was neither able through lacke of practise to take paines to see things done as was behouefull, of himselfe, neither yet to giue order to others how the same ought to be done. Neuertheless marching forward with his armie, he came to the water of Tay, and nere to the banks thereof, he pitched downe his tents, where after he had supped, he was occasioned to

The death of
Ambriskeleth.

Eugenius.

Eugenius the
fourth is e
lected king of
Scots.

The king is
crowned.

The quene
dies in bed
of her husband

The king is
imprisoned of
the murdres.

The murdres
are ban
ished.

An example of
a good prince.

The king
sleweth his
murders by
means to be
punished.

His
men

to go forth of his lodging to doe the necessities of nature, and being onelie accompanied with two of his seruants that were groomes of his chamber, he was subuerſie ſhot through the head with an arrow; but from whence it came, or who ſhot it, there was neuer anie knowne that could tell. Holubert, the king immediatlie died of the hurt, after he had reigned not fullie two yeeres. He was buried in Colmeſkill amongſt his noble anceſtors.

The lords and peers of the land not greatlie lamenting the death of ſuch a monſtrous perſon, becauſe the armie for what of a goneruor ſhould not fall into anie danger; they elected Eugenius the ſeuenth, being the brother of the late ſolſeſis Ambirkeleth, to ſucceed as king in the gouernment of the realme; a prince of verie comelie port & perſonage; neither deſtitute of honorable qualities and good diſpoſition of mind. Being ſince proclaimed king, he cauſed generall muſters to be taken of the whole armie, and preceſſing by ſurueie thereof, that he was not able to match with his enemies, he found means to conclude a peace with the Pictiſh king, pledges being deliuered on either ſide, for redreſſe to be had of all wrongs and iniuries that had bene committed betwixt them. The Picts returning home, and the ſcotiſh armie diſſolued, Eugenius with the moſt part of the nobilitie went into Argyle, where he received his inueſture of the kingdom, ſitting by in the ſtone of ſtarble, according to the cuſtome and maner.

The bond of peace begun betwixt the kings, was the more ſtronglie confirmed by meanes of alliance, Spontana the daughter of king Carnard being coupled in marriage with Eugenius: the ſixt yeere following being great with child; was that thereb one night within the kings bed-chamber, in ſteed of the king himſelfe, by two brethren of the countie of Athole, who moued to diſpleaſure for their fathers death, had conſpired to murder the king, and had ſlain him in deed; had he not through his good hap laſen forth of his owne chamber the ſame night, Eugenius being ſuſpected of the murder, and euill ſpoken of for the ſame amongſt his ſubiects, was at length with great danger of life and honoꝝ enforced to make anſwer by wale of arraignment for clearing of himſelfe, before the nobles of his realme, appointed as competent iudges in that caſe: ſo greatlie beloved was Spontana amongſt all the degrees of the ſcotiſh nation. But in the end being found guiltye of the crime (for at the time that iudgement ſhould haue paſſed, the offenders were apprehended and brought in) he was acquit, to the great reioicing of all honeſt men. Thoſe that had done the deed, were condemned and hanged by naked on gibbets by the heeles, together with certefne cruell maſtiue dogs, the which might ſo denounce them.

But Eugenius being thus cleared of all former ſuſpicion, minded to haue bene renenged on thoſe that had ſallie accuſed him. Holubert through the goodlie admoniſhments of that reuerend father Adannan, he qualified his diſpleaſure. After this, giuing his mind to the aduancement of religion and poliſhke gouernement of his ſubiects, he ordeined that the hiſtoies of his anceſſors ſhould be written in bookes and volumes, that poſteritie might haue to read the ſame for example ſake. Theſe monuments he alſo appointed to be kept and reſerued in the abbeie of Iona, now called Colmeſkill, for a perpetuall memorie: and ſuch as ſhould write the ſame, to remaine and haue living there in the abbeie. Moreover, ſuch ſpirituall promotions as he perceived to be to meane and ſlender for the maintenance of the miſtiſſer that ſhould ſerue the cure, he cauſed to be augmented in ſuch wiſe as was thought ſufficient. He

concluded a league with the Sarons and Picts, and obſerued the ſame during his life, which he ended at Abernethie, when he had reigned about 17 yeeres, whereof the laſt fell in the yeere after the incarnation of our Sauter 717, the 15 indiction. His death was greatlie lamented, both of his lords and commons; as they that intierlie loued him for his noble and moſt princelie qualities.

A little before his death, he betooke the poſſeſſion of his kingdom vnto Morbach that ſucceeded him. This Morbach was the nephew of Eugenius the ſeuenth, by his brother Ambirkeleth: who as he was knowne to be of a gentle, meeke, and liberall nature, before his aduancement to the crowne; ſo he ſhewed himſelfe to be the verie ſame man during the whole courſe of all his naturall life, after he had attained to the ſame. Aboue all things he wiſhed a generall peace to continue amongſt all the princes of Albion, and thereupon for his part eſtabliſhing a peace with the Picts, Britains, and all the Engliſh kings, he firmitie kept euerie article therein contained. In thoſe daies (as S. Beda doth teſtifie) foure ſeueral people liued in peace and quietneſſe within the bounds of Albion, though differing in manners, language, lawes, and ordinances: Sarons whome he called Engliſhmen, Britains, Scots, and Picts. His words are theſe that follow.

The nation of the Picts at this time is in league with the Engliſhmen, and glablie is partaker of the vniuerſall peace and veritie with the catholike church. Thoſe Scots which inhabit Britaine, contenting themſelues with their owne bounds, go about to praſtiſe no neceſſfull traines, nor fraudulent deuices againſt the Engliſhmen. The Britains, though for the moſt part through a familiar hatred doe ſumpagne the Engliſh nation, and the ſtate of the whole catholike church, obſeruing not rightlie the feaſt of Eaſter, beſides other naughty blages, yet both the diuine power and humane force vterlie reſiſting them, they are not able in neither behalfe to attaine vnto their purpoſed intentions; as they which though partlie free, yet in ſome behalfe are thral and mancipat to the ſubiection of the Engliſhmen: which Engliſhmen now in acceptable peace and quietneſſe of time, manie amongſt them of Northumberland, as well of the nobilitie as other, lateng away armour and weapon, applie themſelues to the reading of holie ſcripture, moze deſirous to be in houſes of vertuous conuerſation, than to exerciſe ſeats of warre. What will come thereof, the age that followeth ſhall perceive and behold. With theſe words doth Beda end his hiſtoie, continued till the yeare 734, in the which yeare Morbach the ſcotiſh king ended his life.

He repaired ſundrie churches and religious houſes, which being defaced with violence of the enemies inuaſions in time of warre, had not bene re-edified by his anceſſors. But amongſt other, he beſtowed much coſt vpon the church where the bodie of S. Martin lieth, in the towne ancientlie called Candida Caſa, & now Whitterne or Huſtterne. Saint Beda calleth that place Pictiminia, and the biſhop which at the ſame time held the church there, he nameth Acta, auouching how he was the firſt that was biſhop thereof after the daies of ſaint Martin. Which if it be true, it muſt needs be that afterwards ſome vacation happened in that ſee for a time, ſith it is notified in the ſcotiſh hiſtoies, that the weſterne Fles, Galloway, and other regions nere adioining, were ſubiet vnto the biſhop of Sodor (whoſe ſee is in the Ile of Man) vnto the daies of Malcolme the firſt, who reſtored rather than ordeined the biſhops ſee in Candida Caſa againe, after ſuch vacation as befoze is ſpecified.

Eugenius the ſeuenth departed out of this life. 716. H.B.

Mordack. Morbach ſucceeded Eugenius the ſeuenth.

A lover of peace.

Peace thorough out all the land of Albion.

The teſtimonie of Beda.

734. Morbach ended his life the ſame yeare that ſaint Beda made an end of his hiſtoie.

Candida Caſa now called Whitterne.

But

*Ethfne.**Ethfne suc-
cedeth Mor-
dake.**A peaceable
prince.**Four gou-
ernors vnder
the king.**Trust go-
uernement.**Donald of the
Ales mainte-
neth robbers.**The oppres-
sion of the
commons of
Galloway.**Mordake the
kings lieute-
nant beareth
with offen-
ders.**The deceasse
of Ethfne.
762. H.B.**Eugenius.**Eugenius the
eight in-
vested king of
Scots.
Donald of the
Ales appea-
red.**Donald and
his complices
put to death.*

But now to retorne touching the gouernement-
Of the Scottish kingdome, I find that after the
deceasse of Mordake last remembred, his nephue na-
med Ethfne, the sonne of the seventh Eugenius,
succeeded in the state; a man naturallie inclined vn-
to peace and maintenance of iustice. The league
which his predecessors Eugenius and Mordake had
kept with their neighbors the Britains, English-
men and Picts, he duellie likewise obserued. His
chiefe studie was to purge his realme of all such as
were knowne to be open barretors and offenders
in anie wise, against the peace and common quiet
of his subiects; so that causing sundrie notable exam-
ples of iustice to be executed vpon such euill doers,
he was had in such reuerend dread amongst his
subiects, that none of them durst once whisper anie
euill of him. Neither had they verelie anie cause so
to doe, while he looked to the administration himselfe.

But after he was once fallen into age, he appoin-
ted foure peeres in his realme to haue the chiefe go-
uernance vnder him; as Donald the treasurer of
Argile, Collane of Athole, and Mordake of Galloway
his lieutenants, and Conrath the thane of
Murrey land. These hauing the procuration of all
things touching the gouernement of the realme, v-
sed not themselves so byrightlie in manie points as
they ought to haue done; but winked now and then
at faults & trespasses committed by their kinsfolks
and alics, permitting the nobilitie to liue according
to their old accustomed manner of licentious liber-
tie, to the small ease or commoditie of the other in-
feriour states. Donald of the westerne Ales, a man
of goodlie personage, but of disposition inclined to
all naughtinesse, maintained a great number of
robbers and spoilers of the countrie, liuing onlie
vpon raine. For looke what they wanted, they
would not faile to catch it, if it were in anie place
broad where they might laie hands on it; so that all
the husbandmen and commons of Galloway, in
which countrie they most haunted, were brought in
to wonderfull thalldome and miserie.

Neither did Mordake the kings lieutenant there,
go about to chastise such insolent misdemeanors,
either for that he was of Donalds alliance, either
else priuie to his doings, and partaker of the spoile.
The people hereby vered with continuall iniuries,
brought manie pittifull complaints before Mordake,
who nothing regarded their lamentable lutes and
supplications, but the more they complained, the
worse they were handled. Neither was there anie
hope of redresse or amendment, till Eugenius the
eight was admitted to the kinglie administration
after the death of king Ethfne, who in the latter
end of his daies continuallie being sicke and diseased,
could not attend to take order for the publike go-
uernement, by reason whereof such wilfull misdoers
infused. He died in the yeare of our Lord 764, af-
ter he had continued his reigne ouer the Scottish-
men the space of thirtie yeares, his bodie being bu-
ried in Colmekill with all funerall obsequies.

His successor, the foresaid Eugenius the eight
that was the sonne of king Mordake, was in-
vested king in Argile with such pompe and cerema-
nies as in that case appertained, and immediarlie
therevpon he hasted forth to catch Donald of the
Ales, not resting till at length he had caught him,
though that came not to passe without some losse of
his people. After he had taken both him and his chie-
fest complices, he put them openlie to death; neither
so satisfied, he caused Mordake to be arraigned, who
confessing himselfe partlie guiltie of such things as
were laid to his charge for mainteining of the fore-
said Donald, he likewise suffered death, and his
goods being valued and diuided into parts, were be-

stowed amongst the commons of Galloway, vnto
compense of such losses, as through his contrited
fallshod they had sustained. Also he did put Donald,
Collan, and Conrath to their fines, for that they did
suffer Donald to rob & spoile without chastisement.

Through which causing of iustice thus to be execu-
ted, in reliefe of his commons, he was him woun-
derfull loue, not onlie in Galloway, but also through-
out all his realme; and therewith were offenders put
in such feare, that they durst in no place commit a-
nie such misdoers against the simple and meane
people. And for the more increase of his subiects
wealth, he also continued the league with the Picts,
Britains, and Englishmen, accordinglie as his
late predecessor had done. But yet, as the nature of
man through licentious libertie is euer ready to of-
fend in one point or other, so it came to passe by this
way the prince Eugenius, who in such wise as is be-
fore expressed, reigning in peace and quietnesse a-
mongest his louing subiects, yet fell into most vile
lust to accomplish his vnassailable fleshlie concupis-
cence, seeking all means he could deuise to deuoure
young virgins and honest matrons, and that as well
those of the nobilitie as other. And such comparisons
as could best further his purpose in that behalf, and
deuise new means and waies of fleshlie companie,
those he set by, and greatlly made of, delisting altog-
ther to haue them in his companie.

Thus being drowned in lecherous lust, and filthy
concupiscence, he fell baillie in more greuous vices,
as into excessive couetousnesse and beastlie crueltie,
consenting to make awaie his wealthie subiects, to
the end he might intoy their goods. This wickednesse
remained not long unpunished, for the lords and
peeres of his realme, perceiuing how he proceeded
baillie in his abhominable and tyrannicall doings,
not once giuing eare to the wholesome aduertise-
ments either of God or man, they slue him one day
amongest them as he sat in iudgement about to
haue condemned a great rich man, though not guiltie
in the crime thereof he was accused. They cau-
sed also a great companie of those mates to be ap-
prehended, which had bene of his counsell, and pro-
uokers vnto all his wicked and vile doings. Which
to the great contentation of the people were han-
ged, as they had well deserved. And such was the
end of Eugenius, after he had gouerned the king-
dome about thre yeares: his bodie was buried in
Colmekill amongst his ancestors, though the peo-
ple thought it little worthie of that hono-
r, which had
misused it selfe so inordinatlie in this present life.

After him came the administration of the realme
vnto Fergus the third, the sonne of king Eth-
fne, in the yeare 767, who being established in the
same, began frelie to practise all kinds of vices,
which most abundantlie reigned in him, howbeit till
that day wonderfullie dissembled and kept couert.
He seemed to strue how to passe his predecessor in
all points of wickednesse. He took no regard at all
to the gouernement of his realme, but gaue himselfe
to excessive gluttonie, in deuouring of delicate
meats and drinks, and therewith kept such a num-
ber of vile strumpets in house with him, whome he
used as concubines, that his wife was no better es-
teemed than as an handmaid, or rather a kitchen-
maid. Who being a woman of great modestie,
and sober aduisednesse, could not yet but take some
griefe and indignation hereat: and therefore sundrie
times assaied by way of wholesome perswasions, to
turne his mind from such sinfull vices and filthy
trade of liuing.

If smallie, when she saw there was no hope to con-
uert his depraved mind, nor by anie means to re-
forme him, but that the more she laboured to doe good
vpon

*Mordake
lieutenant of
Galloway is
put to death.
The com-
mons recom-
pensed.**A righteous
king.**Offenders
put in feare.**Eugenius
perverted
with sensu-
all lust and
concupiscence.**A filthy
light.**Conetoulch
linked with
crueltie.**Eugenius
murdered.**The end of
Eugenius
the eight.**Fergus
767.**Fergus the
third created
king.**A wicked
prince.**B. Fergus
the third
was called by
his wife.**Wholesome
persons are
sacked.**The queene
condemned the
murder.**He giueth
the come-
mence.**The queene
with exco-
m of his self.*

upon him, the worse he was, through verie displeasure of such injuries as the daile sustained at the hands of his concubines, the found meanes to strangle him secretlie one night as he lay in bed, choosing rather to be without a husband, than to haue one that should deceiue hir of the right and dutie of marriage; and that in such sort, as the must be faime to suffer the reproch daile before his face, being misbused of them whom he kept as paramours in most despitefull manner. The day after the wrought this feat, the bodie being found dead, was apparelled in funeralsl wize, and brought forth vnto the place of iudgement, where inquisition was freclie made what they were that had done so heinous a deed. For though there were but few that lamented his death, yet some of his friends were verie earnest to haue the matter tried forth, that such as had committed the murder might suffer due punishment.

Spanie were apprehended and had to the racke, but yet could none be found that would confesse it. The quene was void of all suspicion, as she that had bene taken for a woman at all tines of great temperance. But yet, when she heard that a number of innocent persons were tormented without desert, sore lamenting (as should appeare) their miserable case, she came basilie into the iudgement hall, and getting hir aloft vpon the bench, there, in the presence of all the companie, she had these or the like words vnto the whole assemblie. I know not (god people) I know not what god moueth me, or what

diuine reuengement bereth me with sundrie thoughts and cogitations; that of all this day and morning preceding, I haue had neither rest in bodie nor mind. And verelie when I heard that certein guiltlesse persons were cruellie tormented here in your presence; had not wrath giuen place, partly vnto modestie, whereof I must confesse there is left but a small portion in me, I had forthwith rid my selfe out of the way. The kings death was mine act. Conscience constraineth me (setting apart mine owne safeguard) to confesse the truth, least the guiltlesse should wrongfullie perish: therefore vnderstand ye for truth, that none of them whom ye haue examined are pziue to the offense. I verelie am she, that with these wicked hands haue strangled this night last past Fergus, about whose death I see you in trouble, moued so to doo with two as sharpe prickes as may rest in a woman, to wit, impatient forbearing of carnall lust, & trefull wrath. Fergus by his continuall vsing of concubines, kept from me the due debt that the husband oweth to the wife: wherevpon when there was no hope to reconcile him with open aduertisements, vehement force of anger rising in my hart, dzoue me to doo so wicked a deed. I thought rather therefore to dispatch the adulterer, than being destitute of my husband, & defrauded of all quenele hono) to liue still subiect to the perpetuall injuries of such lewd women as he kept & vsed in my stead. Lose ye therefore those that be accused of the kings death, & as for me ye shall not need to proceed against me as guiltie of the crime by order of law: for I that was so bold to commit so heinous an act, will accordingly doo execution vpon my selfe even here instantlie in presence of you all: what hono) is due to the dead, loke you to that. ¶ Having thus made an end of hir tale, she plucked forth a knife which she had hid vnder hir gowne, and stroke herselfe to the heart with the same, falling dead vpon it downe to the ground. All such as were present wondered greatlie at hir stout and hardie stomach, speaking diuerlie thereof, as some in praise, and some in dispraise of these hir monstrous doings. The bodie of Fergus was carried forth to the Ile of Colmekill, and there buried in the third yere after his entring into

the gouernement, and in the yere of our Lord 769. The quens corps was not buried in sacred ground, for that she flue herselfe.

Soluathius the sonne of Eugenius the eight, was admitted to the rule of the Scottish estate next after the death of Fergus: a prince swertie bothe to the accomplishment of high enterprises, if through hap of froward destinie he had not bene hindered. For in the third yere of his reigne he began to be vered extreamelie with the gout, which ingendered by cold in lieng abroad in hunting; and so continuing with him during his life, staied him from manie worthie exercises, as well in peace at home, as abroad in time of warres. Thus he being in maner impotent & lame of his limbs, there were some commotions and misorders the more boldly attempted: and first amongst them of the out Isles. For Wane Shakedonald, gouernor by the kings appointment of the Island called Aire, got all the castles and fortresses of the Isles into his owne hands, & strengthened with a rout of vnrulie and mischeuous youtfull persons, took possession of all the said Isles, causing himselfe to be proclaimed king of the same.

Not contented herewith, he gathered a number of ships together, wherein transporting himselfe with a great armie ouer into Lozne and Cantire, made great waste and spoile of those countries, till Duthquhall gouernor of Athole, and Culane of Argyle, being sent with a chosen power from the king to defend the countrie, chanced to encounter with him, and putting him with his people vnto flight, chased them to such a streid, as where there was no way to get forth, save onlie that by which they entered. This place is in Lozne, with a streid passage to enter into it: but when ye are within it, the same is verie large and broad, inuironed about with craggie mountains, chained together with a continuall ridge, a deepe riuer compassing them in beneath in the bottom, with such steepe & sibelong banks, that there is no way to passe forth of the same, but by that through which ye must enter into it. The said Wane with his folks being entred at vnwares into such a streid, and perceiuing there was no way to issue forth, but by the same where he entred, he returned backe thither, and finding the passage closed from him by his enemies, he was in a wonderfull maze, not knowing what shift to make to escape. Finallic, falling to counsell with the chieffest of his armie vpon the danger present, and so continuing for the space of two daies without ante conclusion available, on the third day dzauen of necessitie through hunger, they required of their enemies to be receiued as yelded men vpon what conditions they would prescribe, onlie hauing their liues assured. But when this would not be granted, in the euening tide they rushed forth vpon their enemies, to trie if by force they might haue passed through them. But such was their hap, that there they died euerie mothers son: for so had Duthquhall & Culane commanded, to the end that other rebels might take example by such their wilfull and rebellious outrage.

The kings capteins after this passing ouer into the Isles, brought all things there into the former state of quietnesse. Yet after the appeasing of this tumult, there chanced a new businesse in Galloway: for Gillequhalme, sonne to that Donald, which (as ye haue heard) was executed by commandement of Eugenius the eight, gathered together a great number of vngreatious scape-thitts, & did much hurt and mischeue in the countrie. But shortly after, being vanquished by the same capteins that had suppressed the other rebels of the Isles, the countrie was rid of that trouble, and the ring-leaders punished by death for their offenses. In this meane while, the Englishmen

Soluathius.

Soluathius admitted king of Scotland.

Soluathius an impotent, & lame.

A rebellion. Shakedonald proclaimed king of the Isles.

He invaded Lozne and Cantire. A power from the king is sent against him.

The kings power passed ouer into the Isles.

Gillequhalme the sonne of Donald.

up, in re-
ntrited
Donald,
they did
sement.
we execu-
in won-
through
dors put
mmitt a-
meaner
subiects
he bids,
e as his
nature of
die to of
se by this
e as is be-
etnesse a-
most vile
concupis-
d. desoure
at as well
partisans
halfe, and
companie,
ing alto-
and filthie
ous vices,
e cruellie,
subiects, to
wickednes
e loz and
e proceed
l doings,
aduerfite-
m one day
t about to
gh not gail
They cau-
es to be ap-
ll, and pro-
gs. Which
were han-
ch was the
d the king-
as buried in
ugh the peo-
e, which had
sent life.
e the realme
of king Eth-
ished in the
ds of vices,
howbeit till
kept court.
e decessor in
regard at all
ue himselfe
of delicate
such a num-
e, whome he
no better e-
a kitchen-
at modestie,
out take for-
efore sundrie
rualions, to
s and filthie
hope to con-
arances to re-
ed to do good
vpon

Fergus
was
by
his
wife.

A right
king.
Oftentimes
put in leare.

Engenius
peruer-
ed with
sensuall
lust and
concupis-
cence.

A filthie
light.

Conetoulme
linked with
cruellie.

Engenius
murdered.

The end of
Engenius
the eight.

Fergus.
767.

Fergus the
third created
king.

A wicked
prince.

Engenius
murdered
by his wife.

men & Welsh Britains through multitude of kings and rulers warring each against other, had no leasure to attempt anie enterprize against strangers. Neither were the Isles free of some secret displeasures, which one part of them had conceived against another, so that the Scottishmen were not troubled at all by anie foireine enemies. And so Soluathius hauing continued his reigne the space of 20 yeres, about the end of that tearme departed this life, in the yere of our saluation 788.

Soluathius
departeth
this life.

788.

Achaius.

Achaius crea-
ted king of
Scotland.

Then after Soluathius was once buried in Colmekill amongst his ancessors, Achaius the son of king Ethfine (a man highlie renowned for his earnest zeale to iustice and byright dealing) was aduanced to the gouernance of the realme: who for that by his former conuersation amongst the nobilitie, he perfectlie vnderstand what grudge and secret hatred remained in their hearts, one wishing anothers destruction; he foresaw what danger the commonwealth stood in, if the same were not by some good meanes qualified: and therupon calling them togither, he handled the matter with such wisdom and dexteritie, that before their departure from him, all the roots of former displeasures being vtterlie extirped and auoided, they were made friends on ech side, and promised in his presence to continue. Thus hauing laid the foundation of a quiet state amongst his subiects, now in the beginning of his reigne, he was at point to haue had no small warres with the Irishmen: for a number of them being arrived in Cantire, were there slaine by them of the westerne Isles, which vpon request of the inhabitants of that countrie were come to aid them against those Irishmen.

He maketh
the nobilitie
to agree.

This losse the rulers of the Irish nation proposed in all hast to reuenge vpon them of the Isles. But Achaius hearing thereof, sent ouer an ambassage vnto them, to haue the matter taken vp before anie further force were vled: alledging how there was no cause wherfore warres should be moued for such a matter, where the occasion had bene giuen but by a sort of roners on either side, without commandment or warrant obtained from anie of their superiours. Vnto what the nobles of Ireland (for there was no king amongst them at that time as it chaunced) moued altogether with indignation for the slaughter of their countymen, made a direct answer, that they would suerlie be reuenged of the reproch which they had receiued, before they would common of anie peace. And therefore whilst the Scottish ambassadors returned out of Ireland with this answer, a great number of them in ships and craiers passed ouer into Isla, where getting togither a great preie, and fraughting their vessels therewith, as they were returning home wards, they were sonke by force of tempest, so that neither ship nor man returned to bying tidings home how they had sped in Scotland.

The Irish-
men will
reuenge.

Irishmen
take a preie
in Isla.

Irishmen do
seek peace.

The stout stomachs of the Irish lords and rulers being well qualified with this mischance, they were glad to seeke for peace shortly after vnto Achaius. Those also that were sent ouer to treat of the same, found him at Enuerlochthe; where hauing declared there message, & confessed how iustlie they had bene punished by the righteous iudgement of almightie God, for the wrongfull attempting of the warres against them that had not deserued it: Achaius answered, how the Irish nation was so stubborne, that they knew not how to vse reason, except they were throughlie scourged; and therefore had the righteous God taken iust reuenge vpon them, to the example of other, for their contumacie, in mouing warres against them that had so earnestlie sought for peace. Neuerthelesse, setting apart all iniuries past, as well new as old, to shew him selfe to be the follower of

Christ, who in so manie passages had praised, commended, and set forth vnto vs peace and tranquillitie, he was contented to grant them peace, which now they sued for. Thus was the peace renewed betwixt the Scottish and Irish nations, to the no lesse comfort of the Scots themselves, than of the Irishmen, as those that had learned now by experience and triall (hauing inioied peace a good season) how much the same was to be preferred before cruell warres.

10

In this meane time, Charles surnamed the great, as then reigning in France, and vnderstanding how the Englishmen did not onelie by dallie routing disquiet the seas, to the great danger of all such merchants and other as trauelled alongst the coasts of France and Germanie; but also now and then coming on land vpon the French dominions, did manie notable displeasures to his subiects: he thought good by the aduise of his peeres, to conclude a league (if it were possible) with the Scots and Isles, with this article amongst the residue: That so oft as the Englishmen should attempt any enterprize or inuasion into France, the Scots and Isles should be readie freightwates to inuade them here at home; and when they should make anie warres against the Scots or Isles, then the Frenchmen should take vpon them to inuade the west parts of England.

There were sent therefore from Charles vnto Achaius certeine ambassadors to bying this matter to passe, who arriuing in Scotland, and comming to the kings presence, declared effectualie the summe of their message, shewing that the conclusion of such a league should be no lesse to the wealth of the Frenchmen, than of the Scots (considering Englishmen to be a people most desirous of all other to get into their hands other mens goods and possessions) for thereby they might be somewhat restrained from such bold and inturious enterprizes, as they dailie took in hand against their christian neighbors: but it should make most of all (say they) for the aduancement of the whole christian commonwealth, whereas otherwile through their insolent doings, such force as was already prepared against the Saracens (the common enemies of the christians) should be called backe, therewith to keepe off the said Englishmen, to the great danger of those parts of christendome, vpon which the Saracens then bordered as neighbors.

This message being heard with good deliberation by such as were present, the ambassadors themselves being honorable personages, and graue of countenance, were receiued most louinglie of the king, and lodged in his owne palace, hauing all the chere and honorable intertainment that might be deuised: but touching their message, there were sundrie disputations amongst the nobles, whether the concluding of such a league as they required, were expedient for the Scottish commonwealth or not. And for that the matter seemed to be doubtfull, the king thought it necessarie to haue the aduise of his counsell: and thereupon calling them togither, and appointing diuers of them to go with the ambassadors on hunting, to shew them some sport, whilst he consulted with the residue (because he would not haue them present) he commanded one Colman, gouernor of Mar (a man of great authoritie amongst the Scottishmen for his approued wisdom) to say first his mind touching the request of those French ambassadors, who there vpon standing forth, began as followeth.

No man ought to maruell, I perceiue, king Achaius, if manie of this our nation be desirous to haue this league concluded with the Frenchmen, as they that are perswaded how nothing can be better, nothing more profitable, more honorable, or more pleasant

Carolus Magnus
league with
the Scots.

Ambassadors
sent into
Scotland.

The amb-
dors are
readie inter-
taind.

pleasant to almightie God, than to ioine in league
and friendship with a nation of greatest power and
wealth in these daies, of all other within the bounds
of Europe: for by that meanes should the Scottish
name be highlie renowned and spoken of through
the whole world. But trulie these considerations
contenting so well at the first, are not so much to be re-
garded as the evils which hereafter may grow there-
upon: for suerlie a naughtie and pernicious end of
this determination shall euidentlie teach vs (though
to late) how farre we haue gone beside the way of
reason in establishing this league, if we once con-
sent to conclude the same. Is it anie other thing (I
beseech you) to make a league, and to ioine in soci-
tie with the Frenchmen against our neighbors the
Englishmen (whose friendship might be most expe-
dient for vs) than euen to haue from henceforth a
more and in manner a domesticall enimie at hand,
whereas our supposed friends shall be farre off from
vs, and separated from our countrie by a great and
large sea, at whose pleasure also we must make wars
against our neighbors, and fight for other mens safe-
gards, putting our bodies in hazard of death and
wounding for their cause, which dwell nothing nere
vs; yea & in their quarell to commit our kingdome,
goods and liues vnto extreme perill of vtter destruc-
tion: I would thinke it god therefore to take better
advisement and deliberation herein, least whilst we
seek for vaine glorie and counterfeite honor, we do
not, through prouoking the Englishmen our next
neighbors, lose our owne liberties got with much
trauail by our elders, for the which they so often
fought with the Britains, Romans, Picts, and final-
lie with the Saxons. Can there be anie thing more
pernicious vnto a free nation, and people bozne in li-
bertie, than to measure lawes of peace, chances of
warre, and in fine libertie it selfe, by the lust and plea-
sure of another nation, and so to enter (as it were)
into bondage: For the auoiding whereof, not onelie
men, but also all other liuing things are readie to
fight, euen to the vttermost. If the Frenchmen in
the chiefeest heat and most earnest bunt of the warre
(which we shall take in hand for their sake, according
to the articles of the league) shall chance to forsake
vs, and conclude some manner of peace or league
with our enemies, leauing vs in all the whole dan-
ger; shall we haue anie iudge afore whome we maie
bring them to answer for their default, and by whose
authoritie they may be constrained to see vs satisfied
for such losse and injuries as we shall happily susteine
at the Englishmens hands: Are we of that force
and power to reuenge our wrongs vpon them, after
we are vanquished and in maner brought to vtter
confusion by those warres which we shall enter into
for their cause: If euer we be brought vnto that
point (as God forbid we should) that through want
of substance, and decaye of force, the Frenchmen
shall also vtterlie forsake vs, & that thereby we shall
not be able to resist the English puissance: afore
whome (I beseech you) shall we accuse them for brea-
king of this league: We shall daillie haue to doe
with our enemies after the conclusion of the league
(if it be concluded at all) and but seldome times with
our friends. In the midst of our enemies we shall be
still occasioned to practise for our defense, where we
haue a long way both by sea and land to passe ouer to
our friends, in case anie need shall inforce vs there:
vnto commodities are brought vs out of Spaine,
France, and Germanie, not such as we desire, but
onelie such as the Englishmen do permit. Againe,
when our merchants shall passe into France, what
hauens shall we leaue them to resort vnto in time of
dangerous tempests, which often chance to all such
as be sailing: Whether must they perish and be cast a

way through rage of seas, either else fall into the
hands of our enemies together, with all their goods
and fraught. What discommodities hereof shall rise,
your grace (most prudent prince) and you right cir-
cumspet counsellors, do well enough perceiue. I
therefore would thinke it expedient, that we should
continue in the former peace concluded with the
Britains, Saxons, and Picts, according to the cu-
stome of our late predecessors, who saw well enough
what was most beneficiall for the wealth of the Sco-
tish nation, and not to court a new amitie with an
vnknowne people, hauing deserved little or nothing
as yet at our hands (whose intent I cannot but haue
in suspition, sith they seeke for amitie so farre off) ex-
cept we shall manifestlie resolue with our selues to
imploie and leopord both life and libertie for the safe-
gard of the French, without regard of our owne.
¶ Spanie in that assemblie shewed themselves fore
offended with Colmans words, supposing the
league with the Frenchmen to be both honorable
and necessarie.

Then one Albion, a man of great nobilitie (whome
the king had latelie before instituted his lieutenant
in the Isles) spake in this manner. If it were possi-
ble that there might be one sure and inuolable con-
sent amongst those foure people, which at this date
haue their habitations within the bounds of Albion,
or that the Englishmen knew what it were to stand
and abide by faith and promises made and giuen, we
would not denie but that those considerations and
advises which Colman hath here vttered, ought to be
followed; bicause that then there should be no occasi-
on at all, why we should conclude anie league with a
nie foren nation. But forsomuch as there was ne-
uer man that found more vntruth and breach of pro-
mise in anie nation, than hath bene found in these
Saxons (the which hauing got the rule in Albion, are
now called Englishmen) as the Scots, Picts, and
Britains haue by triall sufficientlie proued; I sup-
pose it is euidentlie knowne vnto you, that either we
must of necessitie fight and stand at defense against
the Englishmen, readie to assaile vs both with open
force and secret craft, either els linke our selues with
such allies and confederats, as by their support we
maie be the better able to withstand the malice of
such vnfaithfull people. Call ye this faith, or treason, I
praise you: The Saxons in times past being requi-
red of the Britains to aid them against their eni-
mies, were most longinglie receiued, and highlie re-
warded for their seruice: but they contrarie in re-
compense of such kindnesse, shewed themselves in
stead of aiders, enemies; in stead of defenders, destruc-
ters: turning their weapons points against the Bri-
tains, by whome they had bene so sent for to their
aid; and now haue not onelie destroyed a great num-
ber of them by fire and sword, but also they haue spo-
led them of their kingdome & libertie. What league
or truce haue they at anie time kept (you your selues
are not ignorant of this which I speake) where either
they saw occasion to be their neighbors, or hoped to
gaine anie thing by falsifying their faiths, as they
that haue neuer bene ashamed so to do, where hope
to haue commoditie (if I may so call it) hath at anie
hand bene offered. Into what sundrie and most mi-
serable calamities hath the trecherie of the Saxons
brought the illie Britains: How oftentimes haue
they broken the peace established with vs, and also
with the Picts; euen when we least thought vpon
anie such thing: Yea and that more is, amongst them
selues at this season the Englishmen warre one a-
gainst another, more with craftie traines than with
open force, in such wise that in Northumberland so
manie kings, and so manie noble men haue bene
traitorously murdered and made auaite, that scarce
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Colmans
counsell is
mistaken.

Albion his
ration.

The English
Saxons brea-
kers of pro-
mise.

To induce others to his purpose, he taketh the advantage of casual haps, charging the whole nation with the fault of a few particular persons.

may there be anie found that will take vpon him the supreme gouernement of that countrie. It is not manie yeres ago, since Edwin king of that countrie was rid out of the wate through treason of Oswie that succeeded him in the kingdome, and was after depriued both of life and kingdome by Oswike, whome Egbert desirous to reigne in his place, found meanes by traitorous practise to dispatch. Egbert was slaine by Hollo, and Hollo by Alfred, which Alfred was after slaine by the guilefull craft of Ethelbert. Neither had Ethelbert anie better successe in the end, for now of late betrayed by his owne subiects, he was by them shamefullie slaine and murdered. Neither with lesse traitorous shifts and deuises do the Englishmen mainteine their warres in all places where they are inhabiting within Albion. The reuerend fathers of the spiritualtie, and other godlie men addicted to vertue, vnto whom the setting forth of Gods word hath bene committed, weare of and abhorring this wood madnesse, rage and wicked demeanour of that nation, haue left their bishoprikes, abbeies, monasteries, and cels, and from thence haue remoued into forren regions. Therefore where the Englishmen doe absteine at this present from making vs warres, it is not to be imputed to anie reuerence they haue vnto faith, equitie, or respect of the league, which they haue made with vs, but onelie vnto such ciuill sedition and discord, as now both reigne amongst them. Neither ought anie of vs of right to doubt, but that when the same once ceaseth, they will immediatlie take weapon in hand against vs, notwithstanding all leagues or covenants of peace confirmed to the contrarie. To repress therefore and abate their subtil practises, I can find no readier meane than to enter into friendship, and conclude a league with that people, which being ioined with vs, may chastise such outrageous furie of this wicked nation, as cause and oportunitie shall require. For tune hath offered vnto vs a conuenient meane and occasion herevnto. For here be at this present the French kings ambassadozs, offering that vnto vs, which (being so great a benefit) we might scarce wish for. That is, they require to haue vs to ioine in league against the Englishmen, with their king, whome France, Spaine, and no small part of Germanie doe acknowledge for their souereigne. Dought this to be despised of men that haue their perfect senses? Dought the societie of the French nation to be refused of vs, inhabiting here in the uttermost parts of the earth, the same being frelie offered by them, vnto whom for their sincere faith both towards God and man, the large empire of the world is granted? So that if we shall thankfullie receiue this most notable benefit, the same shall purchase vnto vs the friendship of the Spaniards, Frenchmen, Germans, and all those nations which acknowledge king Charles for their head and souereigne lord. Herevpon also free passage for merchants shall be open, to passe to and fro vnto vs, with all kind of merchandise and wares of traffike. I trust therefore that euerie one of you (so that he weie the thing with himselfe throughlie) will easilie iudge that the friendship and societie of the Frenchmen (verie pulstant both by sea and land) and thereto of approued faith and steadfastnesse in promise, ought more to be esteemed, and is more beneficiall to the Scottish commonwealth, than the vntedfast promises and great dissolutie of the Saxons. To which of you is it unknowne that the English nation studieth no lesse to bring vs vnder the yoke of seruitude, than they do the Welshmen, if their force might answer directlie to their wils? Therefore if we desire to auoid the violent power of most cruell enemies, if we meane to auoid their craftie practises, if we regard the christian

The Frenchmen in those daies possessed not onlie that part of Gallia, which we now call France, but also the most part of the countries now inhabited by the Dutchmen or Germans, namely on this side the river Rhene.

religion; for the which the Frenchmen are continually in danger, if we set more by vertue and constancie than by vnfaithfulness and breach of covenants and promises, if we labor for the glorie and honor of our nation, if we couet to aduance our countrie, our owne rest, and quietnesse, and to be briefe, if we passe vpon life and libertie, the most dearest things that may happen to man, let vs with full hartes establish this league with the Frenchmen, and firmitie continue in the same, vpon assured trust and confidence that it shall bring perpetuall commoditie and renowne to vs, both for the safegard of our realme, & restraint of the Englishmens vnlawfull attempts and wrongfull iniuries, which hereafter they either shall or may at any time enterprise against vs. By this oration Albion drew the multitude easilie vnto his purpose.

Then Achaius vnderstanding how the minds of all his subiects were in manner wholie inclined to the league, commanded all the companie to be there in the same place againe the next day. And so being by their assemble for that time, the king made the French ambassadozs that night a costlie supper with a banquet, and after hauing conference with his nobles and lordes of the counsell, it was agreed by generall consent amongst them, that for the solemne ratifieng of this league with king Charles, according as he had required, there should go with his ambassadozs at their returne the lord William the brother of king Achaius, with foure other honorable and learned personages, being men of perfect knowledge and skill, and such as were esteemed most meet for such a purpose. Also, that they should take foure thousand men ouer with them to serue against the infidels and enemies of the christian religion, where and in such sort as king Charles should appoint them.

Herevpon the next day going first to church, and there making their common supplications vnto almightie God, according to the rites and ancient customes, they after reioyced vnto the counsell chamber, where Achaius opened and declared vnto the French ambassadozs all that was concluded by him, and other the estates of his realme, touching the message which they had brought from king Charles. Who reioysing (as should appere) greatlie hereat, gaue most hartie thanks vnto him, and to all the residue for their beneuolent wils herein shewed towards king Charles their maister, and all the French nation. After this, remaining certaine daies with Achaius, who made them all the chere that might be imagined, they departed towards Hungus king of the Poles, vnto whom at their comming to his presence they made the like request on their maisters behalf, which they had made before vnto Achaius.

It is said that Hungus gaue the Frenchmen most hartie thanks for their good wils, but yet he would not grant to conclude anie league with them at that time, for that (as he alledged) the matter being weightie and of great importance, required no small time to deliberate and take aduise for a full resolution therein. The ambassadozs herevpon returned vnto Achaius without speed of their purpose with Hungus, and the second moneth after, all things being readie for their returne, and the passage of those that should go with them, the lord William the kings brother, together with the same ambassadozs, & such foure persons as the king had chosen forth amongst all the learned clergie of his realme (whose names were Clement, John, Raban, and Alcuine) and also hauing with him those foure thousand men of war, which were at the first appointed to go with him, passed forth towards France, where he with all the whole companie landed within few daies after in safetie, according to their owne wished desires. At their

The league with the Frenchmen agreed vpon.

The league concluded.

Hungus king of the Poles.

Hungus refused to conclude anie league with the Frenchmen.

The French ambassadozs returned home.

Clement, John, Raban, and Alcuine.

The Scottish: their receiue all the ers whi of the f ling the owne i

The league published by heralds.

The articles of the league.

The league with the Frenchmen agreed vpon.

The league concluded.

The armies of Scotland.

The balance of wils.

The French ambassadozs returned home.

Clement, John, Raban, and Alcuine.

their comming into Fraunce Charles the emperoz
received them in most gladsome wise, doing them
all the honor that might be deuised, and the souldiers
which were come to serue him vnder the leading
of the foresaid William, he retained in wages, w
sing them after the same sort and rate as he did his
owne naturall people the Frenchmen.

owne naturall people the Frenchmen.
Shoztly after also at the request of the Scottish oza-
tozs, according to the charter signed by Achaius, and
confirmed by consent of king Charles, the league
betwixt the Frenchmen and Scots was solemnlie
published by heralds at armes, according to the ma-
ner in those daies used, the same to indure betwixt
those two nations and their posterities for ever. The
chiefest articles comprised in this league were as fol-
loweth. The amitie and confederation betwixt the
Frenchmen and Scots to be perpetuall and firme,
to indure betwixt them and the posterities of both
nations for ever. The iniuries and warres which
the Englishmen should attempt against either na-
tion, should be accounted as common to them both.
The Frenchmen being assailed by warres of the
Englishmen, the Scots should send their aid of soul-
diers, having their charges bozne by the Frenchmen
as well for furniture, as wages, and all other things
necessarie. The Frenchmen should contrariwise
aid the Scots in time of wars against the English-
men at their owne proper costs and charges. What-
soever he were, privat person or publike of these two
confederat nations, that against either of them
should aid the Englishmen with armour, counsell,
bittels, or in anie other manner of wise, the same
should be reputed for a traitor vnto both their prin-
ces and countries. Neither might either of them
conclude a peace, or take anie truce without the
consent of the other. These were the principall
articles of the league, as then confirmed betwixt
the Scots and Frenchmen, indited in Latine, and
faire ingrossed in parchment, and referued as a mo-
nument in both realmes, for a witnesse vnto such as
should come after of this friendship thus begun, as
the Scottish chronicles affirme.] And for further in-
crease of the thing, Achaius did augment his armes,
being a red lion in a field of gold, with a double trace
seamed with floure delices, signifieng thereby,
that the lion from thence forth should be defended by
the aid of the Frenchmen; & that the Scottish kings
should valiantlie fight in defense of their countrie,
liberties, religion, and innocencie, which are repre-
sented by the lilles, or floure delices, as heralds do
interpret it. The lord William, the said Clement,
and John, remained still with king Charles, but Ra-
bane & Alcuine returned into their countrie. In all
such warres and iournies as Charles afterwards
made against anie of his enemies, the said lord
William was a chiefe dower in the sachie, so that his
fame and authoritie dailie grew in all places where
he came. His seruice stood king Charles in notable
stead in his expeditiōs against the Sarons, Hun-
garians, and other; but namelie his estimation in
Italie was most highlie aduanced, at what time the
said Charles reedified the citie of Florence, appoin-
ting this William to be his lieutenant in Tuscan,
and to haue the chiefe charge for the restoring of the
said citie, which he with such diligence applied, that
with in short time the same was not onelie fortified
with new wals, repared and replenished with great
numbers of houses, churches, and other beautifull
buildings, but also peopled and furnished with citi-
zens, a great companie of nobles and gentlemen
being called thither out of euerie citie and tostone
thereabouts for that purpose.

The citie being thus restored to hir former estate and dignitie, through the bounteous benefit of king

Charles, and the diligent administration of his lieutenant the foresaid William, the citizens to shew themselves thankfull, deuised for a perpetual memorie to beare in their armes a red lillie, resembling one of those which the kings of France giue, saue that it differed in colour, to testifie thereby, that their citie (after the destruction thereof by the Goths) was reedified and reſtozed to the former dignitie, by the benefit of the Frenchmen. And to acknowledge the diligence herein of the lieutenant, they did institute publike plaies to be vsed and celebrated euerie yeere, wherein with manie pompous ceremonies they crowne a lion. And further that there should be kept vpon the charges of the treasure within the citie certaine lions (for the foresaid lord William gaue a lion for his cognisance) and therevpon as the Scottish chronicles affirme, those beasts grew to be had in such honoz amongst the Florentines. Thus this valiant captaine, the foresaid lord William, passing his time in notable exercises, and worthy feats of chivalrie vnder king Charles, is accounted in the number of those twelue martiall warriors, which are called commonlie by the Scottishmen, Scoteshilmoze.

And for that he was continuallie occupied in
warres, he was neuer married, whereupon growing
in age, and purposing to make Christ his heire, he
builde diuers abbies and monasteries both in Ita-
lie and Germanie, richlie endowing the same with
lands and rents, sufficient for the finding of such
number of monks, as he appointed to be in the said
abbies, wherein none might be admitted, according
to the ancient ordinance by him deuised, except he
were a Scottishman borne. In witnesse of which
ordinance, there are sundrie of these houses remain-
ing in Almaine euen vnto this day, nothing chan-
ged from the first order or institution. Before the ac-
complishment of these things, by the foresaid lord
William, brother (as is said) to the Scottis king
Achatus, I find that the vniuersities of Paris and
Achaus were instituted by king Charles, chieftie by
the helpe and means of these two fore-remembered
Scottishmen, John and Clement, inasmuch that
Clement was appointed chiefe president of all the
students at Paris, and John of the other at Achaus.

But now to returne to the other doings of Achaius, ye shall vnderstand, that about the same time, or not much differing from the same, Adelsfane the sonne of Ethelwoolfe king of Westsaxons, taking vpon him the dominion of Kent, Eastsaxon, Mercia, and Northumberland (which Egbert his grandfather had receiued into his gouernement) desirous now to enlarge his kingdome, entred into that part of the Britissh dominion, which ancientlie hight Deira, and contained the marches about Beruikie, alledging how the same appertained to his kingdome of Northumberland, and had bene fraudulentlie taken from his ancestozs by the Brits: but forsomuch as there was a commotion raised the same time in Mercia, he was called backe to appease it, and here vpon putting all to the fire and sword in Deira, slaying such prisoners as he brought away with him, he returned. Hungus the Britissh king fore from ching this iniurious enterprise of the Englishmen, determined to reuenge the same in all possible hast, and therefore made instant sute vnto Achaius (who had married his sister) to haue his aid against them.

Archaius of his owne accord minding to doe the
Englishmen a displeasure , sent forthwith vnto
Hungus to the number of ten thousand men. With
which, and with his owne power, king Hungus in-
uaded the borders of Northumberland, fetch-
ing from thence a great bottie of goods and pilsoners;
but yet he forbore slaughter of men, and burning of
houses,

The arms
of Florence.

A lion crowned.

Lions kept at
Florence.

h Scotsgill-
inoze.

William bns
married m^{rs}
keth Chz st
his heire.
Monasteries
of Scottish
men in Ger
manie.

The Builders
Site of Paris
and Davis.

ai^o Adelstane ent-
02 tereth into
he Deira.

ere Deira wasted
sa by fire and
m sword.

who
em.
the
into
with

Kingus at-
ded with
Scotishmen
inuaeth
Northumber-
land.

He warred
without
slaughter and
burning.

Athelstane
pursueth
Hungus.

Athelstane his
cruell procla-
mation.

The Picts
are amazed.

The Picts
enter the
campe.

Athelstane
doth challenge
his enemies.

The Picts
prepare them-
selves vnto
battel.

The English-
men are put to
flight.

Athelstane is
slaine.

Willsons forð.

A dreame.

The crosse of
saint Andrew.

houses, for a reuerence which he had, as is supposed, towards the christian religion. Athelstane being certified hereof, omitting his iournie into Mercia, turned all his power against the Picts: and hearing that they were withdrawn into their countrie, he followed them so nere at the heeles, that verie earlie in one morning he was vpon their backs where they lodged by a brooke side, not passing two miles from Haddington, before they had any knowledge of his approach. Athelstane vpon a fierce courage, hauing thus found his enemies according to his wished desire, and herewith conning vpon them in such order of battell, as they had no waie forth to escape without fight, he commanded a proclamation to be made by one of his heralds, that all the whole number of the Picts should passe by the edge of the sword.

The Picts thus seeing their enemies at hand, and hearing this cruell commandement, were wonderfullie amazed with the strangenesse of the thing, and oppressed so with feare, that they wist not what might be best for them to do. At length by commandement of Hungus their king, they fell vnto fortifying of their campe; but yet they quicklie perceived how that it would not long preuaile them, considering that their enemies had gotten into their hands not onelie the spoile which they had brought with them out of Northumberland, but also all other their prouision, trusse, and baggage, which they had left in a field there adioining vnto the side of their campe. Herevpon manie reasons were put forth amongst them, which way they might escape out of that present danger. In which meane time Athelstane hauing brought his people into good order of battell, prouoked the Picts to come forth of their strength into the plaine field, there to trie their forces. But for that day no notable thing was done; the Picts keeping themselves still within their campe.

In the night following, after sundrie consultations had amongst them, it was agreed by generall consent, that the next day they should giue battell to the Englishmen. And so herevpon preparing themselves for the purpose, euen vpon the breake of the day, forward they make towards their enemies with fierce willes, speciallie encouraged thereto by the comfortable words of Hungus. The Englishmen halfe amazed at the hardie approach and onset of the Picts, were not long able to susteine their fore impression; so that beginning somewhat to swaue, at length they were forced to flee vnto the place, where ye heard how they toke the baggage and spoile of the Pictish campe: where they were beaten downe in greater numbers than before, insomuch that such prisoners as they had before taken of them that kept the said spoile, greatlie now to aduance the victorie of their fellows, shewed more crueltie towards the Englishmen than any of the rest, now that they saw once how the victorie was inclined to the Pictish side.

In fine, such slaughter was made, that of the whole English host which was there assembled, there vnneth escaped five hundred. Athelstane himselfe at the first was run through the bodie with a speare, and so died, giuing name to the place of the battell, which continueth euen vnto this daie, being called Athelstans forð. This victorie fell to the Picts by miracle: for in the night season, as Hungus was laid downe to sleepe (after it was agreed that they should giue battell) there appeared vnto him the apostle saint Andrew (as the tale goeth) promising him and his people victorie against their enemies on the day next following; and for an assured token thereof, he told him that there should appeare ouer the Pictish host in the element such a fashioned crosse, as

he sometime suffered vpon. Hungus awakened, and beholding the skie, saw the crosse, as the apostle had told him: wherevpon calling his people together, he not onelie shewed them the same sight, but also declared vnto them what vision had appeared vnto him in his sleepe; willing them therefore to be of good comfort, sith there was cause of such assured hope to haue assistance from above against their cruell enemies.

The signe of the foresaid crosse was not onelie sene of the Picts and Scots being there with them in aid, to both their great comforts and gladnesse, but also of the Englishmen to their no lesse discouragement, as they that vnderstood saint Andrews to be patron and protector of the Scottish and Pictish nations. For it did put such a feare into their hearts, that when they came to the point of joining, their stomachs so failed them, that with small resistance they were easilie vanquished (as is said) and put to flight. For this so manifest a miracle, after the battell was once ended, and the victorie obtained, Hungus repaired with his people following him, vnto the church of that blessed man saint Regulus, now called saint Andrewes, where they made their offerings with humble deuotion vnto the reliques of the apostle, rendering thanks vnto him for their victorie with deuout praier after the accustomed manner. They bowed there also at the verie same time (as the same goeth) that from thenceforth as well they as their posteritie in time of war should weare a crosse of saint Andrew for their badge and cognifiance. Which ordinance continuallie after remained with the Picts, and after their destruction and extermination with the Scots euen vnto our time. The bodie of Athelstane was buried in the next church vnto the place where the field was fought, howbeit, some haue left in waiting that his head was cut off from the bodie, and brought to Inchgaruie, there being set vpon a stake, it was shewed to the people in reproch of his iniurious enterpryse.

Hungus the Pictish king to shew himselfe yet more mindfull of the due honoring of the holie apostle, by whose aid he acknowledged himselfe to haue got the victorie aforesaid, not onelie augmented his church with new buildings & needfull reparations, but increased the number of priests for the celebrating of diuine seruice; he also gaue manie rich and collicke ornaments vnto the same, as chalices, cruets, basons, & such like. Moreouer, he caused to be made the images of Christ and his 12 apostles of fine gold and siluer, which he bestowed there; with a case also of beaten gold, therein to inclose the reliques of saint Andrew. And besides this, he ordeined that the spiritaltie should haue the tenths of all increase of goods: as of coine, cattels, herbage, and such like through his realme; and further that spirituall persons should not be compelled to answer before any temporall iudge. But these beneficiall priuiledges the Pictish clergie did not long inioy. For Feredeth that was the fourth, which reigned amongst the Picts after Hungus, toke from them all such gifts as this Hungus had giuen them, and further ordeined to the derogation of their priuiledges, that they should answer for secular crimes afore secular magistrats; and that liuing vpon their former reuenues, souldiers & men of war should inioy the other which Hungus, had so frelie bestowed vpon them.

The nobles of the land mainteined Feredeth in his doings, reckoning all that spirituall persons had to be but cast away, which was the cause (as some thought) that their kingdome came into such ruine, as shortly after followed. There be some chronicles that write how these things, which are mentioned of Hungus, and Athelstane, chanced not altogether

Some say
that the
crosse was
patron.

Some say
that the
crosse was
patron.

Why should
men be
fearful
of the
crosse in
warre?

Athelstane
burnt.

Hungus
slept
in a
cassell.

Images
of
gold
and
siluer.

Tenths
to
be
giuen
to
the
clergie.

Feredeth
toke
from
the
clergie
their
priuiledges.

Priests
to
be
tried
afore
secular
iudges.

Priests
to
be
tried
afore
secular
iudges.

Alpine
was
receiued
of
Don-
gall.

Johnes de-
parteth out of
this life.

819.

Conuall.

Conuall fac-
cedeth A-
chilus.
Aunc and a-
mule.

Hungus sal-
eth in a con-
sumption.
Conuall de-
ceaseth also.
802. 10. Ma.

Don-
gall.

Don-
gall suc-
cedeth after
Conuall.

A severe pu-
nisher of ma-
licious.

Alpine con-
strained by the
nobles, taketh
vpon him to
be crowned
king.

Alpine con-
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nobles, taketh
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about this season, but Hector Boetius followeth Veremond in most of his accounts, as the author whom he taketh to be most certaine, as well for the account of the time as in the course of the whole historie. And for that we meane not to presume wholie to derogate the same Boetius his credit, we haue not much dissented from him, but rather followed him in most places, leaving such doubts as may be worthe put forth of that which he writeth, vnto the consideration of the diligent reader, sith it is not our purpose to impugn, but rather to report what we find written by others, except now and then by the way to admonish the reader of some vnlikelihoods (as the same doth seeme to vs and others) and happilie not without iust occasion.

But now to our purpose. As well Hungus king of Picts, as Achaisus king of Scots, after the overthrow and death of Athelstane, liued with their people in good quiet and rest: for the Englishmen attempted nothing against the Scots and Picts afterwards, during the time of their reignes. At length Achaisus, after he had reigned 32 yeares, departed this life, in the yeare of our Lord 819, which was about the first yeare of Hungus his dominion ouer the Picts. His bodie was buried in Colmekill, according to the manner of kings amongst his predecessors. In the daies of this Achaisus (beside Clement and others, of whose before we haue heard) liued bishop Geruadius a notable preacher in Gurey land, also bishop Clacian with Godan and Godan two brethren, all doctors and men of singular knowledge, in respect wherof they were had in great credit and estimation with the people.

After the deceasse of Achaisus, Conuall that was his uncles sonne Dongall, the brother of king Ethane, succeeded in gouernement of the Scottish kingdome. Betwixt this Conuall and Hungus the Pictish king, there was wonderfull loue and amitie shewed, both of them studieng by all means how to mainteine the ancient league and alliance betwixt their people, whereupon ensued great wealth and quietnesse vnto both their kingdoms. Finally Hungus waxed with a continuall consumption decreased, deliuering by his kingdome into the hands of his sonne Dorsologus, and that in the presence of king Conuall, who likewise liued not long after him, for in the six yeare of his reigne he likewise departed out of this world, by force of naturall sickness.

Dongall the sonne of king Soluathus was reueined to succede by the common consent of the states of all the realme, a man of singular wisdom and great knowledge. But for that he was somewhat seuer in punishing the misordered behaviours of the nobilitie, and misgouerned youth of his realme, diuers of the nobles conspired against him, forcing one Alpine the sonne of Achaisus to make claime to the crowne; who perceiuing there was no remedie, but either to follow their minds, or else to be murdered amongst them, consented to go with them into Argile, where they purposed to crowne him king sitting vpon the chaire of marble, according to the manner. Whereat, at his comming into that countrie, he found means to conuey himselfe from amongst them, least through his means the quiet state of his countrie should be brought into trouble: and forthwith being escaped out of their hands with a few other that were prouide to his intention, he maketh all the hast he could, till he came to the presence of Dongall, who receiued him in most iollifull wise, promising that if it should be thought necessarie by the states of the realme, he would gladlie resigne vnto him his whole crowne and dignitie, desirous of nothing more than to see the aduancement of the

house of Achaisus. Such (saith he) were the merits of that famous prince towards the preservation of the Scottish common wealth, that it were too much wickednesse to go about to defraud his issue of the inheritance of the realme.

Alpine giuing the king most hartie thanks, besought him to continue in the administration, praising God and the world to witnesse, that he minded nothing lesse than to be about to claime the gouernement of the kingdome so long as he liued. For as touching his offense, in that he had gathered an armie, and led the same into Argile, it was not his fault, but the conspirators which had forced him thereto, being determined to haue slaine him, if he had not consented vnto their desires. Within three yeares after, there came messengers from the rebels to excuse themselves also, & to put all the fault in Alpine: but king Dongall giuing small credit to their forged words, gathereth his power, and maketh such speed towards the place where he understood the said rebels were assembled together, that he was vpon them yea they had a little knowledge of his setting forwards. So that before they could make anie shift to escape out of danger, which they went about to do, they were apprehended, and immediatlie condemned and put to death. Which execution put other presumptuous persons in feare, so that the state of the realme remained afterward a great deale more in quiet.

Whilest things passed thus in Scotland, Eganus the second sonne of Hungus the Pictish king, found means to murder his brother Dorsologus, to the end he might reigne in his place: and through support of some of the nobilitie he attained to his purpose. And for that he would assure himselfe the more firmelie in the estate, he frankelie bestowed his fathers treasure amongst his lords and chiefeest peers of his realme, and toke to wife Benna the king of Mercia his daughter, whom his brother the forenamed Dorsologus had married, that thereby he might assuage the said king of Mercia his displeasure, which otherwise he should happilie haue conceived for the death of his other sonne in law the same Dorsologus. His feare was great on each side, and therefore had small affiance in anie person, doubting lest one or other should seek to reuenge his brothers death. He durst neuer go anie waies forth abroad without a guard of men of warre about him, whome he had wonne & made his fast friends by his passing great largesse and bountifull liberalitie. At length yet, his wife to reuenge his former husbands death, found means to strangle him as he lay one night fast asleepe, hauing drunk a little too much in the evening before, and in this sort he came to his end, after he had reigned much what about the space of two yeares.

Thus both Eganus & Dorsologus being made away, without leauing anie issue behind them, so much as now there remained none of the posteritie of Hungus to succede in gouernement of the Pictish kingdome, Alpine nephew to the said Hungus, by his sister Ifergusiana, with the aduise of king Dongall, made claime therevnto, and therupon sent his messengers vnto the lords and peers of the Pictish dominion, to require them on his behalfe, that he might be receiued to the gouernement of the kingdome due vnto him by lawfull inheritance, as they well understood: and that if they thoughtlie considered of the thing, they might perceiue it was the prouision of almighty God, that for want of lawfull succession lineallie descended from Hungus, now to succede in the estate of the Pictish kingdome, by this meanes both the nations Scots and Picts should be ioined in one, to the abolishing of all such mortall

L.ij. warres,

Alpine his excuse vnto Dongall.

Dongall hath an armie against the rebels.

Eganus murdereth his brother.

Eganus feareth in feare.

Eganus is strangled of his quene.

An ambassador sent vnto the Picts.

Saint Andrew the Scottish patron.

Saint Andrew.

Why Scottish men be called Andrewes.

Athelstan's buriall.

Hungus reuenged his death.

Images of gold and silver.

Tenthredin's gift to the church.

Feredeth's gift to the church.

Feredeth's gift to the church.

Feredeth's gift to the church.

Feredeth's gift to the church.

warres, as by discorde and contention might arise betwixt those two people, in like sort as before time there had done, to the great perill and danger of both their utter ruines.

The Picts chose Feredeth to be king.

The ambassadoys come in to the court.

King Feredeth his answer vnto the Scottish ambassadoys.

Dongall his displeasure with the Picts and ambassadoys sent against.

Ambassadoys are not received.

Warre is pronounced vnto the Picts.

The Scots willingly giue themselves vnto the war.

The Pictish nobilitie, hauing knowledge that these messengers with such kind of message should shortly come from Alpine, with generall consent and whole agreement, chose one Feredeth to be their king, a man of great authoritie amongst them, supposing this to be a meane to defeat Alpines title, and that thereby he should seeme to be excluded from any further claime. Within few daies after, came vnto Camelon the Scottish ambassadoys, where Feredeth with his nobles at that present were assembled: they being admitted therefore to declare their message, when they began to enter into their matter of the right which Alpine had to the kingdome of the Picts, the people would not suffer them to proceed anie further therein, but began to make such an uprore, that to appease the noise, Feredeth himselfe took vpon him to make answer vnto the ambassadoys: and therupon commanding silence, declared vnto them that the Picts neither might nor ought to admit any stranger to reigne ouer them: for there was an ancient law among them, of most high authoritie, that in case of necessitie they might transpose the crowne from house to house: and further, that by the same law there was an ordinance decreed, that if anie man were once made and created king, he might not be deposed during his naturall life. And therefore though it were so, that Alpine were the nephew of Hungus by his sister Fergusiana: yet because he was a stranger borne, and considering withall, that the people by their full authoritie had translated the regall administration vnto an other house, of the which one was alreadie proclaimed and inuested king, there was no reason now, why Alpine should make anie further claime or demand vnto the kingdome.

Vpon the messengers returne home with this answer, Dongall thewed himselfe to be in no small chafe, that the Picts should thus go about by such subtil arguments and contriued inuentions to defraud Alpine of his right. And thereupon the second time he sent his ambassadoys vnto them, requiring them either to doe him reason without anie further surmised cauations; either else within thre moneths space after to looke for open warres at the Scottish mens hands. These ambassadoys passing forth on their iourneie, at their approaching vnto Camelon, certaine sergeants at armes met them, and did forbid them to enter the citie: also they further commanded them in name of Feredeth their king to auoid out of the confines of his dominions within foure daies space, vpon paine of death.

The ambassadoys being terrefied with such manner of inhibitions, they went no further: but yet according as they had in commission, they pronounced the warre in the name of Alpine and Dongall, requiring those that thus came to meet them, to giue signification therof vnto their maister Feredeth, and to the whole Pictish nation; and so returned home the same way they came. Then did the Scottish lords repaire vnto Dongall, who at the same time late in Carrike castell, and there taking counsell for the maintenance of these warres, not one was found amongst them which offered not to spend both life, lands, & goods in Alpines iust quarell. By this means was great preparation made on both sides for the warre, the Scots minning to set Alpine in his right, and the Picts determining not to receiue any prince of a strange nation to reigne ouer them. But whilst Dongall goeth about to provide all things readie for his enterprise, he chanced to be poisoned in the river of Speie, as he was about to passe the same in a

bote. This mishap chanced him in the first yere of his reigne, and after the birth of our Saviour 830. His bodie was buried in Colmekill, with all funeral obsequies.

After Dongall was Alpine receiued to the Acrotone and gouernement of the realme, by the generall voices of all the people, whose chiefe studie was vpon his first entring into the estate, to follow his sute touching his title to the Pictish kingdome: and hereupon with all diligence preparing a mightie host and all other things (which were thought requisite for the furthering of his enterprise) he passed forth towards Angus, not staid till he came to the castell of Forfair, which he besieged; but the third day after his comming thither, Feredeth the Pictish king with a great armie of his subjects arranged in good order of battell, came and presented himselfe in sight of the Scots, wherupon immediatlie nere vnto the towne of Kessennoth they met, and joining there in battell, fought right fiercelie. At the first encounter the right wing of the Scottish armie was nere hand ouerthwonne; but Feredoch lieutenant of Athole came speedilie to the succor with 400 of his countriemen, and restored the battell on the Scottish side: wherby ensued a right fore bickering with great slaughter, and no signe of shrinking on either part, by meanes wherof it seemed doubtfull for a long space vnto whether side the victorie would incline.

At length Feredeth perceiuing the middle ward of his battell a litle to shrinke, speedilie pressed forth to succor the same with a chosen companie of such as he had appointed to attend him: but entring thus with great violence amongst the thickest prease of his enemies, he was closed in on each side, and excluded so from the residue of his owne people, that he could neither returne the same way he entered, neither yet by anie other, so that he with those that were with him, perceiuing their liues to be in present danger, did cast themselves into a ring, determining yet to reuenge their owne deaths, wherupon rather wearied with continuall fight, than vanquished, or with any feare oppressed, they were slaine all the whole number of them, together with Feredeth their king. Yet herewith did not the other Picts giue ouer the battell, so long as anie daie light was on the skie. So that the night in the end parted them in sunder, both the armies withdrawing to their camps with small toy or triumph, by reason of the great slaughter which had bene made on both sides.

The captains of the Picts weleng with themselves the losse of their king, and great multitude of their men, thought it not best to abide any longer in the field: wherfore leauing their wounded people behind them, with all their baggage in the campe, they fled incontinentlie the same night, some into one place, & some into another, where they thought best for their owne wealth and safetie. The Scots had fled immediatlie likewise, but that word was brought them as they were about to depart, how the Picts were gone alreadie, and had left their campe void of men of warre to defend the same. Wherupon the Scots taried till it was day, not farre from the place of the battell. In the morning there were certaine horsemen appointed to ride abroad, and to view the field, thereby to vnderstand whether the Picts ment anie deceit by their departure, as by laying of some ambushments, or otherwise: but vpon the returne of those horsemen, when it was once knowne how there was no such matter, but that they were fled in deed, the Scots reioicing thereat, fell to and gathered the spoile of the field, diuiding the same amongst themselves according to their accustomed order.

Alpine.

Alpine crended king of Scotland.

Feredoch the thirde of the Picts.

Feredeth is slaine.

The night parted the armies.

The Picts fled by night.

The Scots received and promised.

The Scots came to the field, and some of the

Alpine

Alpine from 3 people part of and the cencin their t pere ned the Scots utter sance field) incur so to it we did by they n bold (whon ther with Scot but a fice, peop before year Fere For com with arm the f mar pet p and His capt kept furt chof man into the Sc on vnt lye cter Sc sw lie, till rig tha the lica C H sun ber for hte his de the att all

Alpine himselfe commanded the bodie of his enemye Feredeth to be laid in christian buriall not farre from Fofair. After this causing the multers of his people to be taken, he found that he had lost the third part of his armie in that mortall and cruell battell, and thereupon brake vp his campe for that time, licensing those that were left alieue to returne vnto their homes. This battell being fought in the first yere of the reignes of the two foresaid kings, weakened the forces of both nations, so farre forth that the Scots doubting to bring the realme into danger of utter ruine (if they should commit their whole puissance effionnes to the hazard of another foughten field) determined to pursue the warre by making of incursions and inuades onelie vpon their enemies, so to vex the Picts, and to bring them vnto reason, if it were possible. And so much verely the Scottishmen did by such their continuall robes & incursions which they made into Angus, that the countrie was left void and desolate of all the inhabitants.

Neither did Brudus the sonne of Feredeth, (whome the Picts had chosen to succeed after his father in the kingdome) find anie spædie redresse to withstand those daile inuasions thus made by the Scots vpon his countries and subiects. For he was but a slothfull person, and verie negligent in his office, whereupon he was had in derision of his owne people, who in the end slue him amongst himselfes before he had reigned fullie the terme of one whole yere. Then succeeded Keneth, the second sonne of Feredeth, with no better hap or end than his brother. For gathering together an armie of his subiects, and comming with them into Angus, he came no soner within sight of his enemies, but that casting off his armor, he fled incontinentlie, leaving his people in the field; and for that his haste, was slaine by a plowman that met him by chance, and knew him not, but yet perceiuing how he had fled from his companie, and therefore deserued not to haue anie other fauour. His people seeing themselves destitute of their head capitaine and gouernor, retired from their enemies, keeping themselves in order of battell without anie further attempt.

After this infortunate end of Keneth, the Picts chose to their king one Brudus, a man of a stout and manlike stomach, who immediatlie vpon his entring into the estate, comming into Angus (which region the Scots had made waste) caught there certeine Scottish robbers, and forthwith hanged them vpon gibets. After this, he sent forth his ambassadors vnto king Alpine for reformation of all iniuries and wrongs betwixt the two nations, and to haue the ancient league renewed betwixt them. Alpine and the Scottish lords, hauing quicklie aduised what to answer, declared vnto the Pictish ambassadors plaineilie, that they would not heare anie treatie for peace, till the Picts had deliuered the kingdome vnto the right heire. Brudus vnderstanding by this answer, that the Scots would still follow the warres against the Picts, to be the better able to withstand their malice, he purposed to procure the friendship of the Englishmen, to haue their aid against the Scots. He sent therefore his ambassadors with a great summe of monie vnto Edwine king of Northumberland, requiring him of his fauour, and to haue some number of his people for his wages to serue him against the Scots.

Edwine receiuing the monie, promised to come himselfe with a mightie armie, at what time & place Brudus should appoint, to go against the Scots in defence of him and his subiects the Picts. And anie of the Picts reioiced greatlie, that they should haue aid thus of the Englishmen, hoping thereby to haue assured victorie of their aduersaries. Other mistrust

ted not a little the Englishmens offers, by reason of the old enimitie betwixt the Picts and them. In this meane season the Scots take and seize vpon all the countrie of Angus, euen from the mountaine of Cranzebene vnto the riuer of Tait, whereof Brudus being certified, sendeth a post with all speed vnto king Edwine king of Northumberland, requiring him to send to his aid a powder of Englishmen, to helpe to resist the Scots, which at that present inuaded his countrie. To which demand Edwine made this answer, that he was not onelie troubled with ciuill war made against him by other Englishmen, but also had beerie requested by Ketwies surnamed Pius, as then French king, in no wise to indamage the Scots his confederats, so that for that yere present he might not conuenientlie send to him anie succours, but if he would defer the warres till the next yere, he should haue the best helpe that he were able to shew him.

Brudus perceiuing himselfe thus mocked and deluded by the Englishmen, commanded by sollemne summons, that all such of his subiects, as were able to beare armor, should assemble in nether Calidon within eight daies after, with conuenable provision of vittels, there to know his pleasure. His commandement was obeyed: so that a mightie armie of men at the day and place appointed came together, which being mustered, they streitwaies remoued vnto Calidon castell, now called Dunkeld, where they passe the riuer of Tait, and so enter into Angus, not without some difficultie: but being once gotten ouer, they march forthwith towards the place where they vnderstood their enemies did lie. Brudus the night before the day in the which he thought they should haue battell, by the aduise of certeine expert warriours, which he had with him, appointed all the horses that were in the campe, seruing for burden, to be bestowed amongst the women, lackies, and cowstrels, part of them being clad in armor, and part in white linnen, with long poles in their hands like to speares and ianelins. Amongst them also he ordeined an hundred horsemen to be placed, whome he made priuite as then to his intention, by whose leading that feat which should be wrought in this behalfe, was to be achieved. These he caused to lie conertlie within a wood nere vnto the place where the battell should be fought, giuing them in commandement not to shew themselves till the battell were begun.

King Alpine all this while held himselfe in a castell which stood vpon an hill, a little from Dundee, being now decayed, so that little thereof remaineth to be seene at this day. Vpon the north side of the hill, therelieth a great large plaine, compassed on each side with mounteins, as then full of woods & launds, but now for the most part bare and without anie trees or bushes. In this plaine were the Scots incamped. Alpine beholding forth of the castell, how the Picts approached to giue battell, got him into the campe, & exhorting his people to shew themselves valiant, placed them in arrie. The Picts no lesse desirous to fight than their gouernors would haue wished them, began the battell before they had commandement, with such violence, that the right wing of the Scots was sore disordered. But Alpine perceiuing that, came speedilie to their succours, greatlie reprovuing them for their faintnesse of courage. To be short, he did so much to imbolden them, that by his means the fight was renewed in most cruell wise: insomuch that those which before were put backe, began to winne ground againe, and to beate downe their enemies verie fiercelie.

But heerewith did the counterfet troupe of horsemen, which was hid in the wood suddenlie come forth, and shewed themselves vpon the backe halfe of the Scottish

Englishmens assistance. The Scots take Angus.

Brudus sendeth vnto Edwine for aid.

Edwine deferreth his aid.

Brudus being deceived of the Englishmen, called his owne subiects to the swaie, assembling them at the foot of Calidon wood.

Brudus entereth into Angus with an armie.

A wonderful policie used by Brudus.

The incamping of Alpine his armie.

Battle the Picts begin the battell.

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Alpine

The Scots being deceived with a counterfeit trope of horsemen led.

King Alpine taken by his enemies and after beheaded

Kenneth the sonne of Alpine inuested king of Scotland.

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The Picts give thanks unto God for their victorie. They make a vow to continue the warre.

The good counsell of graue men is despised.

The Scots are animated.

The Picts fall at variance within themselves.

Brudus died.

Druiken R. ouer the Picts

The head of king Alpine is stolne, and solemnly buried with the bodie.

Scottishmen, appearing in fight to be an huge number, & farre more than they were in deed: with which fight the Scots being brought into a sudden feare, least they should be compassed about with multitude of enemies, they brake their arraie, threw off their armor, and took them to their feet, so to escape and saue themselves by flight. Thus few were slaine in the battell, but a great number died in the chase, & were beaten downe on each side as they were ouertaken by the Picts. Alpine himselfe was taken, and hauing his hands bound behind him, was led to the next towne, and there beheaded. The place beareth the name of him vnto this day, being called Palsalpine. His head also was set vpon a pole, and borne vnto Camelon, and there set vp vpon one of the highest turrets of the wall. The Scots that escaped from this sorrowfull ouerthrow, got them with all speed into Argile, where they inuested Kenneth the sonne of Alpine king of their realme. This was in the yere of our Lord 834, and the fourth yere after Alpine entered first into the estate.

The Picts hauing atchiued this great and full victorie, assembled at Camelon by commandement of their king, where causing a solemn procession to be made, in rendering thanks to almighty God for their good successe in their passed iourne: they take a generall oth vpon the gospell booke, that from thenceforth they would not cease to make the Scots war, till they had utterly destroyed the race of them: and here with ordeined a law, that if anie man made mention of anie peace or league to be had with the Scots, he should lose his head for it. There were indeed some ancient personages amongst them, that spake against this insolent outrage of the people, alledging that in time of prosperous successe men ought to vse a modestie: but certaine youthfull persons offended with such graue aduise, thrust the authors thereof out of the church, within the which they were as then assembled. The Scots being certified hereof, were nothing herewith discouraged, but rather put in god hope of better successe, sith the enemies abused themselves thus in time of felicitie.

The next summer after, the Picts assembled their power together, and setting forward towards the Scots, thorough a light occasion they fell at variance amongst themselves, and fought with such hatred together, that the king was not able to appease the frate, till night parted them in sunder. Then calling the lords afore him, he assaied alwaies to haue agreed the parties, but when he saw it would not be, in the morning he gaue them licence to depart euerie man to his owne home, breaking off his iourne for that time. Brudus liued not past three moneths after, for thorough griefe that things went not forward as he wished, he fell into a greuous disease, and finally thereof died. After whose decess, the Picts chose his brother named Druiken, to succeed in gouernment of the kingdom, who applied his whole induerment vpon his first entring into the estate, to appease the ciuill discord amongst his subiects.

But whilst he was thus busilie occupied about the same, there were certaine Scots, which sore disdained to vnderstand that the head of their late king should remaine vnburi'd, in such reprochfull sort amongst their enemies. Whereupon hauing perfect knowledge of the Pictish tong, they feined themselves to be merchantmen of that countrie, & coming vnto Camelon, watched their time, till they found meanes in the night season to steale to the wals, and secretlie taking awaie the head, escaped with the same home into their owne countrie.

This act of theirs was not a little commended: and so now the head of king Alpine being recovered, was closed in a ledden coffin, and Kenneth him-

selfe, hauing in his companie a great number of his nobles, went with it ouer into Colme hill, where he buried it in the abbey, amongst the sepulchres of his elders, together with the residue of the bodie in verie solemn way, as appertained. And further, those persons that had put their liues in aduenture to fetch the same head from the wals of Camelon, were by Kenneth rewarded with rich gifts and lands in perpetuities, to remaine to them and to their heires for euer. After this, Kenneth deuising for the suertie of his subiects, furnished all the holds and castles on the frontiers of his enemies with men and munition, according as he thought expedient: and moreover took order, that all the youth of the realme should be in a readinesse vpon an houres warning, to go forth against the Picts, if they attempted anie new inuasions.

But the Scottish lords had no great lust to take anie enterprize in hand against the Picts, remembering how infortunatlie they had sped the last time: so that for the space of three yeres there was no great exploit atchiued, saue certaine roads and incursions, which both the nations continually used to make one vpon an other, as time and occasion serued. At length king Kenneth being verie desirous to be reuenged of the Picts, for the death of his father king Alpine, and other iniuries by them done and attempted against the Scottish nation, in the fourth yere of his reigne, he assembled the peers and chiefest nobles of his realme, trusting to persuade them to aid him in all such enterprizes as he ment to take in hand against the Picts, whome he purposed to pursue with open warres, till he had them at his pleasure. But calling his lords and peers thus assembled on a day before him, and going earnestly about to moue them to the warres, he could stir them no more to his purpose, than if he had bene in hand to haue counselled them vnto that which in no wise had appertained vnto their duties: which their lacke of stomach, Kenneth perceiving, he began to deuise a pretie shift, whereby to induce them to his accord.

First therefore, breaking vp the assemble for the same day, he commanded that they should come together againe on the next morrow, to consult further for the state of the realme, as they should see cause. The same euening also he had them all to supper, which being prolonged till farre in the night, it was late before they went to bed, so that being ouerwatched, when they were once gotten to rest, they were sone brought into a sound sleape. Now had the king appointed for euerie one of their chambers one man apparelled in garments pretilie deuised and made of fish skins unskaled, bearing in one of their hands a staffe of such rotten wood as shyneth in the night, and in their other hand a great ore borne, to the end that uttering their words through the same, the sound of their voices should seme farre differing from the usual speech of man.

Thus appointed in the dead of the night, they enter the chambers to each of them assigned, where (as is said) the lords laie fast asleep, who being at the first as it were halfe awakened, were wonderfullie amazed at the strangenesse of the sight (doubting whether it were but a dreame, or some true and vnfained vision.) Here with also were heard certaine seuerall voices, far greater than those of men, declaring that they were messengers sent from almighty God vnto the Scottish nobilitie, to command them to obeye their king, for his request was iust: the Pictish kingdom due vnto him by rightfull heritage, & ought to be recovered from that people, which for their great offenses and sins towards almighty God, should shortly come to utter destruction: such was the determinate pleasure of his diuine maiestie, in so.

Kenneth caused the realme.

Kenneth called his nobles to reuenge his fathers death.

A pretie shift deuised by the king to persuade them to battle.

The lords declare their desire vnto the king.

The answer of king Kenneth.

Kenneth entered into Sterling-shire. Druiken had thus invaded his enemies.

The Englishmen fled.

Druiken sent to the Englishmen.

Of such sights there were many in those daies: no doubt esteemed to be beneficiall in so.

The Picts are vanquished.

iekie, against the which might neither counsell nor
puissance of man be able to resist.

When the counterfeited messengers had thus
made an end of their words, they stile his their
skauers under their innermost garments, and there-
with quicklie conueied their uppermost vestures
made of fith skales (as I haue said) into their bosoms,
in such light and nimble wise, that it seemed these vi-
sions had suddenlie vanished awaie. Those lords that
had scene these sights, laie still for that night, great-
lie musing on the matter. In the morning being got
up, and assembled in the counsell chamber, they de-
clared to ech other what they had scene and heard in
the night passed. And for that all their visions which
they had scene by ech others report, were in euerie be-
halfe like, and nothing differing one from an other,
they belaued verelie it was some celestiall oracle
& message sent from God. Therefore presentlie they
go vnto the king, declaring vnto him how they had
beene admonished from aboue, to continue the wars
with all their forces against the Picts.

The king told them he had scene the like vision,
but they ought to keepe it close, least by glozing too
much in the fauour thereof by almightie God toward
them, they might happilie displease his diuine maie-
stie, which other wise they might perceiue was readie
in their aid. When finally might the vision be publi-
shed, when thorough his fauourable assistance, the
warres were brought to a luckie end. This aduise of
the king was well liked of them all, and commande-
ment giuen, that all manner of prouision should be
prepared with all speed for an armie to be set forth
into Pictland. The lords going busilie about to pro-
uide themselves of all things necessarie, mustered
their men in all parts, so that there was leued a grea-
ter host than had beene scene in those parties of long
time before. When the whole power was come tog-
ther, Kenneth marched forth with the same, entring
by great violence into the Pictish borders about
Sterling.

Duskien the king of Picts aduertised hereof,
and hauing his armie in a readinesse both of Picts
and such Englishmen as he had retained, to serue
him for his wages, fetcheth a compasse about, and
passing by the Scottish armie in the night, incampeth
betwixt them and home, in so much that the day did no
somer appere, but the one part desirous to be in hand
with the other, without token of trumpet, or com-
mandement of capteine, they rushed together most
fiercelie. The hastie speed of the Picts to ioin, put
them to no small disadvantage; but the departure of
the Englishmen, withdrawing themselves aside to
the next mountaine, most of all discouraged them:
for the Scots therewith giuing a shout, declared them-
selves to be highlie recomforted with that sight.
Duskien in all haste sent vnto those Englishmen a
messenger, willing them with large promises of re-
ward to returne to his aid: but the Englishmen an-
swered, that their vse was not to fight without order
and commandement of their generall, and that the
Picts like vnskillfull men had cast awaie themselves
to be slaine by the enemies hand, where it appertained
vnto warlike knowledge to auoid the battell, when
no hope of victorie appered.

The middle ward of the Picts seeing themselves
left naked on the one side, and assailed on the backs;
whereas the Englishmen should haue kept their
ground and defended them, they began to shrink:
which the Scots perceiuing, broke on the more
fiercelie, till at length the Picts not able to with-
stand their force, fell to running awaie. They made
their course towards the water of Forth, which was
not farre from the place of the battell, where being
undertaken, they were beaten downe & slaine in great

numbers: for Kenneth gaue commandement that
they should spare none of the Picts nation, neither
gentleman nor other, that fell into their hands. The
Englishmen whilst the Scots and Picts were thus
occupied in the fight and chase, withdrew homeward
with all speed; and by reason of the mounteins which
they had to passe, that toke awaie the sight of them
from the Scots, they escaped into their countrie
without any pursute. Duskien himselfe so sore as
he perceiued how the field went against him, got him
to his horse, which he had appointed to be readie for
him at hand vpon all occasions, and so escaped out of
danger with a few other in his companie.

The Scots returning from the chase, remained in
the place of the battell all night, keeping strong
watch about their campe, for doubt least the Eng-
lishmen had bene lodged in some secret place nere
by to haue set vpon them at vnwares, if they might
haue scene any advantage; but in the morning when
it was knowne how they were quite gone their
waies, and returned into their countrie (as before ye
haue heard) then was the spoile of the field and Pic-
tish campe gathered and befolowed amongst the soul-
diers, after the ancient custome of that nation. And
then were they all licenced to depart euerie man to
his home, with thanks for their seruice and paines in
this iourne so manfullie imployed. Within few
daies after, the Pictish king Duskien sent his am-
bassadors vnto king Kenneth to sue for peace. Ken-
neth was contented to heare him, and promised to
grant a peace, so they would surrender into his
hands the gouernement of their kingdome due vnto
him by right of inheritance. But this condition be-
ing vtterlie refused of the Picts, was the cause that
the warre was effones renewed with more cruel-
tie than before.

The yere next ensuing this battell, Kenneth got
Hernes, Angus, and Fife into his hands, furnishing
all the castles and holds with men, munition, and
vitells. But whilst he went about to subdue the
countreies about Sterling, word was brought him
that such as he left thus in garison in those countreies,
were betrayed by the inhabitants, and slaine euerie
mothers sonne. Kenneth wonderfullie kindled in
wrath for the newes, left off his treatie, which then he
had in hand with the people of Mentheth and Ster-
lingshire for their submission, and returned in great
hast towards Fife, where being arrived, he put all to
the fire and sword, not leaving one aliue of the Pic-
tish nation within all those quarters. The like cruel-
tie was shewed through the whole countreies of Her-
nes and Angus, for an example to other to beware
how they falsified their faiths once giuen by waie of
allegiance.

In the meane time that Kenneth with his Scots
raged in such wise through those countreies, Duskien
assembling all the power of his countreies, came
forth into the field to meet the Scots, meaning ei-
ther to put them backe out of the confines of his do-
minion, either else to die with honoz in the attempt
thereof. Thus passing through the countrie, at length
he came vnto Scone, where afterwards stood a fa-
mous abbie of Chanons of saint Augustines order,
and here he found Kenneth with his armie already
incamped. The next day, when both parties were re-
die to haue giuen battell, Duskien wishing rather
to aske peace whilst his power was yet in safetie,
than after he were once vanquished (if such were his
misadventure) to intreat for the same in vaine, sent
an herald at armes vnto Kenneth, willing that he
might talke with him before he ioined, for that he
had to say certaine things, which being followed,
might turne to the great benefit and commoditie of
both the Scottish and Pictish nations.

Kenneth

The English
men escape.

Duskien ef-
caped by sight

The Picts
sue for peace.

Kenneth get-
teth Hernes,
Angus, and
Fife.

Fife is put to
the fire and
sword.

Hernes and
Angus is
cruelie puni-
shed.

Duskien
commeth to
rescue his
people.

Kenneth for-
tified the
realme.

Englishmen
deserted
vnto the
king.

Englishmen
deserted
vnto the
king.

Kenneth cal-
led his nobles
to reuenge his
fathers death.

Englishmen
deserted
vnto the
king.

Englishmen
deserted
vnto the
king.

Englishmen
deserted
vnto the
king.

Englishmen
deserted
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king.

Englishmen
deserted
vnto the
king.

The persuas-
ion of peace
by Dzusken.

Agnes, An-
gus, and Fife
is required of
the Picts to
release.

Kenneth his
answere.

The order of
the battell.

King Dzus-
ken embolden-
eth his peo-
ple the Picts.

The women
were a cum-
brance to the
Picts.

Kenneth for that he would not seeme to refuse a
nie indifferent offers, was contented to come to a
communication, and so thereupon both the kings in
presence of both their armies arranged in the field
readie to fight, came together in a place appointed,
either of them being accompanied with a like num-
ber of their nobles, as by the heralds it was accor-
ded. Here Dzusken with manie reasons going a-
bout to persuade peace, shewed how necessarie the
same was betwixt the two nations: and againe,
how doubtfull fortune was to them that trusted too
much in hir vnstedfast fauour: at length he grew to
this end, that if Kenneth could be contented to grant
a peace, the Picts should release all such right, title
and interest as they had in the countreies of Agnes,
Angus, and Fife, vnto him and his successors the
Scottish kings for ever, so that he should make no
further claime vnto anie other of those countreies
which the Picts as yet possessed.

Herevnto Kenneth answered, that he well vn-
derstood how vnstable fortunes lawes were, but si-
thens the Picts fought in an vnjust quarrell, as to
defraud the posteritie of their lawfull king Hungus,
who latelie reigned amongst them, of the rightfull
inheritance of their kingdome, they themselves had
iust cause to doubt fortunes chance, where the Scots
hauing put vpon lawfull armour, and seeking to at-
teine that by warre which by other means they could
not atteine at the hands of the vnjust possessors, they
had lesse cause to mistrust hir fauour, & therefore if
the Picts were desirous of peace, they ought to cause
a surrender to be made of their kingdome into his
hands, accordinglie as they well knew it was rea-
son they should. And what commoditie might there-
of insue to both nations, being by such means once
ioined and vniued into one intire kingdome, he doub-
ted not but they vnderstood it sufficientlie inough.
And as for other conditions of peace than this, he
told them plainelie there would be none accepted.
Thus did the kings depart in sunder, without anie
agreement concluded: and being returned to their
armies, they make readie to trie the matter by dint
of sword.

Kenneth exhorted his people that day to shew
themselves men, sith the same should iudge whether
the Scots should rule and gouerne the Picts, or the
Picts the Scots. With these and manie other effec-
tuall words when he had encouraged his folks to the
battell, he diuided them into three wards, as two
wings and a maine battell. In euerie of them he
set first archers and arcuballisters; and next vnto
them pikes and speares, then bilmen and other with
such short weapons: last of all, an other multitude
with all kind of weapons, as was thought most
expedient. The fore ward was committed to the lea-
ding of one Bar, a man right skilfull in all warlike
knowledge, the second one Dongall gouerned, and
the third was led by Donald the kings brother. The
king himselfe with a troope of horsemen folloved
them to succour in all places where he saw need.

Then commanded he his trumpets to sound to
the battell, which the Scots began with such a chere-
full shout, that the Picts euen vpon the first onset
were so amazed, that if Dzusken had not with com-
fortable words relieved their fainting stomachs, the
most part of them had fled without anie stroke stric-
ken. But being encouraged through the presence of
their king, shewing himselfe with cherefull counte-
nance amongst them, and therewith exhorting them
to stand by him at that present, there was fought a
right sore and cruell battell betwene them. The wo-
men that were amongst the Picts, of whom there
was no small number, speciallie in the right wing,
made such a woollull noise, when they beheld the men

one kill an other, that they were a more cumbance
to the Picts, than aid, when it came to the point of
seruice: by reason whereof that wing was shortly
beaten downe, and put to flight. Which when Ken-
neth beheld, he set in with his horsemen on the
backs of the Picts, now left bare by the running thus
away of those in the foresaid wing: and so entring
in amongst them, disordered their arraie in such wise,
that by no means they were able to aid themselves,
or come into anie order againe: so that in the end
they were faine to throw downe their weapons, and
take them to their fate, thereby to escape the dan-
ger. Such heaps of slaine men, armour, & weapons
laie here & there strewed in the place of the battell,
that the Scots were forced in following the chase
to breake their arraie, so to passe the more speedilie: by
means whereof, falling amongst whole bands of
the Picts, manie of them were slaine.

This mischiefe Kenneth perceiuing, comman-
ded to sound the retreat, and so gathering his peo-
ple about their standards, he appointed certene
companies in warlike order to pursue in chase of
the enemies, whilst he himselfe with the residue a-
bode still in the place (where the field was fought)
all that day and the next night following. The Sco-
tish captains that were sent to follow the chase,
earnestlie executing their kings commandement,
made great slaughter of Picts in all places where
they might ouertake them. Dzusken the Pictish
king himselfe being pursued to the river of Tair,
for that he could not passe the same, was there slaine
with the whole retinue which he had about him. It
is said, that the Scottishmen incountred with the
Picts that day at seven sundrie times, and in seven
sundrie places, and still the victorie abode with the
Scots. The day after the battell, such as had folloved
the chase returned to the campe; where they presen-
ted vnto Kenneth their king, the armour and other
spolie of Dzusken the Pictish k. which they brought
with them, besides great abundance of other pil-
lage and riches, which they had gotten of the enemies
that were slaine. Dzusken's armour and other things
belonging to his owne bodie, was offered by to
saint Colme, in the church dedicated to his name
within the Ile of Colmekill, there to remaine as a
monument of this victorie to such as should come
after.

After this the whole preie and spolie was gathered
and diuided amongst the souldiers. Kenneth was
counselled to haue discharged his armie, and to haue
departed home; but he purposing now to make an
end of the whole warres, sith he was in such a for-
warrenesse, called together the multitude, and in
this wise began to viter vnto them his mind and
purpose. ¶ It is the dutie of a god capteine, when
he hath the victorie in his hands, & as yet the warres
not ended, if he mind the preferuation of himselfe
and his countrie, and to vse the victorie as he ought,
not to cease from pursuing the enemies once van-
quished, till he haue either made them his friends,
or else vtterlie destroyed & rid them out of the way;
for if anie man shall thinke it best to suffer the eni-
mie to remaine in quiet, after he be once weakened
and brought to a low ebbe, till time peradventure he
shall haue recovered his forces againe, he shall pro-
cure to himselfe (as I gesse) more danger than hap-
pilie he is well ware of. And that we may speake
somewhat of this danger now present, the state of
the Pictish kingdome (as ye know) is sore infabled,
their power being diminished by force of warre, is
brought to that point, that it resteth in our hands vt-
terlie to destroye and exterminat the whole nation.
Which act ought to be abhorred, if it were possible for
vs by anie means to draw them (our hono^r saue)
vnto

Kenneth sawe
the hostilite
disordered the
Pict's arraie.

The right
wing of the
Picts was
to flight.

Kenneth com-
manded the re-
treat to be
sounded.

The king of
the Picts
slaine.

Island per-
vnto bis-
men.

From names
arguen vn-
uerie
region,
Angus,
Agnes.

Southian.

Reuord gi-
ven vnto Bar
which was
the fortress
of Dunbar.

The familie
of Dunbar.

unto our friendship. But the Picts are of such a stubbozne nature, and so desirous of reuenge, that so long as there remaineth anie one of them aliuie, they will beare in their hearts a desire to reuenge all such losses as they haue in anie wise sustained by this warre. Wherevpon I doe verelie believe, that there is none of the Pictish nation from henceforth, will beare anie faithfull friendship towards the Scots. Therefore sith we can not make the Picts, thus latelic scourged by vs, our friends, I thinke it best (except we will neglect our owne safeties) to sterlie to destitute the whole nation, by putting to the sword not onelie both men and women, but also all their youth and young children: least they being descended of that linage, hereafter in time to come, arme themselves to the reuenge of their parents deaths, and that not without perill of the bitter losse of our countrie and kingdome.

This sentence of the king, though it seemed too cruell to many, yet whether for that they saw the same to stand with the kings pleasure, or that they thought it most expedient for the suertie of the Scottish common-wealth, it was allowed and ratified by them all. Such crueltie herevpon was forthwith shewed throughout all the Pictish regions, that there was not one liuing creature of humane shape left aliuie, saving such as saued themselves within the walles of Camelon, or in certeine other holds and fortresses, and also about two thousand of those that fled into England: for all the residue were most unmercifullie murdered and slaine, without respect either of age, sex, profession, or estate. Thus Kenneth hauing dispatched the inhabitants, seized the countrie into his owne hands, making partition of the same as he saw cause, and diuiding it amongst his nobles, according to the merits of euerie of them duly weighed and considered, he added new names vnto euerie quarter and region (either after the name of the gouernor, or else of some promontorie, riuer, or other notable water or place, according as was the ancient custome of the nation) that the memorie of the Pictish names might end together with the inhabitants.

The countrie ancientlie called Horestia, was giuen vnto two brethren, Angusian, and Spennan, by reason whereof the one part of the same countrie was called Angus, and the other the Spennan. The linage of those two noble men remaine vnto this day. The region which till then was named Otholinia, was turned after wards to the name of Fife, after the name of one Fife Duffe: whose valiancie was throughlie tried in these last warres with the Picts. There remaine vnto this day tokens and old ruines of a castell situate betwixt the riuer of Lenix and saint Kenneths church, which (as yet appeareth) was fenced about with seven rampres, and as manie ditches, wherein the posteritie of this worthie man after his decesse had their habitation by the space of manie hundred yeeres. Louthian retained still the former name, so honorable was the remembrance of that famous prince king Loth amongst all men. The strongest castell of the whole countrie, Kenneth bestowed vpon that valiant capteine named War, whose counsell and forward seruice stood the Scots in no small stead in those warres, in which the Picts were thus subdued. That fortresse euer since (after his name) hath bene called Dunbar, that is to say, the castell of War.

There descended of him a noble house or familie, bearing the name of this castell, continuing in great fame and honor, euen vnto our time, of the which the earles of March had their beginning, and continued long in that dignitie from one to another, with sundry branches of right famous memorie. The names

of diuerse dales were also changed, but yet some kept their old names still. Ddolucia hostile after began to take the name of Annandale, of the riuer of Annan that runneth through the same. And so likewile Tweedale took name of the water of Tweed. And Cludsdale of the riuer of Clude. In like maner manie other countries, townes, and castells had their names changed at the same time, after they came into the possession of the Scottishmen, vpon sundrie considerations, for a witnesse of their victorious acts achieved against the Picts. Furthermore, into the citie of Camelon were withdrawne the most part of all the noble mens wiues of the Picts, with their children, vpon trust to be in safetie in the same, as well by reason of strength of the place, as also of the strong garrison which was appointed to defend it.

Kenneth therefore hauing taken his pleasure abroad in the countrie, came thither with a mightie armie to besiege the citie. And first sending vnto them within, to know if they would yield, he was answered, how sith it plainelie appeared, that the Scots could be satisfied with nothing but with the slaughter of all such as fell into their hands, as well of women and children, with impotent aged, as of others, they were minded neuer to surrender their hold with life. Wherevpon the siege continued by the space of manie daies. Whilest the Scots in the meane time got together a great number of sagots, and other such brush and stufie to fill the ditches withall, which were berie deepe and broad, at length when they within began to want vittels, they required a truce for three daies, in the which meane time they might take aduise for the surrender of the citie. Kenneth mistrusting no deceit, granted their request, and therevpon commanded his people to cease from all manner of annoiance of the enimies, for that terme.

But in the meane time the Picts prepared themselves of all things necessarie to make an issue vpon the Scots. There was also an old gate forlet and stopped by with earth and stones vpon the one side of the citie, so that of a long time before there had bene no way forth by the same. Wherefore in the darke of the night the Picts ridding away the earth and ramell therewith it was closed vp, about the third watch they passe forth at that gate in good order of battell, setting first vpon such Scots as kept the standing watch, who were in doubt of nothing lesse than of anie issue to be made on that side, by means whereof they were easilie oppressed, and likewise the other that kept the inner watch, insomuch that the slaughter went on almost euen to the kings tent with great noise and clamor, as is commonlie seene in such sudden tumults, expectallie chancing in the night season.

When the day began once to appeare, the Picts withdrawing towards the citie by the same waie they came, were pursued by the Scots, and no small number of them slaine at the entring. The citie also had bene taken at the same time, but that the Picts out of the turrets and loupes of the walles, discharged a wonderfull number of quarels, darts, arrowes, stones, and other things vpon the Scots, as they approached nere to the gate, where their fellows (that made the issue) hastened to enter againe into the towne. There were slaine of the Scots at this bickering aboue six hundred, wherevnto Kenneth was so kindled with wrath, that detesting the fallowd of the Picts, he solued by open oth that he would not depart from the siege, till he had put the citie and them within to fire and sword, without sparing of anie, either one or other.

Sundrie times he attempted to haue woone the citie by force of assault, but the Picts still defended their

The changing of the names of the dales. Annandale. Tweedale. Cludsdale.

The gentlewomen are preserved in Camelon.

Kenneth sendeth vnto Camelon, commanding them to yield.

They of Camelon require truce for three daies.

The Picts issue vpon the Scots with great fortune.

An extreme blow made by king Kenneth

The constancie of the Picts when they were besieged.

their walles so stoutlie, that he could not atchieve his purpose. Whereupon the siege continued for the space of foure moneths together. So that such scarcitie of all kinds of vittells still arose amongst them, that the wretched citizens abstained from nothing that might in anie wise be eaten, though it were neuer so much to be abhorred. And yet although they were brought into such miserable state, that there was no hope longer to defend themselves, if anie man notwithstanding all such extremitie, were heard make mention of surrendering, he was forthwith slaine by his fellowes, as an enimie to his nation and a friend unto the Scots. It was thought that Kenneths oth made them so obstinate in their wilfull contumacie, because they saw nothing but death, which way soeuer they inclined.

A pretie craft
used by Ken-
neth.

The Scots
enter the
citie.

The Picts
are miserable
slaine, with-
out regard
of person.

Ladies and
gentlewomen
desire the king
to be pardon-
ed of their
lives.

All the Pict-
ish nation
destroyed.
The citie of
Camelon is
throwne
downe.

The castell of
Maldens is
left of the
Picts.

At length when the citie was thus reduced into all extreme miserie, and the ditches filled with faggots and other such stufte, Kenneth one night appointed six hundred of his choicest souldiers to lie in ambush within a wood, joining nere to one side of the citie, so that in the morning when he should give the assault on the contrarie side, they might suddenlie come forth and scale the walles on that other. These souldiers, according to that which they had in commandement, shortly after the breake of day, hearing that Kenneth had begun the assault on his part, quicklie came forth of the wood, and having their ladders readie, came to the walles, reared them vp, and swiftlie getting into the citie, opened one of the gates where one part of the armie entered; the citizens standing in no doubt at all of anie attempt on that side: so as being gotten together to defend the walles on that part where Kenneth gaue the approach, and now hearing how the enimies were got into the citie, and comming on their backs, they were wonderfullie amazed, but yet so long as they were able to make anie resistance, they did that lay in their uttermost power to beat backe the Scots, and to drive them out of the citie againe.

The slaughter therfore was great which the Scots made of the Picts in euerie passage & corner of the streets, insomuch that the Scottish lords and other captains, in reuenge of the late receiued losse of their men, through the false practised policie of the Picts, commanded in a great furie to set fire on the houses, and to kill and slea all such of the Pictish nation as came in their way. Thus the murder proceeded upon all estates, as well religious as other, and like wise vpon women and children, without anie difference. A number of ladies and gentlewomen, getting them into the presence of king Kenneth, besought him in most lamentable wise, to haue pitie vpon their wooll estate, and to saue their liues from the hands of his most cruell souldiers. But such was the rage kindled in the Scottishmens hearts, that there was no more fauor shewed toward them than toward the other, and so immediatlie were they also slaine without all compassion. So farre forth was the murder executed on all hands, that there was not one left aliue of the Pictish nation, neither man, woman, nor child to bewaile that miserable destruction of their countrie and kinsfolkes. When were the walles throwne downe & made euen with the plaine ground. The houses and buildings as well priuate as publike, with churches and chappels, were set on fire, and that which might not be consumed with the rage of fire was ruinated and destroyed with hand, so that there remained of all that famous citie, nothing but the ashes, with heapes of the broken and burned stones, and likewise of the pauement and foundation of some part of the walles.

At the same time the castell of Maldens, now called commonlie Edenborough castell, was still kept with

a mightie garrison of Picts, but they hearing of the miserable destruction of Camelon, and doubting to fall into the like mischance, left the castell void, and fled to Forthumberland. Thus ended the kingdome of the Picts in Albion, in the yere after they first began to reigne therein 1173, and in the yere after the birth of our Sauioz 839, from the first comming of Fergus 1166, and after the creation of the world 4806, if the Scottish chronicles be true. ¶ But where as the truth concerning the time of the first comming into this Ile, as well of the Scots as Picts, resteth doubtfull, and that as well by authoritie of approved writers, as by reasonable coniectures, we haue in the historie of England more largelie written thereof; we referre those that be desirous to see further of that matter, vnto the same, following here in this historie of Scotland the report most an end, as we find it in Hector Boetius, and other the Scottish writers, not taking vpon vs so frankelie to set downe our owne opinion in this Scottish, as in the English historie, though want of such helps in the one, as we haue got in the other.

There were scene the same yere two comets or blazing starres of dreadfull aspect to the beholders, the one went before the sunne rising in harvest season, and the other followed the going downe thereof in the spring of the yere. There was oftentimes also scene in the aire a vision of fire armies, running together with burning stauces, and the one being vanquished, they suddenlie both of them vanished away. Also at Camelon, as the bishop was at sermice holding his crozier staffe in his hand, it was kindled so with fire, that by no meane it could be quenched, till it was burnt euen to ashes. About none daie, the aire being faire and cleare, as well in the countries of the Scots as of the Picts, there was heard such a noise and clattering of weapons and armor, with braieng of horses, as though two armies should haue bene together in fight, whereby manie of either nation which heard it, were put in great feare. These vnconouth wonders were interpreted by diuiners diuerlie: some of them affirming the same to betoken toy and happy prosperitie, and other alledging, how they signified rather mishap and bitter calamitie.

But to returne to our purpose. King Kenneth having thus destroyed the Pictish kingdome, together almost with the whole nation, caused the marble stone (which Simon Breke sometime brought out of Spaine into Ireland, and the first Fergus out of Ireland into Albion, as before is recited) to be brought now forth of Argile (where till that time it had bene diligentlie kept) into Courie, which region before appertained to the Picts, there to remaine from thenceforth as a sacred token for the establishment of the Scottish kingdome in that countrie: he placed it at Scone vpon a raised plot of ground there, because that the last battell which he had with the Picts was fought neare vnto the same place, the victorie (as before is specified) chancing to the Scots. ¶ Upon this stone (as before is rehearsed) the Scottish kings were used to sit, when they receiued the inuesture of the kingdome. ¶ Some writers haue recorded that by commandement of Kenneth, at the same time when this stone was thus by him removed, those Latine verses were grauen vpon it, whereof mention is made before, where we spake of the foresaid Fergus the first his comming ouer forth of Ireland into Albion there to reigne.

Now in the meane time, when those felo of the Picts, which by sight had escaped the Scottishmens hands, and were gotten into England, could by no meanes persuade the Englishmen, being troubled with intestine warre, to aid them in recouerie of their countrie, some of them passed the seas ouer fir-

8
1421. 11. 11
60: 8. 11. 11

Prodigia
colena lane
in the air.

The interpre-
tation of the
tokens.

The marble
stone is re-
moued from
Argile into
Courie, in the
place called
Scone.

The rest of
the Picts
were disper-
sed.

The Scots
are in quiet.

Kenneth mar-
ried his
spouses.

Lamers ne-
cessarie.

The tables of
the law to be
kept.

Prisoners to
be hanged.

Execution
for theft and
murder.

A woman con-
demned to be
burned quick.

Blasphemers
have their
tongues cut out.

The punish-
ment for a
heretic.

A man ac-
cused to be con-
demned by
an obsequie
of men.

Robbers to be
put to the
sword.

Magabondes
were whipped
and burnt in
the chaire.

The wife that
was fatter for
the husband
was hanged.

The conclu-
sion and his
were to haue
a like punish-
ment.

to Norway, and some into Denmarke, and diuerse
other of them remained still in England, where they
got their living either by some manuell occupation,
either else by seruice in the warres. The Scots from
thenceforth liued in quiet, during the life time of R.
Benneth, who deserued eternall fame, by the inlar-
ging of the bounds of his kingdome, so mightilie
and in such wise, that where he found the frontiers, he
made the same well nere the middest of his king-
dome. Other things he did also teaching the politike
gouernement of his subiects in time of peace, no
lesse worthie of praise than his noble and famous
conquests: but speciallie he ordeined certeine lawes
for the wealth of his people, whereby his iudges and
other officers should proceed in the administration
of iustice, of the which I haue thought requisite to
rehearse part as yet being used, that aswell the au-
thor, as the time of their first establishment, make
the better appeare, vnto such as shall peruse this hi-
storie.

The Chapters of those lawes which
yet remaine to be obserued,
are these.

Et euerie shire haue certein men
skilled in the lawes appointed to
be resident in the same, according
as in the beginning it was insti-
tuted. Let their sonnes also in their youth
be brought vp in knowledge of the same
lawes.

Let them onelie keepe in their custodies
the tables of the lawes, with the register
bookes of the kings & paires of the realme.

If any of them be conuicted of extort bri-
bing, or other the like vniust dealing, let
him die vpon the gallowes, and his bodie
remaine vnburied.

Such as are codemned for theft, let them
be hanged, and those that are proued guiltie
of murder, let them lose their heads.

A woman which is condemned to die, ei-
ther let hir be drowned in some riuer, ei-
ther else let hir be buried quicke.

He that blasphemeth the name of God,
of the saints, of his prince, or of the cap-
taine of his tribe, let him haue his tong
cut out.

He that is conuicted of a lie to his neigh-
bours hinderance, let him haue his sword
taken from him, and be banished out of all
mens companie.

Such as be accused of any crimes that
deserue death, let them passe by the sen-
tence of 7 honest men, either else of 9, 11,
13, 15, or more, so that the number be odd.

Robbers by the high waies, destroyers
of corne growing in the fields, as is bled by
enimies in time of warre, let them die by
the sword.

Fugitiues, vagabonds, and such other
idle persons, let them be whipt and burnt
in the chake.

Let not the wife suffer for the husbands
offense, but the husband shal answer for the
wifes misdoings, if he be priuie thereunto.

Any mans lemman or concubine shall
suffer the same paines that he dooth which
offendeth with hir.

He that rauisheth a maid shall die for it,
vnlesse she require for safegard of his life,
to haue him to hir husband.

If any man be taken with an other mans
wife in adulterie, the consenting vnto him
therein, they shall both suffer death for it.
But if the consent not, but be forced a-
gainst hir will, then he shall die onelie for
the same, and she shall be released.

If the child hurt the father either with
tong, hand, or foot, let him first be deprived
of that member, and then hanged, his bo-
die to remaine without buriall.

A murderet, a dumbe person, or he that
is vnthankfull to his parents, shall not in-
herit his fathers patrimonie.

Juglers, wizzards, necromancers, and
such as call by spirits, and vse to seeke vpon
them for helpe, let them be burnt to death.

Let no man sow in the earth any graine
before it be purged of all the weeds.

He that through negligent slouth, suffe-
reth his arable ground to bee choked by
and ouergrowne with weeds; for the first
fault let him forsaite an ore, for the second
ten oxen, and for the thirde let him forgo the
same ground.

Thy companion in the warres, or thy
friend being slaine, see him buried, but let
the enimie lie vnburied.

Anie straie cattell that commeth into
thy grounds, either restore them to the ow-
ner, either els deliuer them to the searcher
out of thæues, commonlie called *Tonode-
rach*, or to the parson or vicar of the towne:
for if thou reteine them in thy hands by
the space of thre daies, thou shalt be ac-
counted guiltie of theft.

He that findeth anie thing that belon-
geth to an other man, let him cause it to be
cried in the market, or els he shall be iud-
ged for a fellow.

He that striketh him, with whom he go-
eth to the law, about anie matter in con-
trouersie, shall be iudged guiltie of the acti-
on, and the other set free.

If oxen or kine chance by running togi-
ther to kill one another, the truth being
not known which it was that did the hurt,
that which is found without hornes shall
be iudged the occasion of the skath, and he
that is owner of the same, shall haue the
dead beast, and satisfie him for the losse to
whome it belonged.

If a sow eate hir pigs, let hir be stoned
to death, and buried, so that no man eate of
hir flesh.

A swine that is found eating of corne
that groweth in the field, or worring vpon
the tilled grounds, let it be full for anie
man to kill the same without danger.

Other kinds of beasts, where in other
men haue anie propertie, if they breake in-
to thy pastures, or eate by thy corne, im-
pound them, till time the owner haue satis-
fied thee for the quantitie of the damage.

These were ciuill ordinances belonging
to the good gouernement of the people, or
ther there were, which appertene to reli-
gion.

Rauish-ers of
maids shall
die.

Adulterers
shall die.

A child hur-
ting his father
shall die.

who are not
to inherit.

Juglers and
wizzards, &c.

Sowing of
graine.

Guill hus-
bandrie.

Buriall of
friends.

Wailes and
straics.

Things
found.

Ownerles
in late of lawe.

Oxen or kine
hurting ech
other.

A sow.

Swine.

Beasts da-
mage faitant.

Articles ten-
ching religion

gion: as these.

Thou shalt deuoutlie reuerence the altars, temples, images, oratozies, chapels, priestes, and all men of religion.

Keeping of ho-
lie daies.

Thou shalt obserue with due reuerence festiuall and solemne holie daies, fasting daies, vigils, and all maner of ceremonies instituted by the godlie ordinance of man, in the honoz of our S. Christ & his saints.

Priests.

To hurt a priest, let it be accounted an offense woorthie of death.

Ground to be
left vntilled.

That ground wherin anie that is slaine lieth buried, leaue it vntilled for seven yeres space.

Graues.

Repute euerie graue holie, and adorne it with the signe of the crosse, so as thou shalt be well aduised that in no wise with thy feet thou tread vpon it.

Buriall.

Burie the dead according to the quantitie of his substance.

Buriall of no-
ble men.

The bodie of a noble man & of him that hath well deserued of the common-wealth, shall be buried in solemne and pompous wise, but yet in mourning sort & dolorous manner.

Let there be two knights or esquires to attend his bodie to the graue. The one being mounted vpon a white horse shall beare the coate-armoz of the dead, and the other in mourning apparell with his face couered shall ride vpon a blacke horse; who after the corps is brought to church, turning his horse from the altar, shall crie out how his maister is dead: and there with the people making an outcry against him, he shall streitwaies depart and get him with all speed to the place fro whence he came; the other going streight to the altar, shall there offer by vnto the priest his coate-armoz with his horse, as a token to signifie thereby that his maister doth inioy euerlasting life, in the land of permanent light and ioies eternall.

¶ But this custome of buriall, as that which was supposed not appertaining to the order of the christian religion, the age that followed did vtterlie abolish, appointing to the priests in steed of the horse and armor, five pounds sterling in monie for the offering. With these and diuers other ordinances, which time and other statuts by other kings deuised haue abrogated, Kenneth gouerned his people in great felicitie during his life time.

S. Kenle his
church, now
called Saint
Andrewes.

The bishops see, which before had bene at Abirne, this, he translated vnto the church of that holie man S. Kenle. Euer since which time the towne hath been called S. Andrewes, and those which gouerned the same church a long time after, were called the great bishops of Scotland; for the realme was not diuided into dioceses till the daies of Malcolme the 3, who by diuine inspiration (as is said) ordeined the see of Perthlake, now called Abirten: but such as were reputed of vertuous behauiour and knowledge meet for the office, vsed the authoritie & rowne of bishops, in what place soeuer they were resident. Met such was the continuance of those which gouerned the church of S. Andrewes, that there haue bene about the number of fortie bishops resident there, since the first institution of that see; manie of them

for the opinion conceiued of their holinesse, being numbred according to the manner in times past in the register of saints. But now to returne vnto Kenneth, who hauing (as is said) enlarged the bounds of his kingdome, so as the same stretched forth vnto the confines of Northumberland on the one side, and to the Isles of Orknie on the other, the sea compassing the residue, at the length after he had reigned about twentie yeres in great renowne and glorie, he departed out of this life, through too much abundance of rheumatike matter, at Forthuiot, in the yere of our Lord 856. His bodie was conueied into the Ile of Colmekill, and there honozable buried amongst his ancestors.

After his deceasse succeeded in gouernment of the realme his brother Donald, farre differing in qualities from his noble brother the foresaid Kenneth; but yet before he came to the rule of the realme, he disclosed not his vicious nature, for doubt of offending the king his brother. Neuerthelesse he had continued scarce two yeres in the estate, but that he had subuerted all good orders in his realme, by his naughtie examples of dissolute liuing: for his mind was set on nothing but on wanton pleasure; as in the vnlawfull vse of concubines, riotous banquetting, keeping of hawkes, hounds, & horses for pleasure, and not for the vse of warres, whereof he had no regard at all: for such charges as he should haue bene at for maintenance of men of warre to keepe the frontiers of his realme, were imployed on a sort of rascals, that serued him in the furtherance of his wanton delights and voluptuous desires, as huntsmen, falconers, cookes, balwdes, ruffians, and such like lozzels.

Wherevpon diuers of the nobles remembzng what appertained to their duties, spared not but freely admonished the king what danger would insue of his misordered behauiour, if he reformed not his manners, nor restrained the licentious doings of his seruants and familie. But when they perceiued that their words were not regarded, but for the same they themselves ran into displeasure; they sorrowed not a little, to see so small hope of amendment of such enormities, as euerie where reigned through the regon: for all youthfull persons giuen to sensuall lust followed the same without anie feare or care of correction, so that there was no measure of offending and haunting of euill rule in all parties, insomuch that hostlie, through want of all good gouernance, wrong was placed in steed of right, and contempt of Gods honoz embraced euerie where in place of vertue and godlinesse.

In this meane while, the residue of the Picts remaining amongst the Englishmen, ceased not to solicit the gouernors of the countrie to aid them towards the reconuerie of their dominion out of the Scottishmens hands, promising to be subiects vnto the English nation, if by their helpe they might be restored to their ancient seates. At length Othert and Ella kings of Northumberland were perswaded through instant sute to take that enterprise in hand, the rather vpon trust of good successe, for that they vnderstood what lacke of politike gouernement then remained amongst the Scots, by reason of the kings naughtie demeanour; and most inordinat trade of life. But first there was a league concluded with new articles of agreement betwixt the Englishmen and Britains, as yet inhabiting alongst the coasts of Cumberland, by meanes of which league both Britains and Englishmen ioined their powers together, and in most speedie and forcible wise passed the water of Tweed, first pitching their campe in the countrie of Mers. From whence immediatlie king Othert (being appointed as generall in that ioyntie) sent

The bound
of the Scottish
kingdome.

King Kenneth
departed
out of this life
856. H. B.

Donald.
Donald the
fourth that
name succe-
ded his brother
Kenneth.
The king is
of dissolute
liuing.

The king is
admonished
of his nobles.

The Scots
campe (under
the name of
the Englishmen).

Othert and
Ella kings of
Northumberland.

The English
men and Brit-
tains (together
their powers
together).

The English
men and Brit-
tains (together
their powers
together).

The English
men and Brit-
tains (together
their powers
together).

sent an herald vnto Donald the Scottish King, bidding him either to surrender vnto the Picts, or to forsake all such regions as the Scots had taken from them; either else to looke to haue the Englishmen and Britains no lesse their enemies than the Picts, whose cause they had taken vpon them to mainteine and defend.

Donald being at the first sore troubled with these newes, yet at length (by the aduise of his nobles) he took a good hart vnto him, and in defense of his realme caused musters to be taken throughout all his dominions, and forthwith came into the field to encounter his enemies, whome he found at Jedburgh ready to giue battell: where after some fight, in the end Osbert with his people was chased to the next mountains. Donald hauing thus obtained the victorie in this conflict, supposed all had bene his owne, and thereupon remoued ouer Tweed with all possible hast, marching forth till he came to the mouth of that riuer, where there late at anchor certaine English vessels, laden with provision of vittels and all other things necessarie for the furniture of an armie. Donald setting vpon these ships, with small resistance took them, spoiled them of all such things as were found aboard, and after set fire on them. The spoile was diuided amongst the souldiers and men of warre, which serued them to small vse or commoditie: for all the youth of the armie, through example of their prince, was so corrupted in vicious customes, that the campe was replenished with houses, bawds, stews, and dicing tables, in such wise, that all such provision as should haue serued for foode and staple of vittels, was spent in riotous banquetting without anie order or measure: so oftentimes (as it chanceth where politike gouernement lacketh) there happened amongst them in the armie, discorde and variance with sundrie murders and slaughters.

When the enemies were aduertised how far out of order all things stood in the Scottish campe for want of good and discret chieftains, Osbert with all speed got a mightie host together againe, and before his approach was looked for of the Scots, he commeth vpon them one morning in the breake of the day, and assaileth them in their lodgings, wherein he found them so vnprovided of all helps to make resistance, that it was a wonder to see the disorder that appeared amongst them: some of them running vpon their enemies naked without all discretion, other breaking forth of the campe to save themselves by flight, not sparing hill nor dale where they saw anie way to escape the enemies hands, though it were with present danger of breaking their necks downe the sliding banks and craggie rocks, being forced thereto by the fierce pursute of the Englishmen and Britains, who most eagerlie pleased vpon them in all places, to reuenge the late receiued ouerthrow and slaughter of their friends and kinsfolks. There died of the Scots in this mortall bickering about twentie thousand persons. King Donald being fast asleepe at the first assault of the enemies, as he that had drunke ouer night more than enough, was taken before he could make anie shift for himselfe, with the residue of the nobilitie, that escaped with life.

The Scottish campe, the next day after this ouerthrow, was rifled, the spoile being diuided amongst the Englishmen and Britains. But when the fame of this infortunat battell was noised once through the realme of Scotland, how the king was taken prisoner, his campe woone, the armie discomfited, and almost all the souldiers and men of warre slaine, those few of the nobles which were left aliue remaining prisoners in the enemies hands, there was such dole and lamentation made ouer all, as

though the realme had already bene lost without recoderie. Some there were that blamed fortune, some cursed the wicked trade of life in the king, other bewailing the great calamitie of this mischance put the fault in diuers other things, as in such cases commonlie it falleth out: for in sundrie heads are euer sundrie opinions. Panie ran vp and downe the streets and high waies, to inquire the certaintie of all things, and whether there were anie hope at all left to resist the enemies, also which way the enemies held, whereabout they went, and what they purposed to doe.

Anon after, when it was certeinly knownen that the Englishmen were entred by Louthian, and the Britains by Galloway, there was such feare mixed with sorrow (for losse of their friends and kinsfolks) stricken into the peoples hearts, and namelie into the womens, that a greater hath not bene heard of in anie region. So that all provision to defend their countrie was quite neglected, so amazed were the Scots with the sudden change of fortunes saue. The Englishmen here vpon took all the countrie euen to the water of Forth, and likewise the Britains seized into their hands all that which lieth from the bounds of Cumberland vnto Sterling bridge, finding no resistance in their way at all. Wherevnto as well the Englishmen as Britains vsed the victorie verie cruellie, sparing neither one nor other of the Scottish blood, that by anie means fell into their hands, but priests and all passed one way, that is, by the edge of the sword.

King Osbert purposed to haue passed the water of Forth, that waie to haue entered into Fife, & so ouer Taie into Angus: but hearing that the Scots had gathered a power to impeach his passage, he staied certaine daies. At length understanding that the enemies were nothing of that puissance or number, as at the first they were reported to be; he determined to set ouer in certaine boats ten thousand of his men; but through a sudden tempest of wind and weather, that rose in that instant, there were fise thousand of them drowned, the residue being constrained to land againe on the same side from the which they lased, hauing lost through violence of the weather all their tackle and whole furniture of their vessels. Osbert being also admonished with this misfortune, thought good to attempt no more the furious rage of the water, but determined by land to go vnto Sterling, where he understood he should find the Britains, with whome he might soine his power, and passe ouer the bridge there, and so invade other of the Scottish regions which lay thereabout.

But at his comming thither, certaine Scottish ambassadors came vnto him to sue for peace, which they humbly required at his hands in name of the whole realme, beseeching him to consider well the state of the case as it stood, and not to trust too much on brittle fortune, the which he weth hit selfe neuer stable; but commonlie vseth to call backe againe his grant of prosperous successe, where the receiuer hath not skill to vse it moderatlie, and the vanquished seemeth to haue bene sufficientlie corrected. As for the Scots, though it might appeare that their force was greatlie abated, & that resistance should little auail them: yet were they minded to die in defense of their liberties, rather than to submit themselves vnto anie conditions of vile seruitude. The words of these ambassadors being throughly weighed (though some took them in great disdain) yet in the end it was supposed that after victorie thus had against the enemies, honorable conditions of peace ought to be preferred before doubtfull warre.

Wherevpon answere was made to the ambassadors, that both the English and British people with

The Englishmen invade Louthian, the Britains Galloway.

The Scots left comfortlesse.

The Britains as yet kept possession of Cumberland, and those other countries lying by the coast of those west seas. The victorie vsed cruellie.

A great manie Englishmen drowned.

Ambassadors sue for peace.

Fortune is brittle.

The Englishmen and Britains sought their powers with the Picts.

The Englishmen and Britains sought their powers with the Picts.

The Englishmen and Britains sought their powers with the Picts.

Peace granted with conditions.

Articles of peace proposed.

The Forth called the Scottish sea.

Dunbretton. It was called before Caer Breith, that is, the citie upon Clud, as H. Lhoid holdeth.

Hofages are required.

The Scots mislike the articles of peace.

Calene his grave counsell taketh place.

The multitude contented unto Calene his sayings.

The Scots receive the peace.

their kings were contented to haue peace with the Scots (though it laie in their hands now to destroy the whole nation) if so be the Scots would agree to resigne aswell to the Englishmen as Britains all such lands and countreies as they had now gotten into their possessions, without anie claime or title to be made to the same from thenceforth, either by them or anie of their posteritie, so that the water of Forth on the east halfe, should diuide the Scottish dominions from the confines of the Englishmen & Britains, and be called from that time ever after, the Scottish sea. On the west the water of Clide should diuide the Scottish lands from the Britains; the castell of Alcluith, standing at the mouth of the same river, to remaine in the hands of the Britains, from thenceforth to beare the name of Dunbretton, that is to say, the castell of the Britains. And furthermore, that if anie of the Scots should attempt to passe the said bounds into anie of the British or English borders, he should die for that offense. And if by force of tempest it chanced anie of them to be driven to land on the south shore, within anie of those parties, they should take nothing away with them but water or vittels, and depart within thre daies, except some reasonable cause of staie constrained them to the contrarie. Moreover, they should not fortifie anie townes or castles on the frontiers nere to the English or British confines. And further, they should covenant to pay vnto the Englishmen and Britains, within the space of twentie years, the summe of one thousand pounds of siluer. For performance of which articles of agreement, the Scots should deliuer thre score hostages, being the sonnes and heires apparant of the chiefe noble men of all their realme and countrie. And if it so were that they misliked and refused anie of these articles, he commanded that there should no other ambassadour come to him for anie other treatie of accord.

The ambassadours returning home, and declaring how they had sped, manie of the Scots thought the articles nothing reasonable for fre people to accept; other iudged that either they must come to some agreement with the Englishmen and Britains, or els put the land in extreme perill. Thus had the people bene diuided into two contrarie opinions and factions, had not one Calene a noble man, bozne of high parentage, and gouernour of Angus, with sober reasons and strong arguments appealed this contention, perswading them to haue respect to the time. And fith the force of the realme was so infested, abated, and brought vnder lot through aduerse fortune: better it was to yield vnto necessitie in sauing part at that present, in hope after, when occasion serued to recover the residue, than through obstinat willfulnesse to lose the whole. For considering the present danger, it could be reputed no dishonour to receiue conditions of peace at the enemies hands, fith there wanted not the like example of the Romans, who gladly accepted such articles of peace, as that noble prince king Calo appointed them: and yet it is not to be iudged, that there wanted men of great knowledge and wisdom amongst them, and such as regarded their honor, so far forth as reason in anye wise did reach.

The multitude moued with these wordes of Calene, whose graue authoritie (by reason of his age, and countie) was of no small reputation amongst them, hauing lost nine of his owne sonnes in the last battell, they finally determined to follow his opinion, in receiuing the same conditions of agreement which Mbert had prescribed: and thereupon sent againe their ambassadours with the hostages, appointed for the establishing of the peace, in manner as is before rehearsed, which being throughly accomplished in

such solemne wise, as in those daies and in the like cases was accustomed, Mbert set Donald with his nobles at libertie, sending them home together with the ambassadours, being earnestly required so to do, both by the English lords, and also by the Britains.

The agreement being thus made, the lands were diuided betwixt the Englishmen and the Britains, in such sort as the Britains had for their part all that which lieth from Sterling vnto the west sea, betwixt the rivers of Forth and Clide, vnto Cumberland; and the Englishmen possessed the other parcels, lieng from Sterling vnto the east sea, betwixt the Scottish sea and Northumberland: so that by this means, Clide water, Forth, and the Scottish sea (where Forth runneth into the maine sea) diuided the Scots from the Englishmen and Britains. And thus was the towne of Sterling a common march vnto those thre people; the same towne with the castell remaining vnto Mbert, as it was covenanted amongst other articles of this peace. Here (as the Scottish writers haue) he ordeined his mint, and his coiners of monie to inhabit, whereupon came by the name of Sterling monie: but therein they are deceiued, for (as in the historie of England shall appere) that name came not in vse till manie yeeres after. Mbert also in this place caused a stone bridge to be made ouer the water of Forth, in stead of the wooden bridge which the Picts had made there, and was now pulled downe, and in the midst of this new stone bridge he set by a crosse, whereon were ingrauen these verses, to be read of the passers by:

*Anglos à Scotis separat crux ista remotis,
Arma hic sunt Bruti, sunt Scoti hac sub cruce tuti.*

I am free march as passengers maiken,
To Scots, to Britains, and to Englishmen.

The Picts which had bene with the Englishmen in this iourne, euer hoping to be restored to their lands and former possessions by Mbert, when they saw how he retained the same in his owne hands, appointing his subiects to inhabit therein, they doubted that which afterwards came to passe in deed, least the Englishmen or friends would now become enemies, seeking the destruction of the whole Pictish generation, thereby to assure themselves in the possession of those lands and liuing, whereunto the Picts (as they thought) would euer make some claime and title, whilst anie of them remained aliue.

Upon this mistrust therefore did those Picts, which were amongst the Englishmen, make the best shift they could for themselves, so that manie of them got ships, and sailed into Norwaye and Denmarke, vnto their countreimen there: the other that could not make shift to get away, were slaine anon after by the Englishmen, so that one of them was not to be found aliue within anie of the English dominions. And such was the end of the Picts that fled vnto the Englishmen for succour. In this meane time the Scottish king Donald being restored againe to his countrie, was receiued with more ioy and honor than he had deserved, in hope yet by this scourge of aduerse fortune, that he would haue reformed his former abuses. Nevertheless, he had not bene at home anie long time, but that he fell to his old vicious trade of life againe, removing from his company such honorable personages as wished the suertie of his estate, with the aduancement of the common welth, to the reliefe and ease of his poore miserable subiects. At length the nobles of the realme, perceiving the danger that their countrie stood in, by reason of Donalds insolent misorder, vndiscreet rule and gouernement, they found means to agree with him, and commit him vnto safe keeping. But the monstrous creature, within a few daies after he

King Donald with the nobles are sent home againe.

London ded betwixt the Englishmen and Englishmen.

Reads roving died.

Wishes like in hope to men.

Advers and Englishmen fell downe out of the suite.

A bridge of stone made at Sterling.

Belendeth Scot.

The Picts hope is used.

The Picts went into Norwaye and Denmarke.

King Donald's fallerth to his old vicious game.

King Donald's fallerth to his old vicious game.

King Donald's fallerth to his old vicious game.

The Scottish king himselfe in prison.

Young babe gueth war-nung vnto his mother.

Reads roving died.

Wishes like in hope to men.

Advers and Englishmen fell downe out of the suite.

A bridge of stone made at Sterling.

Belendeth Scot.

The Picts hope is used.

The Picts went into Norwaye and Denmarke.

King Donald's fallerth to his old vicious game.

King Donald's fallerth to his old vicious game.

King Donald's fallerth to his old vicious game.

to as himt 860.

houn forco the old a that enim Sco stur stran shap dead ther of the sanc beaf thro

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was thus put in ward in great desperation due himselfe, in the first yeare after he had begun his infortunat reigne, and in the yeare of our Saviour 860.

The same yeare that the realme of Scotland was brought unto such miserable state by the puissant force of the Englishmen and Britains, as above is rehearsed, there were sundrie wonders heard of in the countrie: as in Louthian a child of one moneth old and a halfe, admonished the mother to flie out of that countrie: for it would come to passe, that the enimies should come and take that region out of the Scottishmens hands. Walts also, as they were passing abroad in the fields there, roaring after a strange sort, suddenly died. Fishes likewise, in shape resembling the figure of man, were found dead in the sands of the Scottish sea. In Galloway there fell such abundance of adders and snakes out of the skie, that the aire being corrupted with the savour of them lying on the ground, both men and beasts died of certeine diseases, which they took through infection thereof.

Such as were accounted to be skilfull in divination, affirmed that these things did signifie an infortunat reigne, with an euill end unto king Donald, as afterwarde it happened, who hauing made away himselfe in prison (as before is exprest) Constantine the sonne of king Kenneth was crowned king at Scone, in the chaire of marble there, according to the maner as then vsed. After his first entering into the estate, he would gladlie haue gone in hand with the wars against the Englishmen, to haue recovered out of their possessions, those countreies which they had lately taken from the Scots in his predecessors time: but his counsell aduised him otherwise, declaring that the state of the commonwealth was so decayed by the misgouernance of his said predecessor, that till the same were reformed, and such intestine discorde, as through licentious libertie reigned amongst his subjects might be appeased and quieted, there was no hope to atchiue anie worthie enterpryse abroad against forreigne enimies.

Whereupon by their aduertisements and good aduise, he deuised a reformation of all such misorders as were growen by in all parts of his realme: and first for the spiritualtie, he ordeined that priests should attend their cures, and not to intermeddle with anie secular businesse, but to be free from going forth to the warres: neither should they keepe hawks, hawks, or hounds. And if anie of them were found negligent in doing his dutie appertaining to his vocation, he should for the first fault forfeit a peece of monie, but for the second he should lose his benefice. For the youth of his realme he took order (to biddie them the better from wanton delights and sensual lusts) that none of them should haue past one meale a day, and that of no fine or deintie delicats, and to abstaine from all such drinke as might dissemper their braine, so that if anie yong person, either man or woman were knowen to be drunken, they should die for it.

He commanded further, that all the youth of his realme, should exercise running, wrestling, shooting, throwing of the dart and bowle: so to auoid slothfullnesse, that their bodies might with such exercises be made the more able to indure paines and trauell: and for the same purpose he took order, that they should lie upon the bare bodys, with one mantle onelie throwen under them, so that they should fast nothing neither by day nor night, that might molest them in anie wanton delights or effeminate pleasures. It was also ordeined, that all such as kept bittelling houses for banquetting there, should

be banished the realme, with those that kept brothell houses. Thus were the Scots by obseruing of these ordinances, made within short tyme of gluttons and excessive feeders, sober and temperate men: of delicat and easfull persons, hard, tough, and able to abide anie trauell or labor: were the same neuer so painfull: and hereof the state of the commonwealth began to grow to good perfection, so that Constantines administration was liked of the most part of all his subjects.

The first that went about to disquiet the prosperous reigne of that worthie prince, was one Euan, a man of an ancient house, & borne in the westerne Isles. Such haue bene the vnquiet nature of the Scottishmen, euen from the beginning, neuer to lue contented anie long time either with peace or warre: for being once wearied with the charges of the warres, they streightwaies wish for peace; and hauing in tyme of peace heaped togither some wealth, then can they not suffer the gouernement of their superiors, but either are ready to fall out with some forreigne enimie, or else to raise some commotion amongst themselves. This Euan therfore being the kings lieutenant of his castell of Dunstaffage in Louchquhaber, practised a conspiracie against the king, with a number of other light persons being gentlemen borne, mistaking the administration of things, onelie for that they saw hold their inordinat libertie to oppress inferiour persons, and to vse such wild and insolent misdeameour, as they had done afore time, was now restrained by lawfull iustice and execution of due punishment for the same.

But as these conspirators went about to haue moued the people of Louchquhaber, Murray land, Koffe, and Cathness, to haue ioined with them in their traitorous interpryse, some of them in whom Euan put most trust, secretly aduertised the king of all the whole matter, who gathering a competent number of men togither, made such speedie hast towards Dunstaffage, where the chiefe captaine of the rebels as then lay, that he came before the same veranie inking were knowen to them within of his approach. By meane thereof comming vpon them so at vnwares, he had the castell some at his pleasure; and immediatlie hereupon caused Euan to be trusted by on a high paire of gallows, for a spectacle to all his complices. And furthermore, least the other conspirators might prouide them of some other chiefe tyme, he apprehended diuerse of the nobilitie that were accused to be of Euans confederacie, the which he put in streit prison, there to be safely kept, till the peeres of the realme had determined with good deliberation, what should become of them. This busines being in this wise appeased, when all men looked for quietnesse, there suddenly folloved a greater and more pernicious trouble: for such is the course of the world, that when men least thinke of mischief, they fall oftentimes into most danger.

Cadane king of Denmarke, pretending a title to all such lands as sometimes belonged to the Picts, for that the residue of that nation which had escaped the hands of the Scots and Englishmen, had resigned vnto him all their right & interest of the same lands, he determined in that quarrell (and in reuenge of the injuries which the Picts alledged they had suffered) to make warres both vpon Scots and Englishmen. He caused therfore an huge number of ships to be prepared, and a mightie armie of men to be put in a readinesse, to passe in the same ouer into Albion, vnder the leading of his two brethren, the one named Hungar, and the other Iubba. These two chieftains hauing their ships and men with all prouision appertaining once readie, took the sea, and sailed

houses by burned.

Scots were made sober and able to abide hardnes

Euan disquieted the king and realme.

The vnquiet nature of Scottishmen.

Euan lieutenant of Dunstaffage conspired against the king.

The king is aduertised of Euan his treason.

The king cometh to Dunstaffage with an armie.

Euan is executed.

Euan kept in prison.

One trouble followeth another.

Cadane king of Denmarke

The cause that made the Danes to make warre against England and Scotland.

A great nauie sent into Scotland.

pp. 111. f. 137

The Danes
ble great
crueltie.

The inhabi-
tants fled the
countrie.

They that
fled into May
Iland were
slaine.

The uncerten-
tie of writers
in this matter
of these mar-
tyrs.

Constantine
assembled a
mightie army.

forth till they came to the coasts of Scotland, where they took land within the countrie of Fife, before any tidings were heard of their coming thither.

The Danes being set on land, spared no kind of crueltie that might be shewed against the inhabitants, and namely for that they had not as yet received the faith of Christ, they raged without all measure against priests, and religious persons, overthrowing and burning up churches and chapels, wheresoever they found any in their way. Whereupon the Englishmen that inhabited in Louthian, and the Scots that dwelled in Fife, left their houses and possessions, fleeing into other parties, where they thought they might best escape the hands of their new come adversaries. A great companie also of such vertuous and godlie persons, as about the same time laboured busilie in setting forth the word of life vnto the people in those parties, fled with one Adrian as then bishop of the Scottishmen, into the Iland called Orkney, which lieth in manner in the midway of the passage ouer the Forth betwixt Fife and Louthian, where as then there was a famous monasterie of monks. But neither the reuerence of the place, neither the innocencie of those harmles creatures could restrain the Danes from polluting their wicked hands in murdering that deuout companie, as they were then esteemed.

This is that reuerend band of martyrs, which the Scottish people haue had in such reuerence in the foresaid Iland of Orkney; a few names of some of that multitude as yet remaining in memorie amongst writers, as the foresaid bishop Adrian, Glodian, Galus, or (as others write) Monanus archdeacon of saint Andrews, and bishop Stobrand: the names of the residue are forgotten. Some there be that affirme how this companie were Hungarians, the which fleeing out of their countrie, from the persecution which was their exercised by men of misbeliefe against the christians, they arrived here in Scotland, and applied themselves to the instructing of the Scottishmen in the way of saluation. Other write that they were Scots and Englishmen thus assembled there together. But of whence soeuer they were, certaine it is that by custome they were become Scots, and instructed the Scots (as before is said) in the way of saluation. After this cruell slaughter thus by the Danes committed, they continued in their wofull rage, as they passed through Fife and the other countries nere bordering vpon the same, till all the inhabitants were auoided out of their houses, either by flight or slaughter.

Constantine the Scottish king being kindled in the meane time with passing great displeasure, for these so notable iniuries receiued at the hands of the Danes, thought good with all speed to go against them, and to attempt the chance of battell before they had wasted any further within his dominions, so greatlie to the diminishing of his roiall power and estimation amongst his subjects. Hereupon leueng his people, and assembling a mightie host together, he passed forth with the same towards his enemies, the which were lodged in two seuerall camps, the one being distant from the other about a quarter of a mile, seuered in sunder with the course of a little riuer called Leuth, the which (vpon the approach of the Scots vnto that part of the campe that lay on the further side next vnto them) chanced to be raised on such hight, thorough abundance of raine, that in two daies after vnneth it might be passed ouer at the fords.

After this sore and tempestuous weather, the aire cleared up and wared verie faire and calme, giuing occasion to the Scots to worke their feat against one part of their enemies, whilst the other could not

come ouer vnto their aid and succor. In this campe which lay on that side the riuer next vnto the Scots, Hubba was lodged, who did what he could to haue stated his men from issuing forth of the campe, to giue battell when the Scots drew nere to the same, and assailed all waies by prouoking the Danes with skirmishes to come forth and fight with them in plaine field. But notwithstanding all that he could do, forth they rushed in such wise by plumps, and with so great noise and clamour, that the captiues were constrained of necessitie to let them in order of battell, with they would needs giue the onset vpon their present enemies.

The Danes did weare aloft vpon their armor, cereteine linnen garments, wrought with red silke, the which were faire and white both at hand and a far off. Their weapons were of such sort as serued for the push rather than for downe-right blowes, the points being of such a handsome strong fashion, that no armor might lightlie hold forth against them. These kind of weapons, together with the multer of their huge bodies, was dreadfull at the first for the Scottishmen to behold, as they marched towards them in araic of battell. But anon coming nere together ready to ioine, the Scots manfullie taking to them new courages, set vpon the Danes with great violence, who likewise began the battell verie stoutlie, so that the same continued right fierce and cruell a good space. At length the Danes being assailed on each side, both afront before, and on their backs behind, oppressed as it were with multitudes, did throw downe their weapons and fled amaine. Many of them making towards their campe were overtaken and slaine, diuerse of them falling into the ditches were oppressed with throng, as well of their owne companie, as of their enemies, as they passed ouer them in following the chase, and struing to enter the campe vpon such as stood to defend them from entering. Other there were that leaping into the water in hope to get ouer, were drowned in the whirling waues of the streame; though some, through helpe of their fellowes (which stood on the other side ready to haue passed the water, if they might so haue done without manifest danger of drowning) escaped and got ouer, amongst whom Hubba was one, to the great reioicing of his brother Hungar, to see him thus deliuered thusse from perill of death, as first from amongst his enemies, and secondlie out of the roying streame of that deepe and swift raging riuer.

The Scots hauing thus put one part of their enemies to the worse, with that hapie success: took such comfort and immoderate ioy, as though they had bene now sure of victorie ouer all the residue, so that for two daies together, there was such dancing, singing, and piping amongst them, as the like hath not bene heard of. Pea so farre proceeded their insolent outrage, that they began to contend amongst themselves for the prisoners and spoiles, which they counted now their owne, as though already they had the same whole in their possession: and further reasoned, not without altercation, whether the Danish captiues after they had them once in their hands, should be put to death, or els be kept alieue to be shewed to the people in triumph or no. Great adoe and manie baine words were spent hereabout, in such earnest sort, that they were at point to haue fallen out amongst themselves: but there was no mention at all made touching the ordering of their battels, and other the necessarie proceedings against their enemies. At length, when the riuer was fallen and come to his old course againe, so that it might easilie be passed, Constantine in order of battell got ouer with his people, to the other side where the Danes were lodged, who hauing more mind to set themselves in such order, whereby

The Scots
Danco
their battle

The Danes
appeared

The Danes
weapons.

The men of
bodie and
lims.

A battell

The Danes
take the flight

Hubba was
saved from
drowning.

The Scots
take of this
victorie im-
moderate ioy.

The Scots
for ioy ready
to fall out.

Constantine
proceeded
gainst his en-
emies.

The order of
placing of the
Danes armie.
Hubba had
the right wing
where he had
the left wing.

Hungar kept
the battell.

Hungar made
a bow.

The soldiers
did make the
like bow.

King Con-
stantine pla-
ced his men in
like manner.

In incongrue
ment given to
the soldiers.

The Danes
approch to-
wards the
Scots.

The Danes
foot quarels
and the Scots
foot arrows
and darts as
the Scots
saw.

The Scots
are put to
flight.

Constantine

whereby they might gaine the victorie, than to deuise for the diuiding of the spoile, perceiuing occasion now offered to giue the onset, forthwith araided their people in this sort.

Hubba with six thousand Danes, was placed in the right wing. The left was led by one Buerne an Englishman bozne, who was fled out of his countrie, for that he could not beare such iniuries as Albert offered him in forcing his wife, to the great reproch and dishonour of his house and name. He had with him in this left wing certaine bands of Englishmen, with those Pias that had escaped ouer into Denmarke (as before is mentioned.) Hungar with all the residue of the armie, kept the battell of middle ward, exhorting his men to shew their force & manhood that day, with the same should either put them in possession of the whole land of Albion, with all the substance and riches contained therein, either else bring them perpetuall seruitude with ignominie amongst their most cruell and fierce aduersaries. He therefore himselfe openlie in presence of them all, vowed with solempne oth, either to returne with victorie to his campe, either else to die in the place, willing them all to make the like couenant. Whereby, on the vniuersall multitude allowed him so much for this his motion, that there was not one amongst the whole number, which agreed not to sweare the like oth. Constantine keeping in manner the like order, placed in the right wing his brother Ethus, in the left Duncane the lieutenant of thane of Athole, appointing to either of them ten thousand men a peece.

All the residue were set in the battell where he himselfe stood. And first he gaue them all hartie thanks in that they had so balliantlie achieved the victorie in the last battell, requirring them now not to blemish their former glorie with anie faintnesse of courage, recreant cowardise, or dishonorable flight: and further he willed them in no wise to be asfear of their enemies, in respect more for their hugeness of bodie, than for anie of their balliant stoutnesse of heart: for if they assailed them with one whole and entire consent, according to their wonted forwardnesse & manlike prowes, they should quicklie put them to flight, and obtaine a full victorie. Whereby he also warned them not to run rashlie vpon the enemies, but to suffer them first to giue the charge: for by that meanes he thought the Danes would with their earnest violence disorder themselves, and so should it be more easie for the Scots to breake in amongst them.

But this deuise did not a little abate the Scottish mens courages. For the Scots vse is, when they shall enter into battell, to make a great shout and noise, and therewith to run vpon their enemies, by which meanes (as they suppose) they both put the enemy in feare, and incourage themselves to the battell. The Danes at the sound of the trumpet marched forth towards the Scots, where they stood thus in order of battell: but when they perceiued that the Scots came not forward, they also staid in the mid way to refresh themselves, least at the joining they should be out of breath. Anon after, passing forward an easie pace, they shot quarrels, and threw darts at their enemies verie freshlie, and the Scots let die at them againe with arrowes and darts as thicke as it had bene a storme of haile.

After this they rushed together with great violence on both sides: but within a while, the Danes had put both the wings of their enemies to flight, and after compassing the maine battell round about, they constrained the same in the end with great bloodshed and slaughter to giue backe and flee out of the field. Ten thousand Scots died that day in this unfortunate battell with Constantine himselfe, who being first taken was had into a caue by the sea side &

amongst the rocks, and there cruellie murdered by the enemies. The place was called certeine yeeres after, the blacke den: but now they name it the diuels den, in memorie of that heinous murder there committed. The Scottish nation also had bene better, like as then destroyed, had not Ethus the brother of Constantine, perceiuing how the field was lost, escaped awate with two companies of his best men of warre, so reseruing himselfe to the time of more luckie fortune.

The people likewise doubting for want of a gouernour to be the sooner overcome by their enemies, did lead the said Ethus to Scone, where they crowned him king, in the yeere after the birth of our Sautour 874, and the 13 after Constantine began to rule the estate of the realme. The same yeere were manie wonders and vnketh sights seene with in the Scottish dominions. In the mouth of the Forth, otherwise called the Scottish sea, there appeared fishes in great numbers, like vnto men in shape, swimming vp and downe in the streame with halfe their bodies aboue the water, and hauing a blacke skin, which couered their heads and necks, from their shoulders vpwards like an hood. These are called Bassinates, and vse to go in great companies together, as though they were skulles of herrings, signifieng (when they are seene) some great misfortune vnto the countrie, as the common people haue long had an opinion. Also the loches, riuers, and all maner of other waters were frozen from the beginning of Nouember, till the latter end of Aprill; and when the frost brake, and the snowe melted, there was such a flood flowing ouer all the plaines euen to the roots of the mounteins, as the like had not bene seene. Furthermore, when the same shunke and went away, in the mud and slime there was such a sort of frogs left, that when they were dead, and began to putrifie, the aire was so infected, that manie deadlie diseases ensued, whereof great numbers of the inhabitants did perish. Moreover, there was a mightie starre or comet seene with fire raies issuing forth of the same, which both night and day folowed the mone during the moneth of Aprill, to the great horroz of all that beheld it.

But to proceed. The Danes (as is said) hauing vanquished the Scots, and wasted the countrie of Fife, passed ouer into Louthian, where robbing and spoiling all before them, they pursued the inhabitants into Northumberland, whither they fled for refuge. There the Danes being assted with certeine Englishmen in fauour of Buerne, due in battell both Albert and Ella, kings of that countrie. The crueltie of the Danes was such after they had achieved the victorie, that few escaped with life, but such as saved themselves by flight. But chiefe there rage appeared most against priests, and such as professed themselves men of religion. For the Danes being Ethniks, persecuted most egerlie those that in anie wise professed Christ. The like outrageous murdering of the christians was practised thorough out the countrie, and at length came vnto that blessed king saint Edmund, reigning as then ouer the people of the East Angles, as in the English historie more plainlie maie appere. Howbeit other of the English kings maintained the warres with these Danes certeine yeeres after this, with variable fortune; the most part of those people which inhabited on that coast toward the Germane seas, either being slaine or brought into miserable bondage into thair home. But Alured, which succeeded his brother king Godfred, not in the kingdome of Northfolke and Suffolke (as Hector Boetius affirmeth) but in the kingdome of the Westsaxons, rebelling a great part of this miserie, into the which the countrie was thus

to taken and murdered. The blacke den of faue.

Ethus brother vnto Constantine was saved by flight.

Ethus.

874.

Fishes like vnto men in shape.

Bassinates.

A long winter

Frogs in the mud & slime.

A comet.

The Danes went into Louthian.

King Albert & Ella slaine.

This crueltie inuaded Northfolke also.

King Alured rebelling those barons. Hector Boetius misliketh thus

is at my
e Scots,
to haue
ampe, to
the same,
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them in
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Hubba was
sued from
owning.

The Danes
apparel.
The Danes
apons.

Tell men of
bodie and
lungs.

A battell.

The Danes
take the flight.

The Scots
take of this
victorie im
derate tog.

The Scots
for tog readie
to fall out.

The Danes
approch to
wards the
Danes.

The Danes
shot quarrels
at the Scots.

The Scots
shot arrowes
at the Danes as
thick as hail.

The Scots
were put to
flight.

Constantine
proceeded ag
gainst his ene
mies.

Constantine

whereby

divers mat-
ters touching
the report of
our histories.

Æthas furna-
med Lightfoot

Æthas neg-
lected the op-
portunitye.

A conspiracie
made against
king Æthas.

King Æthas
is arrested,
with his fa-
vourers.

Gregorie is
chosen king.

Gregorie.

876. H.B.
875. 10. Ma.

A convocati-
on of the cler-
gie.
Priests are
free of all tri-
bute.

They should
not be called to
serve in the
warres.
Authoritie gi-
ven unto bi-
shops to order
kings.

thus brought by the Danes, by subduing them in sundrie conflicts, and sleaing their two capitaine the foresaid Hungar and Hubba, as in the same English historie is further expressed.

But now to retorne unto Æthas, I find that he was of such swiftnesse of foot, that he would match and make waie in running with harts and hounds, and thereupon was surnamed Lightfoot: but of what nimble lightnesse of bodie soever he was, truth it is that he was of disposition in mind unfit to haue the order of anie publike regiment. For whereas he might haue recovered Fife and Louthian with other regions, whilst the Englishmen and Danes were together by the eares, he passed ouer that occasion, delighting more in following the pleasures of the bodie & sensuall lusts, than to bestow his time in feates of chualrie and other warlike exercises. The nobles of the realme perceiuing him thus to abuse the two the gifts of his person, mistrusting least his insolent doings should indamage the publike state of the common-wealth, they toke counsell together how they might apprehend him, and to send him some whither out of the waie where to be safelie kept, and then to place some other in the gouernement of the realme, that might rule the same with more discreti- on & better aduise. And least their resolution should be disclosed before it took effect, they slackt no time, but went speedilie about their businesse. And coming to the king, whome they found a hunting in Calidon wood, they suddenlie arrested him, and there with committed him to safe keeping: & those whome they knew to be fauourers of his euill rule and mis- gouernance, they put them also fast in irons, till they had answered vnto such articles as should be laied to their charge. This done, they proceeded to the election of a new king; and in the end by the perswasion of one Dongall gouernor of thane of Argile, they chose Gregorie the sonne of that Dongall, which reigned before Alpine, who was not past two moneths old when his father died.

This Gregorie being knowne to be a man wor- thie of the rone, though he himselte onlie was against it, at length by perswasion receiued the inue- sture of the kingdome at Seone, with all due solemn- itie. Æthas hearing thereof, through anguish of mind died within thre daies after, in the second yeere of his reigne, and 876, after the birth of our Saviour. There be that write how he was strangled in prison by Dongall his procurement, least by ad- uenture he might haue bene restored vnto libertie, and withall haue made claime to the crowne againe. Gregorie being thus established in the estate, consi- dering that the suertie of all realmes rested in the hands of the diuine maiestie, to begin his gouern- ment with some luckie enterprise, caused a conuoca- tion to be holden at Forfate, for the aduancement of Christs religion: where amongst other things, it was ordeined, that priests from thenceforth (to the end they might more freelie attend to their vocation) should be exempt from paying of tribute and all ma- tier of exactions. Also that they should not be con- strained to go vnto the warres, neither to come be- fore anie temporall iudges, but onlie before their or- dinaries and bishops, by whome they should be iud- ged in all causes. The same ordinaries and bishops should also haue authoritie to order all men, both publike and priuate, as well for the keeping of faith gi- uen, as to constraine them to confirme the same, and to punish such as should be found in the contrarie; likewise in causes of controuersie touching matri- monie, tithes, testaments, legacies, and such like: moreover the correcting of those that blasfeme ei- ther God or his saints.

Heretikes and necromancers, with other the like

offendoers against the lawes and articles of the chri- stian religion, was assigned vnto the bishops and their substitutes, so that all those which were found dis- obedient vnto them, and refused to be at their com- mandement, they should haue authoritie to excom- muncate them out of the church, and from compa- nie keeping with anie of the cōgregation, so as they that were thus excommunicated, should be deprived of all abilitie to intoy anie inheritance or right to lands or possessions whatsoeuer they were. Neither should they be accepted as a witness in anie maner of cause, neither beare anie office or rule in the com- mon-wealth. This Gregorie also (as is said) was the first authoer of that ordinance, by the which the Scottish kings at their coronation use of ancient cu- stome to vow by soleimne oth, that during their liues, they shall mainteine and defend the church with his ministers, in all ancient liberties and priuileges, and not to suffer anie man to hurt or intringe the same.

There was suerlie in this Gregorie a certeine na- turall inclination to vertue, with such aduisednesse in all his wordes, that he vitered few or none but that the same seemed to be spoken with verie great con- sideration. He was neuer married, but continued in chastite all his life time. Of meate & drinke he was verie spare, delighting in all kind of sobrietie, more watchfull than giuen to slepe. But his fame increa- sed most for his mainteining of iustice and ciuill ad- ministracion concerning the state of the common- wealth, not omitting the practise of warre, where ne- cessitie required. The first expedition which he took in hand, he made into Fife, to reconquer that countrie to the crowne of Scotland. At whose entrance into the same, the Picts, whome the Danes had left in those parties at their departure thence, being stricken with feare to fall into the hands of the Scots their ancient enemies, fled forthwith into Louthian, leauing Fife in manner void, and without anie that would offer to defend it against the Scots.

Whereupon Gregorie so finding it desolate of inhabitants, sent for people out of other parts of his realme, appointing them dwellings in that countrie as he thought most expedient. This done he passed into Louthian, where taking the fortresses and pla- ces of defense, some by force, and some by surrender, he easilie reduced that countrie into his subiection, so that within a few daies, hauing there all at his plea- sure, he came vnto Berwike, where there were a great number of Danes ioined together with the Picts, as men not minding to flee anie further, but to fight with the Scots euen there, if they should come forward vpon them. But when they saw what number the Scots were of, and here with doubting the Englishmen to come on their backs if the ma- ter went not well with them; they thought it best that such Danes as were of anie great reputation of nobilitie, should withdraw into Berwike before the enemies were at hand, and the residue to passe o- uer Tweed into Northumberland, there to ioine with other Danes that in those parties were latelie arrived.

But the Englishmen within Berwike, abhorring nothing more than to be vnder subiection of the Danes, in the euening after the receiuing of the Danish nobles into their towne, deliuered it toge- ther with their ghests vnto the Scottishmen, who suf- fering the Englishmen at their pleasure either to go their waies with all their goods, or to remaine still in their houses, slue the Danes, without sparing either man, woman, or child. Then leauing a strong garr- ison of Scottishmen within Berwike, Gregorie marched forth with the residue of his people into Northumberland, to visite that countrie to other of his

Herbert
threatened the
Scots.

The Danes
prepare to the
battell.

The Scots
agierlie invade
their enemies.

King Grego-
rie his sailing
to the south-
wes.

The Danes
fled to their
camp.

The king
inhabitant
in Fife.
He subd-
ued Louthian.

Herbert as-
sembled his
men together.

Herbert went
toward Ra-
in, chiefe ge-
nerall of the
Danes in
England.

They fled
into Northum-
berland.

The Danish
nobilitie fled
into Berwike.

Herbert re-
mained in
camp.

King Grego-
rie his sailing
to the south-
wes.

his dominions that bordered vpon the same.

In those parties at that selfe time there were two armies lodged in the fields, the one of Danes not far from Forke, vnder the leading of one Herdunt, who had latelie taken and sacked that citie, and the other of Englishmen that laie 20 miles off from the said Danes. Herdunt hearing of the slaughter which the Scots had made of his countreimen at Berwikke, threatened sore that he would not leaue a man alive of the Scottish race within anie part of the confines of Albion. Which bow manie of the companie, following their capteins example, likewise made. Shortly after, hearing of their enemies approach, the whole host by commandement of Herdunt issued forth of their campe to giue battell.

Here the Scottish king standing with his people in order of battell, had thought to haue vsed some comfortable speech vnto them, thereby to incourage them to fight: but such haile was made by the Scots to preece vpon their enemies, that he saw it more needfull to take heed to the ordering of them in perfect arate, than to stand about to exhort them, whome he saw readie inough of their owne accord to fight. Therefore he said no more vnto them, as he went amongst the ranks, but onelie willed them to remember how cruellie Constantine their king was sometime murdered, after he had yelded himselfe prisoner to these enemies, with whome they should now ioine.

The Scots herevpon running to the battell with no lesse stoutnesse of mind than violent force, gaue their enemies scarce space to charge their weapons, but bare them downe with long speares and iavelins, and withall the bilmen following them made great slaughter on ech side, so that there needed neither exhortation of capteins, nor diligence of widders to keepe them in arate: For the wrathfull stomachs of the souldiers onelie wrought the feat in such sort, that the Danes were quicklie put to flight and chased. Those that could not escape to the campe, got them vnto the next mounteins, who chanced vpon better lucke than those that escaped to the campe, for the egernesse of the Scots was such in chasing the enemies, that neither ditch nor rampire could staie them from entring the campe vpon the Danes where they made greater slaughter than they had done in the field.

The next daie Herdunt goeth about to assemble his men togither againe, being disperfed here and there: but when he vnderstood how he had lost the more halfe of his whole host, he cursed that unhappie day, and determined to retire vnto Kassin, who as then was capteine generall of all the Danes that were in England. But Herdunt by reason of his wounded men, whome he was faine to carrie with him, could not make forward with anie great speed, so that he was scarce fortie miles got forth on his waie, when word came to him, that Kassin fighting with the Englishmen vntwarilie, at a place called Helcadeas, chanced to be slaine with a great multitude of his people: and therevnto his head was carried abroad by and downe the countrie from towne to towne to be seene. By such mishaps the prosperitie of the Danes so much flourishing of late, began now manifestlie to decaye.

Herdunt although he was not a little discouraged therewith, yet he chose forth a plot of ground most meet for his purpose, where he determined to abide in campe, till he might vnderstand what the Danes in other places were minded to do. But Gregorie king of Scots, hauing thus expelled the Danes forth of Northumberland, brought that countrie vnder his subiection: neuertheless he permitted the inhabitants to intop all their possessions will, onelie re-

ceiuing of them in name of souereigntie a yecrelie tribute. So that within a few daies after, he brake vp his armie, and went himselfe into Berwikke, where he remained all the winter season in consultation with his nobles about the publike affaires of the realme.

In the beginning of the next summer, he prepared againe for warre, and raising an armie, he purposed to make a iourneie against the Britains, who held (as before ye haue heard) a great part of Scotland. But he was not diuine to vse anie force in this warre: for the Britains being bered afore this time with warre by the Danes, had compounded with them for an huge summe of monie to haue truce for tiewentie yeres space: but the Danes without regard to their promise, shortly after (with a greater power than at the first) entered into the British borders, renews the warre so fiercelie, that albeit their force was sore enfeebled, by reason of the two last overthrowes; yet the Britains doubting the worst, feared to encounter with them, and therefore after consultation had, they thought it best to assaie if they might happilie allure the Scots, of their enemies to become their friends. Wherevpon sending vnto the Scottish king an herald, they require to ioine with them in armes against the Danes, common enemies to both their countreies, promising that if they would so do, they would willinglie render into his hands all such possessions which they held at anie time belonging vnto the Scottish kingdome.

Gregorie weeing with himselfe how necessarie this friendship should be, not onelie to the publike weale of all the whole land of Albion, but also of the god suertie and aduancement of Christiens religion, whereof the Danes were greivous aduersaries (for this he thought, that if Scots, Englishmen, and Britains did ioine in one, and knit themselves togither in aiding each other, there was no nation in the world that they needed to feare) he consented vnto the request of the Britains, and so accepting their offer, he had all those regions which pertained sometime to the Scots, and were now in possession of the Britains, surrendered into his hands, and so by this means were the Scottish confines enlarged and extended vnto their owne ancient limits and former bounds.

This dissention and variance being ceased after this maner, it greatlie reioiced the minds of all the inhabitants of this Ile; but contrariwise, the Danes looked for nothing more than present destruction to insue vpon them, if this amitie should continue anie while amongst their enemies. Wherefore they practised sundrie means to breake th amitie thus remaining betwixt their aduersaries, Scots, Englishmen, and Britains. Wherein they needed not greatlie to trauell, for within a short time after the conclusion of the same league, the prosperous successe of the Englishmen (which for a season had followed them vnder the conduct and gouernement of their king Alured against the Danes) occasioned the Britains also (hauing now no further feare of the Danish puissance) to repent themselves of the league, which they had latelie made with the Scots, so that Constantine, whome a little before they had receiued to be their king after the deceasse of his father, raised a power, and with the same entered into Annandale, to recover that countrie out of the Scottish mens hands. But hearing in the end that Gregorie was coming with a great armie to succour his subiects, whome the said Britains on each side had sore afflicted, they began to draw backe towards Cumberlanc with their botie, thinking there to be in safetie, vntill a time more convenient.

But king Gregorie coasting the countrie, met with

tates of Northumberland to intop their lands.

King Gregorie wintered at Berwikke.

King Gregorie prepared an armie against the Britains.

The Britains send to king Gregorie.

King Gregorie his consideration.

A peace concluded, and lands surrendered to the Scots.

The Britains repent them of the league made with the Scots.

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libertie of the
church.
King Grego...
rie was giuen
whollic vnto
goodnesse.
King Grego...
rie was neuer
married,
he was fob...

Herdunt
chained the
Scots.

The Danes
prepare to the
battell.

The Scots
come inuaide
their enemies.

King Grego...
rie was giuen
whollic vnto
goodnesse.

The Danes
doe their
worst.

The king let
inhabitants
in fife.
he subdued
Louthian.

The Danes
and Scots
ioine them...
selves tog...
ther.

They fled into
Northumber...
land.

The Danish
nobilitie fled
into Berwikke.

The Danes
are slaine in
Berwikke.

Herdunt as...
sembled his
armie togither.

Herdunt went
to Kassin
capteine ge...
nerall of the
Danes in
England.

Herdunt re...
turned in
the night.

King Grego...
rie was giuen
whollic vnto
goodnesse.

The Scots
ouerthrow the
Britains.

Constantine
is slain.

Herbert king
of Britaine
sent ambassa-
dours to Gre-
gorie.

King Grego-
rie his ans-
were.

Gregorie re-
quired a reli-
gion of
Cumberland
and Westmer-
land.

Peace was
concluded.

Humf. Lhoid.
870.

with them at Lochmaben, and there gaue them bat-
tell, wherein when Constantine perceiued how his
people began to shrinke backe, as one hauing more
regard to his hono^r than to the suertie of his life, he
rushed forth into the foremost prease, there to succour
and relieue his standards: but being compassed a-
bout amongst a great companie of his enemies,
his chance was there to be slaine with a number of
the chiefest lords of all the British nation. The other
multitude seeing the day go thus against them, fled
to saue their liues, leauing the victorie to vnto the
Scots.

This ouerthrow did put the Britains in danger to
haue bin utterly ouerrun, what by the Scots on the
one side, and Danes on the other: for as for forren aid
to be looked for of the English, they had plaine an-
swer they should haue none, sith they had so vniust-
lie broken the league concluded with their confede-
rats the Scots, to the great hinderance of the pros-
perous proceedings of all the inhabitants of this
Ile, against their common enemies the Danes.
Yet the better to establish the estate of their coun-
trie, and in hope of some recouerie of their former
damages; they crownded to their king one Herbert
or (as some copies haue) one Hebert the brother of
the last Constantine, and herewith sent ambassa-
dours vnto Gregorie king of the Scottishmen to ex-
cuse themselves, in that they had so wrongfullie at-
tempted the warres against him and his people,
laieing all the fault in Constantine, who against the
wills and contrarie to the minds of his subiects, did
take vpon him that dishonorable and most infortu-
nat enterprife.

Gregorie hauing heard the message of these am-
bassadors, for answer declared vnto them, that
he vnderstood well enough, that the Britains now
sued for peace vpon no reuerend consideration they
had vnto their othes of couenant; but onelie for that
they saw how if they should pursue the warre still,
they were sure that in the end they should be like to
haue the foile: and therefore he was fullie thus resol-
ued, not to conclude anie peace or truce with such
disloyal people, till they had resigned ouer into his
hands the whole possession of the countries of Cum-
berland and Westmerland, with assurance neuer to
pretend anie claime or title vnto those dominions
from thenceforth: and herewith for performance of
couenants, to render into his hands not onelie the
keies of all the towines, castels and fortresses in the
same countries, and to auoid quite their waies into
Wales to ocher their countriemen there, but also to
deliuer sittie noble mens sonnes and heires appa-
rant as pledges to remaine with the Scots.

The ambassadors returning home with this
message, and reporting it accordingly vnto their
king, when all men had said their aduise, in the end
they condescended to conclude a peace with the
rehearsed conditions prescribed by the Scottish
king, sith they saw no better meane to preferue their
nation from present destruction. And thus deliue-
ring the appointed number of pledges, they left the
countries of Cumberland and Westmerland void,
surrendering into the Scottishmens hands the pos-
sessions of all the towines, castels and fortresses, and
therewith departed into Northwales, where they
placed themselves in the countrie betwixt Conuay
and the riuer of Dea, out of the which they expelled the
Englishmen (that were then in possession thereof)
and therewith they erected a kingdome there, which
they named Stradelud, maintaining warres a-
gainst the Englishmen manie yeares after.

King Gregorie hauing thus enlarged his king-
dome, assembled his nobles at Carleill, where he
resolved (with their aduise) to follow such good for-

tune as by Gods prouidence dallie chanced vnto
them. Whereupon it was agreed, that they should
go first vnto Powke to conquere that citie, whilst
the Englishmen in Kent were occupied with the
Danes that were come thither; so as neither the
one nation nor the other could attend to make anie
attempt to hinder the Scottishmens enterprife. But
in the meane time came ambassadors vnto Gre-
gorie from king Alured, to congratulat his prosper-
ous successe against his enemies the Danes and o-
thers. These ambassadors also willed to haue the
ancient league betwixt Englishmen and Scots re-
newed, by which means both their powers might
ioine together against their common enemies, when
they should attempt anie wrongfull inuasion.

This request was granted, so that hostilie there-
vpon peace was established betwixt those princes
and their people, with confirmation of the old league,
thereto were added these articles; That the Scots
should inioy possession of Northumberland without
anie claime to be made to the same by the English-
men; If the Danes chanced to inuade either of their
dominions, the warre should be accounted as com-
mon to them both; Neither should the Scots grant
passage to anie enemy of the Englishmen through
Scotland, neither the Englishmen suffer the Scot-
tishmens enemies to passe through England; If a-
nie Englishmen did rob or scale anie thing out of
Scotland, that should not breake the league; but the
offenders with the receiuers should be deliuered to
the Scottish magistrats, to be punished according to
the qualitie of the offense; and the like should be ob-
serued by the Scots towards the Englishmen.

Thus things being quieted with the Englishmen,
as Gregorie was about to lay armour aside, word
came to him of new troubles forth of Galloway, by
reason of an inuasion made by the Irishmen into
that countrie. For the Irishmen hauing knowledge
that the inhabitants of Galloway had spoiled two
ships of Dublin arriuing on their coast, sent ouer a
great power of men, the which landing in Galloway,
made great slaughter of the people on each side.
King Gregorie being aduertised hereof, straightwaies
made towards them, but they hauing knowledge
of his coming deu to their ships with a great prey
of goods and cattels, and returned therewith imme-
diatlie backe into their owne countrie.

Whereupon Gregorie without delaie got together
his ships and followed the enemy with all his armie,
and landing in Ireland, put the nobles of that realme
in great feare, who as then were in contention to-
gether which of them should haue the gouernement, by
reason their king was lately dead, and had left a
sonne behind him being but a child in yeeres, to suc-
ceed him in his throne. Some therefore of the wisest
sort, and such as tendered the wealth of their coun-
trie, went earnestlie about to agree the parties, but
when they saw that it would not be, they did so much
prouaile, that a truce was taken betwixt them for
a while, least fighting still amongst themselves, they
should put their countrie in danger to be ouerrun of
the Scots: against whome when they had agreed vpon
the foresaid truce, either of the factions raised a
power, one Brian being generall of the one, and Con-
nelius of the other; for these two princes were heads
of the parties, betwixt whom the controuersie for the
gouernement of the realme rested, and thereupon by
consent of the residue had the leading of all them
that were of their faction.

These two captiues with their armies inuaded
themselves vpon the bankes of the riuer Bane, un-
der the mountaine called Fute: their camps being
seuered by a small distance the one from the other,
in such a strong place, that it was not possible for
the

The picture of
the Scots
haue taken
Powke.

King Alured
sent ambassa-
dours vnto
king Grego-
rie.

Peace con-
firmed.

Accom-
plishment of peace.

No passage to
be granted
vnto the ene-
my.

Punishment
of robbers.

Galloway to
be granted
to the Irishmen.

A truce was
taken betwixt
the two
parties.

The two Ir-
ishmen ge-
ther their
powers.

Two armies
one master the
other.

The Irish
vnto place etc.

The Scots
made pro-
vision of bit-
tles afoye
and.

The kings
enimie.

Smith
callen.

King Grego-
rie allied the
Irishmen.

The Irish
partied.

John Bogan
died.

Women and
children are
kept harden.

Warmed
men were
killed.
Wills were
commanded
to be provided.

Dungary
Dungary
died.

Two armies
one master the
other.

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the enimies to appoach them without manifest danger to cast away themselves. Their chiefe purpose was to prolong the time here in this place, till they had furnished the Scottish armie, and then to deale with them at their pleasure. But the industrious prouision of Gregorie passed the politike deuise of the Irishmen: for he had commanded that euery one of those Scottishmen, which passed the seas with him, should purueie himselfe of vittels, according to the custome of the countrie, for fiftie daies space, as of bread, cheefe, butter, lard, and powdered biefe: as for drinke, they knew they should not need to care, fith they were sure to find water inough in euery place where they chanced to come: for as yet filthie & seruile gluttonie had not softened nor inured with wanton delicacie the warlike natures of the Scottish people.

In the end Gregorie, hauing for certeine daies rested himselfe and his men, and deuising in the meane time which way he might best indamage the enimies; at length concluded to fend in the night season two thousand of his souldiours vp to the ridge of the forenamed mountaine called Fute, through the thicke bushes and woods, wherewith the same was couered, to the end that getting to the top of that hill, right ouer where the Irish camps laie, they might in the morning (at what time Gregorie with the rest of the armie went about to assaile his enimies) tumble downe stones from the browes of the hill vpon them, thereby either to destroy great numbers of them, either else to constrain them to come forth of their strength into the plaine fields, and so to fight with them in a place indifferent.

Kenneth Cullan the thane of Carrike, toke vp on him to haue the conduct of them that should go about this interprise, who conueieng his band ouer the water of Bane, and so vp on the backside of the mountaine, in the morning when their fellows fell in hand to assaile the Irish campe, where Bzen lodged, they tumbled such plentie of mightie stones downe vpon the Irishmen, that aboue a thousand of them being slaine, all the residue were forced to forsake their ground, & to flee in maner without anie stroke stricken. The Scots that were sent to pursue them, toke a great number of them prisoners, and slue but a few, hauing befoze hand such commandement from their prince.

Whilist this mischiefe fell vpon Bzen and his people, Cornelius with his folkes cursling that infortunate date, left their lodgings, and marched their waies in good order of battell, till they were farre enough out of danger. The bodie of Bzen also was found amongst other in the rising of the campe, with the head bruised in peces, and the braines passed out with some stone throwne downe by the Scottishmen from the hill side: which Gregorie at the request of some of the prisoners, caused to be buried in chistian sepulchre. He caused also women and children to be sent awaie harmlesse, onelie retaining the men of able age prisoners. Furthermore he commanded that they should vse neither fire nor sword, but against such onelie as with weapon in hand made anie resistance: and commanded them also that they should prouide themselves of vittels to serue them, whilst they should lie abroad & remaine there in that countrie.

Hereupon manie of the Irish people thus tastig the mercifull clemencie of the Scottish king, yielded themselves vnto him with sundrie fortresses, so that Gregorie finding sufficient prouision of vittels to serue his host for a long season, he went vnto the strong citie of Doungarg, or Doungard, which he enuironed about with a strong siege, & continuing the same certeine daies, at length they within wearied

with continuall trauell and lacke of vittels, opened the gate, and suffered him to enter. He would not permit his men to meddle with anie of the spoile, but appointed the colonelmen to redeeme the same (their armour excepted) of his souldiours for a peece of monie.

Afterward, tarieng in this citie by the space of thre daies, he departed and came afore another citie called Pontus, which he receiued by surrender, and therfore preserued the citizens from all hurt & annoyance. From thence he purposed to haue gone vnto Dublin, about 14 miles distant from Pontus, but as he marched thitherwards, he was aduertised that Cornelius was comming towards him with such an huge armie, as the like had not bene sent with, in the memoirie of man in that Ile. Whereupon Gregorie changing his purpose of going to Dublin, vpon report of these newes, he got him vp into the next mountaine.

The next day came the Irishmen ranged in thre battels. In the first there was a great multitude of Bernes with darts and bowes: in the second were a great number of mightie tall men, armed in cotes of male, with bucklers and great long swords, which they carried vpon their right shoulders. In the third battell, wherein stood their generall Cornelius, with all the chiefe nobles of the countrie, were an infinite companie of all sorts of souldiours, chosen forth of all the whole numbers. The Scots (according to their custome) diuided themselves into two wings, and a middle ward, in euery of the which were thre sorts of souldiours: as first archers, and those with long speares, then bilmen, and last of all such as bare long swords and leaden mallets.

Thus the battels being ordered on both parts, forward they make one towards another to begin the fight. The Scots (after their shot and throwing of darts was spent, and that they came to foine) kept off their enimies with long speares or ianelins, in such sort, that they were not able to come nere them: which disadvantage Cornelius perceiuing, commanded on high, that they should with their swords cut those ianelins in sunder. And as he lifted vp the visor of his helmet, the better to exhort his people to the execution hereof, he was so wounded in the face with a speare, that he was faine to withdraw apart out of the field. The Irishmen supposing he had fled, incontinentlie to saue themselves, threw off their armor and fell to running awaie. Thus did the victorie incline to the Scottish standards.

There died but a few (to speake of) in the battell, howbeit in the chase there was a wonderfull number slaine: for the Scots pursued them euen vnto Dublin gates, which citie the next daie Gregorie beset on each side with a mightie siege. There was got into this citie at the same time a wonderfull multitude of people, what of such as were recciued into it fleeing from the battell, as also of other which were there assembled befoze, in hope of assured victorie and safegard of their goods. By reason wherof being thus besieged, they began quicklie to want vittels, so that either they must of necessitie yield, either else by some issue auoid that danger wherein they were presently bewrapped.

But forsomuch as they saw no great likelihood of good successe in that exploit, in the end it was concluded amongst them, that (sith there was no meane for those noble men which were inclosed within that citie to escape the enimies hands, and that there were none other of ante reputation abroad able to defend the countrie from the Scottishmens puissance) they should fall to some treatie with the Scottish king for a peace to be had, with so reasonable conditions as might be obtained: for other remedie in that present

The towne was yielded.

A gentle ranome.

Dontus was surrendered also.

Cornelius came with an huge armie.

The Irishmen came in thre battels. Bernes.

These mightie men were called longlasses, if they had bene furnished with axes.

The Scots came in two wings.

Two battels ioine.

Cornelius was sore wounded.

The Irish ran away.

Dublin was besieged.

They consulted vpon a treatie of peace to be made.

sent mischief they could devise none, and therefore this was iudged the best waie of the whole number, namelie of Cozmach bishop of Dublin, a man for his singular vertue and reputation of byright life, of no small authoritie amongst them.

Cozmach B. of Dublin went vnto R. Gregorie.
Duncane.
A Wittie saieing.
King Gregorie his wife & godly answer.

He took vpon him also to go vnto Gregorie to breake the matter, & so comming afoze his presence, he sought him most humble to haue compassion vpon the poze miserable citie, and in such sort to temper his wraath, if he had conceived anie pece of displeasure against the citizens, that it might please him yet vpon their humble submission to receiue them vnto his mercie, and further to accept into his protection his cousine yong Duncane, vnto whome the kingdome of Ireland was due of right, as all the world well vnderstood. He besought him also to remember, that it appertained more to the honoz of a king, to preserve the lawfull right of other kings and princes with the quiet state of cities and countreies, than by violent hand to take their destruction.

Wherevnto the king answered, that he was not come into Ireland for anie couetous desire he had to the realme, or to the intent to spoile his kinsman of the gouernement thereof, but onelie to reuenge such iniuries as the Irishmen had done to his subiects. Not the Scots but the Irishmen themselves were they that had giuen the occasion of the warre, which they had deseruie bought with no small portion of their blood (which had bene shed) as punished for that crime worthislie by the iust iudgement of almighty God. But as touching an end to be had of his quarrell, & for the reseruing of the kingdome vnto yong Duncans behoufe, when he had the citie at his pleasure, he would then take such order as he should thinke most conuenient.

Dublin is first rendered vnto R. Gregorie.

This answer of the Scottish king being reported vnto them within the citie, they determined forthwith to set open their gates to receiue him: who, when he had caused search to be made whether all things were truelie ment according to the outward shew or not, he marched forth towards the citie to enter the same in order of battell, with all his whole armie, into the which he was receiued with procession of all the estates: for first there met him all the priests and men of religion, with the bishop the foresaid Cozmach, who hauing vpon him his pontificall apparell, bare in his hand the crucifix: then followed the nobles with the other multitude.

Gregorie was receiued with procession.
Cozmach bishop of Dublin becometh a crosse-bearer.

Which order when Gregorie beheld, he commanded his battell to staie a little, and therewith he himselfe advanced forth on foot till he came to the bishop, and falling downe vpon his knees, he reuerentlie kissed the crucifix, wherevpon receiuing humble thanks with high commendation of the bishop for such his clemencie, he entered the citie, not staieing till he came into the market place, where commanding one part of his armie to keepe their standing, he went with the residue vnto the church of our ladie, and after to that of saint Patrike, where hearing the celebration of diuine seruice, when the same was ended, he entered the castell, where his lodging was prepared. In the morning he caused execution to be done of certeine brutall persons of his armie, who in the night passed had broken vp the houses of some of the citizens, and rauished diuerse women. And for this act Gregorie being had in high reuerence of the Irish people, lodged part of his armie within the citie, and part he commanded to lodge without in the campe.

He kissed the crucifix.
He entered the castell.

At length hauing remained a season in this estate at Dublin, he caused the Irish lords to assemble in counsell, where in the end the peace was concluded betwixt him and them, with these articles and covenants. First it was agreed that the yong king

A peace concluded with Ireland.

Duncane should be brought vp vnder the gouernement of wise and discret persons, to be instructed in all princelie knowledge, within a strong castell, (wherein he had hitherto remained ever since his fathers decease) till he came to yeeres of discretion. And that in the meane time Gregorie should haue the gouernance of the realme, receiuing all the treasures into his possession. He should also haue the appointment of the magistrates, who should see iustice ministred according to the old statutes & ordinances of the Irish kingdome. That the Irishmen should receiue neither Englishman, Britaine, nor Dane, into their countreie, no not so much as for trade of merchandize, without safe conduct to be granted by him. So that things being thus brought to a quietnesse in Ireland, he receiued an oth of the chieffest of them for performance of the covenants, and here with taking with him threescore hostages, he returned with his victorious armie backe into Scotland.

After this there chanced no notable trouble to the Scots, neither forreine nor ciuill, by all the time of king Gregories reigne, so that passing the rest of his life in quietnesse, he studied chieflie for the politike gouernement of his people in god order and rule, to the advancement of the common-wealthe: and finally died an happie old man, in a castell called Doundore within the countreie of Garioch, in the 18 yeere after his entring into his estate, and after the birth of our Sauisur 893. He was neuer married, but liued in continuall chastitie: for his famous victories and other his princelie doings, he deserued of the Scots to be numbered amongst their most high and renowned princes. Amongst other his princelie acts which he set forward in his life time, to the aduancement of his countreie and common-wealthe, Aberdine (of a village) was aduanced by him to the state and dignitie of a citie, and the church there indowed with faire reuenues, and sundrie priuileges. His bodie was conueied vnto the abbey of Colmekill, and there buried with all solempne pompe and erequies: ouer the which his next successor, Donald the first of that name, caused a faire towne to be erected.

The king died.
893.
Wherby he made a citie.
King Gregorie is buried in Colmekill.

In the daies of this Gregorie also, there liued that famous clearkie John Scot, a Scottishman in deed borne, but brought vp in studie of god literature at Athens, where hauing learned the Greake tongue, he was sent for into France, to come vnto the emperor Lewis, with whom he remained in seruice for a time: and by whose commandement he translated the booke of saint Dionysie, intituled Hierarchia, into Latine. Afterwards being sent ambassadoz from the same Lewis vnto Alured or Alfred king of England, he continued with him and taught his children, hauing a place thereto appointed him within the abbey of Apalmeburie, where he had such resort of hearers and scholers, that it was a wonder to behold. Notwithstanding, at length when he ceased not to blame and sharpe to reprove the corrupt maners of such his scholers, as were giuen more to libertie than learning, he was by them murdered with daggers, as he was reading vnto them, and was afterwards registred amongst the number of martyrs.

John Scot. Some hold that he was an Englishman. Bale.
Dionysie. The pagina was translated by John Scot. He taught Alured in England. He taught in Apalmeburie.
He was killed by the scoles.

But to our purpose. After Gregorie succeeded Donald the 5 in gouernement of the kingdome, he was the sonne of Constantine the second; who finding the state of the realme in god quiet and flourishing in welth, he applied his whole studie to maintaine the same in semblable plight and condition. And before all things he caused iustice to be done to anie poze person, escaped unpunished. Christ the Lord of all vertue had giuen him such a godlie disposed

Donald.
Donald the first.
He was a good iustice.
He was religious.

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Donald sent
1000 men to
the aid of the
Englishmen.

Donald is
worthwhile
by R. Alured.

The Dances
to be baptised,
and to remain
in England.
Gomond is
baptised with
name mo.

They of Scot.
limate
Surreyland.

disposed mind, whose religion (to the advancement of his glorie) he had euer in high veneration. Among other his godlie ordinances, he made this statute to be obserued as a law, that such as by swearing blasphemouslie blasphemed the name of almightie God, or in cursing and banning called vpon the name of the wicked fœnd, and betooke anie chrisitian creature vnto his hellish power and domination (a vice naturallie following the people of that nation) should haue his tong thrust through with a burnig iron. But two worth the negligence of such as haue succeeded him, in suffering so necessarie an ordinance to be abolished and worne out of vs, considering the horrible curses and blasphemie, with the bitter and dreadfull cursings so much frequented of all estates in this our time, as well in Scotland as elsewhere, as without great hozroz of the hearers cannot bee halfe expressed.

But to our purpose touching the gouernement of Donald, it chanced afterwards, that he had knowledge how Gozmond a Dane was landed with a puissant armie vpon the coasts of Northumberland, and had pitched his campe nere vnto the shore, without doing anie damage to the countrey: so that it was vncertaine what he intended, whether to begin a conquest there, or to passe ouer Humber to make warres on the Englishmen. To preuent therefore all dangers, Donald hastned towards Northumberland; howbeit he was not farre forwards on his iourne, but that word came to him, how Gozmond was already passed ouer Humber, and entered into the English borders. But yet did not Donald staie his iourne, till he heard certainelie that Gozmond keeping vpon his way, was aduanced forward at the least 40 miles off from the riuer of Humber, doubting least happilie he had ment some deceit, as suddenly he haue returned vpon the Scots in Northumberland, when the king had bene once gone backe.

But now, when it was knowne that his purpose was onelie to assaile the English countries, according to the league newlie confirmed, Donald sent 5000 Scottishmen vnto the aid of the Englishmen; and also appointed two thousand horsemen to remaine with him in Northumberland (where he staid for a time) discharging the residue, & licencing them to returne vnto their homes. Shortly after Gozmond fought with Alured at Abingdon, where in the end the victorie abode with the Englishmen and Scots, though the same was got with such losse of men after long and doubtfull battell, that they were not able to pursue the enimies in chase, but constrained immediatly after to conclude a necessarie peace with them, on condition that the Danes should enjoy common seats with the Englishmen in Albion, & that Gozmond with his Danes should be baptised and professe the chrisitian religion. Wherevpon also were pledges deliuered on both parts, and Gozmond comming to receiue baptisme had his name changed and was called Athelstane, during whose life the peace continued betwixt the two nations.

Whilist things passed thus in England, there rose a peece of trouble betwixt the inhabitants of Surrey land and Kosse, which disquieted king Donald not a little. The occasion grew by reason of certaine theues, which comming forth of Kosse in the night time, secretlie entered into Surrey land, to fetch booties from thence. At the first they of Surrey land made resistance against them as well as they might, but after calling their neighbours to aid them, they skirmished in such wise, that within two moneths space, there were slaine betwixt them two thousand of the one side and of the other. Donald being not a little offended to haue his peace broken with inter-

time discord, gathered a great power, and with the same hastned into Surrey land: where calling the chiefe doers and maintainers of this businesse to make answer to that which was laid to their charge, when they were not able to cleare themselves of the crime, he put them to open execution of death, to the example of other. This trouble being in this sort quieted, he went into Northumberland, to be there in a readinesse, if the Danes or Englishmen (whome he suspected) should attempt anie thing against his subjects in those parties: where in the end, after he had reigned almost 11 yers, he departed this world. His bodie was buried in Colmekill amongst his ancestors, with a marble tome set ouer his graue, as the manner in those daies was customablie vsed.

After Donald the fift, there succeeded in rule of the realme Constantine the third of that name, the sonne of Ethus the swift, beginning his reigne in the yere after the incarnation 907. He was more apt for ciuill gouernement, than for the ordering of warlike affaires. King Edward that latelie succeeded Alured in rule ouer the Englishmen being ware thereof, sent vnto him an herald at armes, commanding him to restore vnto his subjects the Englishmen, the countries of Northumberland, Cumber-land, & Westmerland (which the Scottish king Gregorie had in times past by occasion of the trouble, some season taken from the right owners by force) either else to take for warres at his hands within forty daies after this summons.

Constantine herevnto answered, that if king Edward were minded to make him wars for those lands which he held by rightfull title, he with his people would be readie to defend themselves, hoping in the almightie God that he would turne the punishment on them that vniustlie had piked the quarrell. Wherevpon ensued manie rodes and forraies betwixt the Englishmen and Scots, made (as occasion serued) into ech others countrey, with diuers skirmishes and light bickerings for twelue moneths space together, without anie notable incounter of their maine powers. In which meane time the Danes increased in puissance, more than was thought requisite for the suertie either of the Englishmen or Scots, which moued king Edward by persuation of his nobles, to make meanes vnto Constantine to haue the peace renewed: wherevnto Constantine lightlie agreed: so that the league was confirmed againe with the former articles betwixt the English and Scottish nations.

Shortly after also the warre was renewed betwixt the Englishmen and Danes, and a peace againe confirmed by conclusion of a marriage betwixt Sithrike king of Northumberland, and Beatrice daughter of king Edward, till at length Sithrike was poisoned by his wife the said Beatrice: and then because Aualassus (whome the English writers name Aulase) and Godfrie, the sonnes of Sithrike, put the same Beatrice to death, hir father king Edward moued warre against them, and in foughten field discomfited them, but was slaine in that battell himselfe (as Hector Boetius saith.) But for the further truth of this matter, ye may read more in the historie of England.

The Danes being certified, that king Edward was thus slaine, conceiued such hope of good successe after to come, that albeit they were at this time vanquished, they immediatlie made new preparation for the warre, and first of all Aualassus the one of the two brethren before mentioned, sent vnto Constantine the Scottish king, to allure him to ioine with them against the Englishmen, which with great gifts and large promises he easilie brought to passe, the league notwithstanding which remained betwixt

The king went with an armie into Surrey land.

The chiefe doers were put to death. The king went into Northumberland.

Donald died.

Constantine.

Constantine the third.

907. King Edward sent an herald with defiance.

The answer of king Constantine.

Forerunners of war.

The peace was renewed and the league confirmed.

The Danes were discomfited.

The Danes conceiued hope of good successe.

The Scots earl faile to the Englishmen.

The Scots and Danes confederate themselves together. Malcolm is made chief general of the armie. He is created also here apparent. The earle of Cumberland here apparent to the king of Scots. The Scots and Danes join their powers together. They begin a cruel warre.

Athelstane bane sonne vnto king Edward.

Athelstane come against the Scots. 937.

The Scots and Danes out of order.

The Scots and Danes ouerthrowne.

The nobilitie went to Swazke.

Athelstane took Northumberland.

Westmerland and Cumberland reconciled.

Malcolm escaped his hurts.

A counsell called by Constantine.

the English and Scottish nations. Hereupon both the Scots and Danes made the greatest promise that might be, thinking verelie to subdue the Englishmen, and to bring them to utter destruction.

Malcolm sonne to king Donald was appointed by king Constantine to haue the leading of the Scottish armie, containing the number of twentie thousand men. The same Malcolm also at the same time was created here apparent of the realme, hauing Cumberland assigned vnto him for the maintenance of his estate. And euen then it was ordered, that he which should succeed to the crowne after the kings deceasse, should euer intoy that prouince. Malcolm joining his power with Aualassus and Godfric (who had assembled in like manner a mighty host of Danes) they all togither brake into the English confines, sparing no kind of crueltie that might be deuised, murdering the people without any pitie or compassion in all places where they came, to the intent that the Englishmen moued with the slaughter of their kindred and friends, should come forth into the field to giue battell, supposing they should not be able to withstand the force of the Danes and Scottishmen now joined in one armie togither.

But the more villanie they shewed in their doings, the sooner were they punished for the same. For Athelstane the bane sonne of king Edward (whome the Englishmen had chosen to succeed in gouernment of their kingdome after his fathers deceasse) with all speed sought to be reuenged of such inuiurious doings. Whereupon getting togither an armie, he encountered with them at a place called Bruningsfield, or Brunenburgh, in July, in the yere 937, where the English at the first of purpose gaue something backe, as though they had fled: which manner when the Danes and Scots beheld, supposing the Englishmen had fled in deed, they began to pursue amaine, leauing their order of battell, eche of them struing who might be the foremost.

The Englishmen (according to the order appointed to them by their capteins) suddenlie fell into array againe, and fiercelie returning vpon their enemies, did beat them downe in great numbers, & so attained a most triumphant victorie. There died in this most tall battell manie thousands of Danes and Scottishmen, but chiefly the Scottish nobilitie bought the bargaine most deere, who choosing rather to die in the field than to suffer rebuke by dishonorable flight, it came so to passe that few of them escaped. There died on that side (as some write) 20000 men in this battell, togither with Willfert king of the Gentes, Hanwall king of Britains, and seuen dukes that came to helpe the Scots and Danes. Athelstane by good aduise following the victorie, entred into Northumberland, and finding the countrie dispurueied of men of warre, he easilie made a full conquest thereof, hauing all the holds and fortresses deliuered into his hands.

Then without further delaye he passed into Westmerland, and after into Cumberland, where the inhabitants of both those regions bare-footed and bare-headed, in token of most humble submission, yielded themselves vnto him, promising from thenceforth to continue his faithfull subiects. In the meane time Malcolm being sore wounded in the battell, escaped; yet with great danger, and in an horse-litter was conueied home into his countrie, where he declared to king Constantine the whole circumstance of the ouerthrow and losse of his countreies aforesaid. Whereupon Constantine caused a counsell to be called at Abirneschie, where he perceiued how sore his realme was infeebled through lacke of such of the nobilitie as were lost in the last battell, by reason the re-

sidue that were left, seemed through want of vertue, neither able by counsell nor by force to defend the realme, so as he utterlie despaired either to be of power to beat backe the enemies, or to gouerne his realme in such politike sort as he would haue wished. And therefore, to rid himselfe of all such cares and troubles, and withall despising all such worldly pompe as might withhold him from diuine contemplation (whereunto he was partly bent) he gaue ouer his kinglie estate, and became a canon within the abbey of saint Andzeles amongst the couent there.

This was in the yere of our Saviour 943, and in the fortieth yere of his owne reigne (as Hector Boetius saith;) but if he did thus forsake the world, and entred into religion immediatlie after the battell fought at Bruningsfield or Brunenburgh (for so we find it named by some writers) then must it needs be before this supposed time alledged by the same Boetius, for that battell was fought anno 937, as the best approued amongst our English writers doe report, so that it should rather seeme that Constantine refused in deed to deale with the gouernement of the realme, about the same yere of our Lord 937, or shortly after; and that Malcolm gouerned as regent and not as king whilst Constantine liued, who departed this life (after he had continued in the abbey of saint Andzeles a certaine time) in the foresaid yere 943, falling in the fortieth yere after he first began to reigne. He was first buried in the church there amongst the bishops, but afterwards he was taken vp and translated vnto Colmekeill, where he had a tombe set ouer him, as was conuenient for the memorie of his name.

In the 36 yere of his reigne there were two monstrous creatures bozne in Albion, the one amongst the Danes being an hermaphrodite, that is to say, a child with both sexes, hauing the head like a swine, the best standing forth moze in resemblance than the common shape of man, a fat bellie, with feete like a gose, legs like a man, full of bristles, and a verie euill fauored thing to behold. The other was bozne in Northumberland, onelie hauing a mans sex, with one whole bellie from the nauill downe, but about the same diuided with two bellies crested or compassed ridge-wise, and not broad like to the shape of man: beside this it had foure armes and two heads. And euen as from the nauill upwards it was thus diuided into two bodies, so did it appeare there was two contrarie wills or desires in the same, euer lusting contrarie, as when the one did sleepe, the other would wake; when the one required to haue meat, the other passed for none at all. Oftentimes would they chide and bzaile togither, insomuch that at length they fell so far at variance, that they did beat and rent either other verie pitifullie with their nailes. At length the one with long sickness wearied away and finally deceassing, the other was not able to abide the greivous smell of the dead carcasse, but immediatlie after died also.

About the same time there issued forth a fontaine of blood out of the side of a mountaine in Gallo-way, and flowed in great abundance for the space of seuen daies togither, so that all the riuers therabout (whereof there is great store in that countrie) had their waters mixed with blood, and so running into the sea, caused the same to seeme bloudie certaine miles distant from the shore. These prodigious sights put men in great feare, for that diuinitie did interpret the same to signifie some great bloudshed to fall vpon the Scots shortly after. They were also the better belaued, for that within a while after, that great ouerthrow happened at Bruningsfield, as before is specified.

After into sonne of Constantine: who force of the no hope to study wa ders of the to procure was about Athelstane dible in thumberl with him newes p he under skilfull a counsell t sembled p it might b conclusi broken by was brow had chanc ing alien right cru remaini pursue th appeared i Aualassus ther a Ter and with there bye span, an sed from time kin of his per nie into no man Which in that ther ons made thanks t by this n Shortl stane vni be concl onis, acc motion h set a cou not whet that (as parts, k former l and sco should b After was nel their pecc compiz added th now rep should r land wi conditio the crow ing heir do hom perpetu establish of Con Cumber land. After

After that Constantine (as is said) was entred into religion, the before named Malcolme the sonne of Donald was admitted king; or rather regent: who although he perceived right well how the force of the realme was so infiebled, that there was no hope to mainteine warres abroad; yet his chiefe studie was by all means possible to defend the borders of the Scottish dominion, and before all things to procure peace with the Englishmen. But as he was about to haue sent ambassadours vnto king Athelstane, to haue treated for peace, he was credibly informed, how Athelstane had giuen Northumberland vnto Aualassus, and made a league with him to haue his aid against the Scots. Which newes put Malcolme in wonderfull dread, for that he vnderstood how his realme was unpurueied of skilfull capitaine to make resistance. Yet he caused a counsell to be called, wherein when such as were assembled proponed manie fond and childish reasons, it might happen there was small hope of anie good conclusion; but euen as they were at a point to haue broken by without anie certeine resolution, word was brought how through seditions discord, which had chanced betwixt the Danes and Englishmen being assembled together in campe, they had fought a right cruell and bloodie battell, the victorie in the end remaining with the Englishmen, who ceased not to pursue the Danes in chase, so long as anie day light appeared in the skie.

Aualassus with such Danes as he might get together after that overthow, fled into Westmerland, and within three daies after, in such ships as he found there vpon the coast, he sailed ouer into the Ile of Man, and spoiling the same, with all the preie he passed from thence ouer into Ireland. In the meane time king Athelstane hauing lost no small number of his people in the foresaid battell, omitted his iourne into Scotland, and lay still in Northumberland, no man vnderstanding what he intended to doe. Which newes were so pleasant to the Scottishmen, that there was common supplications and processions made through the whole realme, in rendering thanks to almightie God for deliuering the people by this means from so great and present a danger.

Shortlie after came ambassadours from Athelstane vnto Malcolme, to moue means for a peace to be concluded betwixt the Scottish and English nations, according to the articles of the old league, which motion was foolishly heard of Malcolme, though he set a countenance of the matter as though he passed not whether he had warre or peace: but in the end, for that (as he said) peace was most necessarie for all parts, he shewed himselfe willing to haue the old former league renewed betwixt the Englishmen and Scots, with anie reasonable conditions which should be thought requisite.

After the returne of the ambassadours, the league was newlie confirmed betwixt the two kings and their people, with the semblable articles as were comprised in the old league, with this article onelie added thereto; that Northumberland, being as now replenished most with Danish inhabitants, should remaine to the Englishmen; and Cumberland with Westmerland to the Scots: vpon this condition, that he which should succeed as heire vnto the crowne of Scotland after the kings deceasse, being heire apparant, should hold those regions, and doe homage vnto the king of England as his vassall perpetuallie for the same. The peace being thus established betwixt these nations, Indulph the sonne of Constantine the third was proclaimed prince of Cumberland, and inheritour to the crowne of Scotland.

After this, Malcolme passed the residue of his life

in good quiet, without anie troubles of warre, as a man onelie studieng to mainteine the state of his realme in good order, as well for the wealth of the temporallie, as spiritualle, whereunto he was equallie inclined. At length, as he rode about the prouinces of his realme, to see the labours duly ministered, at Urine a village in Murray land, where he caused iustice to be somewhat specially executed vpon offenders, he was murdered in the night season by treason of a few conspirators, in the fiftieth yeare of his reigne. But such as did this wicked deed with their complices, by diligent examination were tried out, and on the next day being apprehended, suffered due execution, according as they had deserved, being taine in peeces with wild horses, and those peeces sent vnto sundrie cities, where they were hanged vpon the gates and towers, vntill they rotted away.

They that were the doers of the murder also, and procured the doers thereto, were thrust quite through vpon sharpe stakes, and after hanged by aloft on high gibbets; and other of the conspirators were put to other kinds of death, as the case seemed to require. The death of Malcolme chanced in the yeare after the death of our Sautour 959. Here we haue thought good to put you in remembrance, that either the Scots are deceived in their account of yeares; or else mistake the names of the kings of England: for where they write that this Malcolme departed this life about the 22 yeare of Athelstane king of England, that can not be; if Malcolms deceasse chanced in the yeare 959, for Athelstane was dead long before that time, to wit, in the yeare 940, and reigned but fiftene yeares.

Moreover, where the Scottish writers make mention of the warres which king Edmund that succeeded Athelstane had against Anlaf and the Danes of Northumberland, in the daies of king Indulph that succeeded Malcolme, it can not stand by anie means (if they mistake not their account of yeares) for the same Edmund was slain in the yeare 948. But verelie this fault in the last account of yeares is but too common in the Scottish historie, and therefore to him that should take vpon him to reforme the errors thereof in this behalfe, it were necessarie to alter in a maner the whole course of the same historie. And therefore we will not with anie man to giue anie credit vnto their account in yeares, touching the reignes of the English kings, further than they shall see them to agree with our writers, whome in that behalfe we may more safely follow, and by conferring the same with the Scottish writers in some places, happily perceiue the true time, as well of the reignes of their kings, as of acts done, to fall out in yeares and seasons, much differing from their account: whereof to admonish the reader, as well here as in the English historie, we haue thought it not impertinent.

And albeit that some may aske what reason we haue to moue vs to doubt of their account of yeares, more than we doe of that in our owne writers? We will referre the same vnto their iudgements that are learned, and haue travelled indifferently alike, as well in perusing the one as the other without affection. But as the errors are sooner found than amended, so haue we thought good to set downe in the margent of this booke, the yeares as we find them noted in the Scottish writers, specially in places where we differ anie thing from them, because we will not seeme by way of controuersie to preiudice the authors, further than by due consideration the well abused reader shall thinke it expedient.

But to my purpose. After the corps of Malcolme was once buried (according to the custome) amongst

King Malcolme was murdered.

The conspirators were put to execution.

The murderers were taine with horses.

The procurers of the murder were stoned.

959. The mistake of the names and times of the English kings in the Scottish writers.

Indulph.

mongst his predecessors in the abbie church of Colmekill, Indulph prince of Cumberland was placed in the marble chaire at Scone, there receiving the crowne and other the inuestures of the kingdome. In the administration whereof he continued for the space of five yeares without anie notable trouble, in the end of which terme, he was required by messengers sent vnto him from Aualassus, to ioyne with him in league against the Englishmen, in reuenge of that ouerthrow, which aswell the Danes as Scots had receiued at Hozningfield, alledging that opportunitie was now offered, sith after the decess of Athelstane, the Englishmen had created Edmund to be their king, a man of a dull wit, & not fit for the administration of high affaires: neither did the league concluded betwixt Athelstane and Malcolme inforce anie impediment, but that he might enter the warre against the Englishmen, considering that both the princes that were the authors of that league were departed out of this life, by whose decess the said league was ended.

But Indulph for answer hereunto declared, that the league was concluded betwixt Malcolme and Athelstane, by great deliberation of aduise, and by consent of all the estates of both realmes, taking their solenne oth for the true obseruing thereof, so that he could not, vntlesse he should violate that oth, attempt anie thing to the breach of peace with the Englishmen, procuring the iust indignation of almighty God against him and his people in that behalf. Whereupon the Danes accounting Indulph but a slouthfull and negligent person for this kind of answer, as he that regarded not the honoz of his realme and people, in letting passe so great opportunitie to be reuenged of the Englishmen for the death of such Scots as died in the ouerthrow at Hozningfield, determined not to be noted with the like spot of reproch: but with all speed sending for aid into Norwaie, prepared to passe ouer into England, vnder the conduct of Aualassus, who ioining his power with the Norwegians, which came to his aid vnder the leading of a right ballant capitaine called Katnold, transported with all speed ouer into Northumberland, vnto whome the gouernour there named Elgarine, acknowledging himselfe to be descended of the Danish blood, yelded all the castles, townes & forts, promising to aid Aualassus against king Edmund to the uttermost of his power.

These newes comming to the knowledge of Edmund, with all speed he gathereth his power, and sending into Scotland for such aid as he ought to haue from thence by covenants of the league, there came vnto him ten thousand Scottishmen with ready wils to serue him in these his wars against the Danes. Then ioining his owne people with those Scottishmen, he set forward towards the enemies. There were an 8000 Northumberland men with Aualassus, the which vpon the first incounter with the Englishmen, fell streight to running away, which made an open and readie breach vnto the English part, to attaine the victorie: for the Danes being not able to resist the violent force of their enemies, encouraged now with the sight of the Northumbrians, were quicklie constrained to giue backe, and in the end to flee auaie, the Englishmen and Scots following in the chase with such fiercenesse, that all such as they ouertoke died vpon the sword, though they submitted themselves neuer so humbly in requiring mercie.

Elgarine yet chancing to fall into his enemies hands was taken aliuie: for so had Edmund commanded, that if anie man might take him, he should in anie case saue his life, that he might put him to death in most cruell wise, to the example of other.

After this, and for the space of three daies after the battell, Edmund lay still in the fields nere vnto the place where they fought, and then repaired vnto Forke, where Elgarine for his treason was taken in peeces with wild hordes. There chanced also no notable trouble in Albion, during the space of foure yeares after this said ouerthrow of the Danes with their capitaine Aualassus, who is also otherwise called Aulase, as is to be seene in the English histories, where the same make mention of the foresaid king Edmund, whome likewise they affirme to be the brother of Athelstane, mid not his sonne, as before is partly touched. Indulph in this meane time did with great diligence see to the good order of his realme, shewing therein what belonged to the office of a worthy prince. But euen as all things seemed to rest in peace & quietnes through the whole Ile of Albion, Hagon king of Norwaie, and Helrike king of Denmarke, of purpose to reuenge the slaughter of their countymen latelie made in Northumberland, came with a mightie nauie vnto the coasts of Scotland, assailing to land with their whole armie, first in the Forth, then in the riner of Taie; but yet through such resistance as the Scots made, being assembled together to keepe them off, they were faine to withdraue, and waiking along the coasts of Angus, the Sparcs, Spar, and Buthghane, at length fauning as though they would haue taken their course homewards, they launched forth into the high seas. But within foure daies after returning againe to the Forth, they landed their people earlie in one morning vpon the coast of Boen, at a place called Cullane, a countrie ioining vnto Buthghane, putting such of the countrie people to flight, as presented themselves to impeach their landing and inuasion.

But Indulph being aduertised hereof, forthwith assembling the whole power of his realme, drew towards that part with such speed, that he was come into Boen before his enemies were certified that he was set forward. So sone therefore as they heard he was come, such as were abroad forraing the same countrie, were called backe to the campe. But Indulph without protracting of time came still forward, and vpon his approach to the enemies, he prepared to giue battell, and with a short oration began to encourage his people to fight manfully. But before he could make an end, the Danes gaue the onset with such violence, that the battell a long space continued doubtfull on both sides, the Danes on the one part and the Scots on the other, doing their uttermost indouours to atchiue the victorie, till at length they of Louthian with their captains Dunbar and Grame began to appeare on the backe halfe of the Danes. With which sight they were put in such feare, that those which fought in the fore ward, retired backe vnto the middle ward, whome the Scots eagerlie pursuing, beat downe euen till they came vnto the reare ward, which coueting rather to die in the fight, than to giue backe, and so to be slaine in the chase (for those in the reare ward were heauie armed men) continued the battell more with a certaine stiffe stubbornnes of mind, than with anie great force or forcast, being so ouermatched as they were, & forsaken of their fellows: for other of the Danes, namelie the archers and berres fled their waies, some towards their ships, and some here and there being scattered abroad in the fields, fell into the moles, the marsh grounds, and other streits, where they were slaine euerie one by such as followed in the chase.

Indulph himselfe with certaine companies about him, departing from his maine battell to discover the fields, as though all had bene quiet on each side, fell by chance vpon a whole band of the Danes, where

Indulph is provoked by Aualassus to warre against England.

His persuasions.

Indulph his answer.

The Danes not pleased with such an answer procure warre against England.

The Norwegians come to the aid of Aualassus. Katnold a ballant capitaine.

Elgarine yielded the forts vnto the Danes.

8000 soldiers sent vnto king Edmund.

Elgarine is taken prisoner.

Elgarine is taken in peeces.

King Indulph was charged in his office.

The king of Denmarke and Norwaie enter with their armie into Scotland.

The enemies are put off.

The king of Boen.

King Indulph by anie means was not to be overcome.

King Indulph prepared the battell.

The Danes gaue the onset.

A supple sent vnto the Scots.

The Danes fled.

The king with few in his company.

Indulph into the enemies danger through negligence.

King Indulph was slain with a dart and died.

10. 968.

Duff.

The king went vnto the Scottish king.

he purged the king.

Barretors taken and put to death.

Barretors compelled to make an occupation.

The nobles were discontented with the kings doings.

The occasion murmuring of the nobles.

The king fell sick.

the same lay fled from the battels, with shot through not before he whole number place. His town of Colmekill, after his predecessor reigned about though infor nation 968, a

After the Colmekill of Malcolme due solennitie lene the countie of Cumberland transported order there for robbers and p arrivall among fles afoze he would avoid of such maleficer ther common of such barret onlie vpon o

The thane king, tooke n lie by publick for them wher fort, the whic that they ha kind of people either else to with to get th uer so great with this ert gainst their accounting th cended of no their living l appertained a degree as tw of the nobilit ment by orde fort to be mai and condition

Furtherm themselves, to the comm respect to the to be an utter thie to haue vnles he kne This murmur in the fles, his realme, euill of the g tume the king greuous as could percei seane in him lie, siegme, o abound, whe such decate a bnneth anie

And other ward signes nothing faile fresh and fair hat more w

the same lay in covert within a close vallie, being fled from the field thither upon the first joining of the battels, with the which entering into flight, he was shot through the head with a dart, and so died; but not before he was revenged of those his enemies, the whole number of them being slaine there in the place. His bodie was first buried in Cullane, a towne of Horene, and after translated unto the abbie of Colmekill, and there interred amongst of ther his predecessors the Scottish kings. Indulph reigned about nine yeares and died thus valiantlie, though infortunatlie, in the yeare after the incarnation 968, as saith Hector Boetius.

After the corps of Indulph was removed unto Colmekill and there buried, Duffe the sonne of R. Malcolm was crowned k. at Horene with all due solemnitie. In the beginning of his reigne, Cuthbert the sonne of R. Indulph was proclaimed prince of Cumberland: immediatlie whereupon the king transported over into the wessterne Isles, to set an order there for certeine misdeemeanors used by divers robbers and pillers of the common people. At his arrivall amongst them he called the thanes of the Isles afore him, commanding strenghtlie as they would avoid his displeasure, to purge their countreies of such malefactors, whereby the husbandmen and other commons might live in quiet, without verasion of such barretors and idle persons as sought to live onlie upon other mens goods.

The thanes upon this charge given them by the king, took no small number of the offenders, partlie by publike authoritie, & partlie by lying in wait for them where they supposed their haunt was to resort, the which being put to execution according to that they had merited, caused the residue of that kind of people either to get them over into Ireland, either else to learne some manuell occupation therewith to get their living, yea though they were neuer so great gentlemen borne. Whobett the nobles with this extreme rigor shewed thus by the king against their linage, were much offended therewith, accounting it a great dishonor for such as were descended of noble parentage, to be constrained to get their living with the labor of their hands, which onlie appertained to plowmen, and such other of the base degree as were borne to travell for the maintenance of the nobilitie, and to serve at their commandement by order of their birth, and in no wise after such sort to be made in maner equall with them in state and condition of life.

Furthermore, they murmured closelie amongst themselves, how the king was onlie become friend to the commons & cleargie of his realme, having no respect to the nobilitie, but rather declared himselfe to be an bitter enimie thereof, so that he was unworthy to have the rule of the nobles and gentlemen, unles he knew better what belonged to their degree. This murmuring did spread not onlie amongst them in the Isles, but also through all the other parts of his realme, so that they ceased not to speake verie euill of the gouernement of things. In the meane time the king fell into a languishing disease, not so grievous as strange, that none of his physicians could perceiue what to make of it. For there was saine in him no token, that either choler, melancholie, siegine, or any other vicious humor did any thing abound, whereby his bodie should be brought into such decaye and consumption (so as there remained but anie thing upon him saue skin and bone.)

And thus it appeared manifestlie by all outward signes and tokens, that naturall moisture did nothing faile in the vitall spirits, his colour also was fresh and faire to behold, with such liuelines of looks, that more was not to be wished for; he had also a

temperat desire and appetite to his meate & drinke, but yet could he not sleepe in the night time by anie prouocations that could be deuised, but still fell into exceeding sweats, which by no means might be restrained. The physicians perceiving all their medicines to want one effect, yet to put him in some comfort of helpe, declared to him that they would send for some cunning physicians into foreigne parts, who hapilie being cured with such kind of diseases, should easilie cure him, namelie so sone as the spring of the yeare was once come, which of it selfe should helpe much therewith.

Whobett the king, though he had small hope of recouerie, yet had he still a diligent care vnto the due administration of his lawes and good orders of his realme, dealing oft with his counsell about the same. But when it was understood into what a perillous sicknesse he was fallen, there were no small number, that contemning the authoritie of the magistrats, began to practise a rebellion. And amongst the chiefest were those of Murrayland, who slaying sundrie of the kings officers, began to rage in most cruell wise against all such as were not consenting to their misordered tumult. The kings physicians forbad in anie wise, that the king should be aduertised of such businesse, for doubt of increasing his sickness with trouble of mind about the same. But about that present time there was a murmuring amongst the people, how the king was vexed with no naturall sicknesse, but by sorcerie and magicall art, practised by a sort of witches dwelling in a towne of Murrayland, called Fores.

Whereupon, albeit the author of this secret talke was not knowne: yet being brought to the kings eare, it caused him to send forthwith certeine wittie persons thither, to inquire of the truth. They that were thus sent, dissembling the cause of their iourne, were receiued in the darke of the night into the castell of Fores by the lieutenant of the same, called Donwald, who continuing faithfull to the king, had kept that castell against the rebels to the kings vse. Vnto him therefore these messengers declared the cause of their coming, requirng his aid for the accomplishment of the kings pleasure.

The souldiers, which laie there in garrison, had an inkling that there was some such matter in hand as was talked of amongst the people; by reason that one of them kept as concubine a young woman, which was daughter to one of the witches as his par amour, who told him the whole manner vied by his mother & other his companions, with their intent also, which was to make auaile the king. The souldier having learned this of his lemmann, told the same to his fellows, who made report to Donwald, and hee shewed it to the kings messengers, and therewith sent for the young damosell which the souldier kept, as then being within the castell, and caused hir vpon strict examination to confesse the whole matter as she had sene and knew. Whereupon learning by his confession in that house in the towne it was where they brought there mischievous mysferie, he sent forth souldiers about the middest of the night, who breaching into the house, found one of the witches roasting vpon a wooden broch an image of war at the fier, resembling in each feature the kings person, made and deuised (as is to be thought) by craft and art of the diuell; an other of them sat reciting certeine words of enchantment, and still basted the image with a certeine liquor heric buillie.

The souldiers finding them occupied in this wise, took them together with the image, and led them into the castell, where being strenghtlie examined for what purpose they went about such manner of enchantment, they answered, to the end to make away

The king being sicke, yet he regarded justice to be executed.

A rebellion practised.

The rebellion was kept from the kings knowledge.

Witches in Fores.

Inquire was made.

The matter appeared to be true.

A witchs daughter is examined.

The witches are found out.

An image of war roasting at the fire.

The witches were examined.

The whole
matter is
confessed.

The nobles
of the countrie
set the witch-
es on work.

The witches
were burnt.

The king is
restored to
health.

The king
with an armie
pursued the
rebels.

The rebels
are executed.

Captain Don-
wald craved
pardon for
them but not
granted.

Donwald
conceiveth ha-
tred against
the king.

Donwalds
wife counsel-
led him to mur-
der the king.

The woman's
evil counsell
is followed.

the king: for as the image did waste afore the fire, so did the bodie of the king breake forth in sweat. And as for the words of the enchantment, they served to keepe him still waking from slepe, so that as the war ever melted, so did the kings flesh: by the which meanes it should haue come to passe, that when the war was once cleane consumed, the death of the king should immediatlie follow. So were they taught by euill spirits, and hired to worke the feat by the nobles of Murray land. The standers by, that heard such an abhominable tale told by these witches, straightwaies brake the image, and caused the witches (according as they had well deserved) to be burnt to death.

It was said, that the king at the verie same time that these things were a doing within the castell of Forres, was deliuered of his languor, and slept that night without anie sweat breaking forth upon him at all, & the next daie being restored to his strength, was able to doe anie maner of thing that lay in man to doe, as though he had not bene sicke before anie thing at all. But howsoever it came to passe, truth it is, that when he was restored to his perfect health, he gathered a power of men, & with the same went into Murray land against the rebels there, and chasing them from thence, he pursued them into Ross, and from Ross into Cathness, where apprehending them, he brought them backe vnto Forres, and there caused them to be hanged vp, on gallows and gibets.

Amongest them there were also certaine young gentlemen, right beautiful and goodlie personages, being more of kin vnto Donwald captaine of the castell, and had bene persuaded to be partakers with the other rebels, more through the fraudulent counsell of diuerse wicked persons, than of their owne accord: whereupon the foresaid Donwald lamenting their case, made earnest labor and sute to the king to haue begged their pardon; but hauing a plaine deniall, he conceiued such an inward malice towards the king (though he shewed it not outwardlie at the first) that the same continued still boiling in his stomach, and ceased not, till through setting on of his wife, and in reuenge of such vnthankfulnesse, he found meanes to murder the king within the foresaid castell of Forres where he vsed to sojourn. For the king being in that countrie, was accustomed to lie most communlie within the same castell, hauing a speciall trust in Donwald, as a man whom he neuer suspected.

But Donwald, not forgetting the reproch which his linage had susteined by the execution of those his kinsmen, whome the king for a spectacle to the people had caused to be hanged, could not but shew manifest tokens of great griefe at home amongst his familie: which his wife perceiuing, ceased not to traueill with him, till she vnderstood what the cause was of his displeasure. Which at length when she had learned by his owne relation, she as one that bare no lesse malice in hir heart towards the king, for the like cause on hir behalfe, than hir husband did for his friends, counselled him (sith the king oftentimes vsed to lodge in his house without anie gard about him, other than the garrison of the castell, which was wholie at his commandement) to make him awaie, and shewed him the meanes whereby he might soonest accomplish it.

Donwald thus being the more kindled in wrath by the words of his wife, determined to follow hir aduise in the execution of so heinous an act. Whereupon deuising with himselfe for a while, which way he might best accomplish his cursed intent, at length gat opportunitie, and sped his purpose as followeth. It chanced that the king upon the daie before he purposed to depart forth of the castell, was long in his or-

ratorie at his prayers, and there continued till it was late in the night. At the last, comming forth, he called such afore him as had faithfullie serued him in pursute and apprehension of the rebels, and giuing them heartie thanks, he bestowed sundrie honorable gifts amongst them, of the which number Donwald was one, as he that had bene euer accounted a most faithfull servant to the king.

At length, hauing talked with them a long time, he got him into his priue chamber, enclie with two of his chamberlains, who hauing brought him to bed, came forth againe, and then fell to banquetting with Donwald and his wife, who had prepared diuerse delicate dishes, and sundrie sorts of drinks for their reave supper or collation, wher at they sate by so long, till they had charged their stomachs with such full gorges, that their heads were no sooner got to the pillow, but asleepe they were so fast, that a man might haue remoued the chamber ouer them, sooner than to haue awaked them out of their drunken slepe.

Then Donwald, though he abhorred the act greatlie in heart, yet through instigation of his wife he called foure of his seruants vnto him (whome he had made priue to his wicked intent before, and framed to his purpose with large gifts) and now declaring vnto them, after what sort they should worke the feat, they gladlie obeyed his instructions, & speedilie going about the murder, they enter the chamber (in which the king lay) a little before cocks crow, where they secretlie cut his throte as he lay sleeping, without anie busking at all: and immediatlie by a posterne gate they caried forth the dead bodie into the fields, and throwing it vpon an horse there prouided readie for that purpose, they conuey it vnto a place, about two miles distant from the castell, where they staid, and gat certaine labourers to helpe them to turne the course of a little riuer running through the fields there, and digging a deepe hole in the chanell, they burie the bodie in the same, ramming it vp with stones and grauell so close, that letting the water in the right course againe, no man could perceiue that anie thing had bene netolie digged there. This they did by order appointed them by Donwald as is reported, for that the bodie should not be found: & by blinding (when Donwald should be present) declare him to be guiltie of the murder. & for such an opinion on men haue, that the dead corps of anie man being slaine, will bleed abundantlie if the murderer be present. But for what consideration soeuer they buried him there, they had no sooner finished the worke, but that they flue them whose helpe they vsed herein, and straightwaies thereupon fled into Dunkie.

Donwald, about the time that the murder was in doing, got him amongst them that kept the watch, and so continued in companie with them all the residue of the night. But in the morning when the noise was raised in the kings chamber how the king was slaine, his bodie conueied awaie, and the bed all be-
raied with blood; he with the watch ran thither, as though he had knowne nothing of the matter, and breaking into the chamber, and finding cakes of blood in the bed, and on the floor about the sides of it, he forthwith flue the chamberlains, as guiltie of that heinous murder, and then like a mad man running to and fro, he ransacked euerie corner within the castell, as though it had bene to haue seene if he might haue found either the bodie, or anie of the murderers hid in anie priue place: but at length comming to the posterne gate, and finding it open, he burdened the chamberlains, whome he had slaine, with all the fault, they hauing the keies of the gates committed to their keeping all the night, and therefore it could not be otherwife (said he) but that they were of counsell in the committing of that most detestable

Some toller
than other.
The master
suspected.

The king
was
sweated by
friends.

The king
went to bed.

His chamber-
lains were
banquetting.

Culene

The king af-
fected the cause
of the foule
weather.
The bishops
answer vnto
the king.

The king re-
quired pub-
like prayers to
be had.

The king
made an ory.

The king
went with an
armie into
Murray land.

A guiltie con-
science accu-
sith a man.

Donwald get-
teth him se-
cretlie awaie.

The murder
of the king is
reuealed.

The castell of
Forres is ta-
ken and all the
inhabitant's
slaine.

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ble murder.

Finallie, such was his ouer earnest diligence in the seuerer inquisition and triall of the offenders herein, that some of the lords began to milke the matter, and to smell forth shewd tokens, that he should not be altogether cleare himselfe. But for so much as they were in that countrie, where he had the whole rule, what by reason of his friends and authoritie together, they doubted to tetter what they thought, till time and place should better serue them vnto, and hereupon got them awaie euerie man to his home. For the space of six moneths together, after this heinous murder thus committed, there appeared no sunne by day, nor moone by night in anie part of the realme, but still was the skie covered with continuall clouds, and sometimes such outrageous winds arose, with lightnings and tempests, that the people were in great feare of present destruction.

In the meane time Culene prince of Cumberland, the sonne (as I haue said) of king Indulph, accompanied with a great number of lords and nobles of the realme, came vnto Scone, there to receive the crowne according to the manner: but at his coming thither, he demanded of the bishops what the cause should be of such vntemperate weather. Who made answer, that vndoubtedly almightie God shewed himselfe thereby to be offended most highlie for that wicked murder of king Duffe: and suerlie unless the offenders were tried forth and punished for that deed, the realme should feele the iust indignation of the diuine iudgement, for omitting such punishment as was due for so greivous an offense. Culene hereupon required the bishops to appoint publike processions, fastings, and other godlie exercises to be vsed of the priests and people, through all parts of the realme, for the good appeasing of Gods wrath in this behalfe; and in such sort and manner as in semblable cases the vse and custome in those daies was. He himselfe made a solemne vow, confirming it with a like oath, before all the peeres & nobles there assembled, that he would not cease till he had reuenged the death of king Duffe vpon the false inhabitants of Murrey land, to the example of all other.

The multitude being present, getting them to arms, followed their prince, taking his iournie without further delay towards Murrey land, the inhabitants of which region hearing of his approach, and the cause of his coming, were stricken with exceeding feare: but namely Donwald, being guiltie in conscience, doubted lest if he were put to torture, he should be enforced to confesse the truth. Whereupon without making his wife priuie to his departure, or anie other of his familie, saue a few such as he took with him, he secretlie got him to the mouth of the riuer of Spey, where finding a ship readie, he went aboard the same, purposing to haue fled his waies by sea into Norwate: for this is the peculiar propertie of a guiltie conscience, to be afraid of all things, and either in gesture or countenance to betraie it selfe, accounting flight most sure, if occasion may serue thereto. For this Donwald, whome no man (though some partlie suspected him) might well haue burdened with the crime of his maisters death (by reason of his faithfull seruice shewed towards him aforetime) had he not thus sought to haue avoided the countrie, was now detected of manifest treason, euerie man detecting his abominable fact, and wishing him to be overwhelmed in the raging floods, so to paie the due punishment, which of right he ought, for his vile treason in murdering his naturall lord.

Culene being hereof aduertised, passed ouer Spey water, and taking the castell of Forres, slew all that he found therein, and put the house to sacke and fire. Donwalds wife with his three daughters were

taken: for Culene commanded that whosoever could light vpon them, should in anie wise saue their liues, and bring them vnto him. Which being done, he had them to the racke, where the mother vpon hir examination confessed the whole matter, how by hir procurement chiefe hir husband was moued to cause the deed to be done, who they were that by his commandement did it, and in what place they had buried the bodie. Where would the multitude haue run vpon hir and tozied hir in peeces, but that they were restrained by commandement of an officer at armes. The King with the residue for that night rested themselves, and in the morning took order for due provision of all things necessarie to take vp the bodie of king Duffe, and then to conueie it vnto Colmekill, there to be buried amongst his predecessors.

But as they were busie hereabout, word came that the traitor Donwald was by shipwracke cast vpon the shore within foure miles of the castell, as though he were by Gods provision brought backe into his owne countrie to suffer worthe punishment for his demerits. Whereupon the inhabitants of the places next adjoining took him, and kept him fast bound till they knew further of the kings pleasure: who verie glad of the newes, sent forth immediatlie a band of men to fetch him. They that were sent did as they were commanded: and being scarce returned, there came in diuerse lords of Koffe, bringing with them Donwalds foure seruants, which (as before is said) did execute the murder. Thus all the offenders being brought together vnto the place where the murder was both contriued and executed, they were arraigned, condemned, and put to death in manner as followeth, to the great reioicing of the people that beheld the same.

They were first scourged by the hangman, and then bowelled, their entrails being thowen into a fire and burnt, the other parts of their bodies were cut in to quarters, and sent vnto the chiefe cities of the realme, and there set vp aloft vpon the gates & highest towers, for example sake to all such as should come after, how heinous a thing it is to pollute their hands in the sacred blood of their prince. This head-fall end had Donwald and his wife, before he saw anie sunne after the murder was committed, and that by the appointment of the most righteous God, the creator of that heauenlie planet and all other things, who suffereth no crime to be vnreruenged. Those that were the takers of the murderers were highlie rewarded for their paines and trauell therein sustained, being exempt from charges of going forth to the warres, and also of all manner of payments belonging to publike duties, as tributes, subsidies, and such like.

These things being thus ordered, the bodie of king Duffe was taken vp, and in most pompous manner conueied vnto Colmekill, accompanied all the waie by Culene, and a great multitude of lords both spirituall and temporall, with other of the meaner states. There be that haue written how his bodie (though it had laine six moneths vnder the ground) was nothing impaired either in colour or otherwise, when it was taken vp, but was found as whole and sound as though it had bene yet alieue, the skarres of the wounds onelie excepted. But to proceed, so far as it was brought about the ground, the aie began to cleare vp, and the sunne brake forth, shining more bright than it had bene sene aforetime, to anie of the beholders remembrance. And that which put men in most deepe consideration of all, was the sight of manifold flowers, which sprang forth ouer all the fields immediatlie thereupon, cleane contrarie to the time and season of the yeere.

Within a few yeeres after this, there was a bridge made

The murder is whole confessed.

King Duffe his bodie to be taken vp.

Donwald is taken prisoner.

Donwalds foure seruants were taken also.

Donwald with his confederates are executed.

Rewards giuen vnto the takers of those murderers.

The bodie of king Duffe honorablie buried.

Marvellous things are sene.

Killog.

Whores eate
their owne
flesh.
A monstrous
child.
A sparhawk
strangled by
an owle.

972.

King Culene
did not conti-
nue as his be-
ginning was.

He folloves
his sensuall
lustes.

Guill doers
were not pun-
ished.

God counsell
was not heard

The kings
answer vnto
his graue
pæres.

He should not
displease.

made ouer the water in the same place, where the bo-
die had bene buried, and a village builded at the one
end of the bridge, which is called vnto this day, Kil-
log, that is to say, the church of flowers: taking that
name of the wonder there happened at the remo-
uing of the kings bodie, as the same authoꝝ would
seeme to meane. But there is now (or was of late) a
rich abbeie, standing with a vertie faire church, conse-
crat in the honoꝝ of the virgine Marie. Spontaneous
lights also that were seene within the Scottish king-
dome that yere were these: horses in Louthian, be-
ing of singular beautie and swiftnesse, did eate their
owne flesh, and would in no wise take anie other
meate. In Angus there was a gentlewoman
brought forth a child without eyes, nose, hand, or foot.
There was a sparhawk also strangled by an owle.
Neither was it anie lesse wonder that the sunne, as
before is said, was continuallie covered with
clouds for six moneths space. But all men under-
stood that the abhominable murder of king Duffe
was the cause hereof, which being reuenged by the
death of the authoꝝ, in manner as before is said; Cu-
lene was crowned as lawfull successor to the same
Duffe at Scone, with all due honoꝝ and solemnitie,
in the yere of our Lord 972, after that Duffe had
ruled the Scottish kingdome about the space of foure
yeres.

The beginning of Culenes reigne, begun with
righteous execution of iustice, promised a firme hope
of an other manner of prince, than by the admini-
stration which followed he declared himselfe to be:
for shortly after loosing the reins of lasciuious wan-
tonnesse to the youth of his realme, through giuing
a letw example by his owne disordered doings, all
such as were inclined vnto licentious living, follow-
ed their sensuall lusts and vnbridled libertie, aban-
doning all feare of correction more than euer had
bene seene or heard of in anie other age. For such
was the negligence of the king, or rather mainte-
nance of misordered persons, that whatsoeuer anie
of the nobilitie did either against merchants, priests,
or anie of the commons, though the same were ne-
uer so great an iniurie, there was no punishment
bled against them: so that all men looked for some
commotion in the common-wealth thereupon to in-
sue, if there were not other order prouided therfore
in time. The ancient pæres of the realme also being
griued thereat, spared not to admonish the king of
his dutie, declaring vnto him into what danger the
realme was likelie to fall through his negligent be-
hauour.

Culene answered them, that he wist well enough
how young men were not at the first bozne graue and
sage personages, like to them with hoarie heads:
wherefore their first youthfull yeres could not be so
stable as they might be hereafter by old age and con-
tinuance of time. But as for such rigorous extreni-
tie as diuerse of his elders had bled towards their
subiects, he minded not (as he said) to follow, being
taught by their example (as by the kings, Indulph,
Duffe, and such other) into what danger he might in-
cure by such sharpe feneritie shewed in the govern-
ment of the estate. Whereupon he was determined
so to rule, as he might giue cause rather to be belo-
ued than feared, which was the onelie meane (as he
thought) to reueine his subiects in due and most faith-
full obedience. His answer was such, that although
it seemed nothing agreable for the preservation of
the publike state in quiet rest and safetie, yet was
there no man, by reason of his regall authoritie, that
durst reprove the same, but diuerse there were that
praised him therein, as those that hated all such as lo-
ued the byright administration of iustice.

But such ancient counsellors as had trulie ser-

ued in rule of the common-wealth in the daies of the
former kings, Indulph & Duffe, minding the state
of that present world (wherein the youth of the realme,
namelie all such as were descended of noble paren-
tage, and bled to be about the king, followed their
wilfull & sensuall lusts, growing euerie day through
want of correction to be worse and worse) departed
from the court, and withdrew to their homes, with-
out meddling anie further with the publike admini-
stration. In whose place there crept in others, that
with their flatterie corrupted the residue of such
sparks of god inclination as yet remained in the
king, if anie were at all; insomuch that in the end he
measured supreme felicitie by the plentiful inol-
eng of voluptuous pleasures and bobbie lusts. He
fancied onelie such as could deuise prouocations ther-
vnto, and in filling the bellie with excess of costlie
meates and drinks, those that could excell other
were chieslie cherished, and most highlie of him este-
med.

Wherewithall he was giuen vnto lecherie beyond
all the bounds of reason, sparing neither mat, wi-
dow, nor wife, prophane nor religious, sister nor
daughter (for all was one with him) that to heare of
such villanie and violent forcings as were practised
by him and his familiars, it would loth anie honest
hart to vnderstand or remember. He was so farre
past all shame in this behalfe, that when his leche-
rons lust by too much copulation was so tired, that he
might no more exercise his former lewdnesse, he
toke speciall pleasure yet to behold other to do it in
his presence, that his decayed lust might be the more
stirred by with sight of such filthinesse. This abhomi-
nable trade of life he practised for the space of thre
yeres together, giuing occasion of much spoile, ra-
uine, manslaughter, forcings, and rauishments of
women, with all such kind of wicked and diuelish
transgressions: no execution of lawes (instituted by
authoritie of the former kings, for restraint of such
flagitious offenses) being put in vye, through negli-
gence of this monstrous creature.

So farre forth also increased the libertie of thieues,
robbers, and other offenders, maintained by such of
the nobilitie as consented vnto their vnlawfull do-
ings, and were partakers with them in the same,
that if anie man went about to withstand them, or
refused to accomplish their requests and demands, he
should be spoiled of all that he had, and hapilie haue
his house burnt ouer his head, or otherwise be misu-
sed in such outrageous and violent sort, that it would
griue all those that had anie zeale to iustice, to heare
of such enormities as were daile practised in that
countrie. Howbeit, at length the death of king
Culene brought an end to all such wicked dealings:
for falling into a filthie disease (through abuse of ex-
cessiue drinking and lecherie) called the wasting of
nature, he consumed awaie in such wise by rotting
of his flesh, that he appeared more like vnto a dead
carcase, than vnto a liuelie creature, insomuch that
his owne seruants began to abhor him.

Whereupon the lords and other honoꝝable perso-
nages of the realme, vnderstanding his case, caused
a parlement to be summoned at Scone, where they
determined to depose king Culene, and appoint some
other (whome they should iudge most meetest) to
reigne in his place. Culene also not knowing there-
fore this counsell was called, as he was going thi-
therwards, at Herten castell, being almost in the
mid waie of his iourne, was murdered by one
Cadhard the thane of that place, whose daughter he
had rauished before time amongst diuerse other. This
end had Culene together with all his filthie sensuali-
tie: but the reprochfull infamie thereof remaineth in
memoꝝie with his posteritie, and is not like to be for-
gotten

Ancient coun-
sellors leave
the court.

The youthfull
court follow-
eth their sen-
suall lusts.

Whiche
time of balage
was finished.

A lecherous
king.

Forcing of
women kind
exceeded.

Whiche be-
hauour!

All honestie
spiled.

Robberie,
theft, &c. were
maintained.

Death made
an end of all.

Conitrad.

A parlement.

King Culene
was murder-
ed.

976.

Kenneth.

Whiche is re-
named.

King Ken-
eth was of a
vicious li-
uing.

He loved
strangers.

He abhorred
truth.

He did punish
his doings.

He kept
in Lamerie.

He grile ran
mad.

He king dis-
sembled with
his doings.

He king
came to visit
Saint Pirian.

He king
consulted how
he should
restrain the
transgressors
of his iudge-
ment.

An assemblie
had at Scone.

Armed men
were in wait.

gotten whilste it
dispatched in the
birth of our Sa-
of the realme re-
loved not of the

After that
A conueied
mongst his eld-
sembled togethe-
Kenneth the son
vnto Duffe, his
his reigne, he le-
from their wil-
which they were
ment of his pro-
ciuil demeanour
is, that first the
people transfor-
prince: therefore
living shew an
litie, and mode-
vice, but refrai-
nished all such
ther him or oth-
sures. He mai-
as with his oth-
all such as soug-
of meanes. He
to auoid sloth,
erces, iudgi-
to aduance the
flourishing sta-

Thus when
ders of his se-
meanes he con-
the lawes and
and to purge
and other such
peace. At Lan-
appointed to
certeine offen-
at their comin-
fest proofes
crimes as they
able to excuse
noble men vi-
cretlie their vi-
some into oth-
pedient for sa-
uing that thir-
his purpose v-
nister iustice
lawes, he dis-
ced euerie in-
onelie except
sit saint Pirian.
he had made
rence which
a deuise, wher-
vnto iudgen-
pære follow-
bare them go-
of, they wou-
purpose.

At length
all the lords
Scone, as
bout some
realme. He
ther into the
his faithfull
close in a se-
to their capti-
his bands till

gotten whilste the world goeth about. He was thus dispatched in the fift yere of his reigne, and after the birth of our Sauour 976, the nobles & great pères of the realme reioicing at his death, though they allowed not of the manner thereof.

After that the bodie of king Culene was once conueied vnto Colmekill, and there buried amongst his elders, the nobles and great pères assembled together at Scone, where they proclaimed Kenneth the sonne of Malcolme the first, and brother vnto Duffe, king of the realme. In the beginning of his reigne, he had inough to doe to reduce the people from their wild and sauage kind of life (into the which they were fallen through the negligent government of his predecessour) vnto their former trade of ciuill demeanour. For the nature of the Scotchmen is, that first the nobles, and then all the residue of the people transfigure themselves to the vsage of their prince: therefore did Kenneth in his owne trade of liuing shew an example of chastitie, sobrietie, liberallitie, and modestie, misusing himselfe in no kind of vice, but restraining himselfe from the same. He banished all such kind of persons as might prouoke either him or other vnto anie lewd or wanton pleasures. He mainteined amitie aswell with strangers as with his owne people, punishing most rigorously all such as sought to moue sedition by anie manner of meanes. He toke busie care in causing the people to auoid sloth, and to applie themselves in honest exercises, iudging (as the truth is) that to be the waie to aduance the common-wealth from decaye to a flourishing state.

Thus when he had somewhat reformed the misorders of his subjects, he inuenged himselfe by all meanes he could deuise to punish offenders against the lawes and wholesome ordinances of the realme, and to purge all his dominions of thieues, robbers, and other such as went about to disquiet common peace. At Lanerke, a towne in Rile, was a sessions appointed to be kept for execution of iustice, where certaine offenders were summoned to appeere. But at their comming thither, perceiving that such manifest proofes would be brought against them of such crimes as they had committed, that they were not able to excuse the same, through perswasion of diuerse noble men vnto whom they were of kin, they fled secretly their waies, some into the westerne Isles, and some into other places, where they thought most expedient for safeguard of their liues. The king perceiving that through the dissolall meanes of the lords his purpose was so hindered, that he might not minister iustice, according to the institution of his lawes, he dissembled his wrath for a time, and licensed euerie man to depart to their houses, his traine onelie excepted. Then went he into Galloway to visit saint Finian for performance of his vow, which he had made so to doe. Where he inuenged (by conference which he had with some of his priue counsell) a deuise, whereby he might fetch againe the offenders vnto iudgement: but this was kept close till the yere following, for doubt least if those lords which bare them god will had come to anie inkling thereof, they would by uttering it haue disappointed his purpose.

At length, after a yere was passed, he appointed all the lords and nobles of his realme to assemble at Scone, as though it had bene to haue communed about some weightie affaires touching the state of the realme. The night then before they should come together into the councill-chamber, he caused by some of his faithfull ministers, a sort of armed men to be laid close in a secret place, with commandement giuen to their capitaine, that in no wise he should stirre with his hand till the next day that all the lords were assembled together, and then without delaye to execute that which should be giuen him in commandement.

On the morrow after the nobles comming together into the councill-chamber, they had no sooner taken their places, euerie one according to his degree about the king, but that the armed men before mentioned, came rushing into the house, placing themselves round about them that were set, according to the order prescribed by former appointment. The lords with this present sight being much amazed, beheld one another, but durst not speake a word. Then the king perceiving their feare, began to declare vnto them the whole cause of his calling them to councill at that time, and why he had appointed those armed men to be there attendant. The effect of his oration there made vnto them was, that he had not caused those armed men to come into the chamber for anie harme ment towards anie of their persons, but onelie for the publike preservation of the realme. For so much as they knew, there was one kind of people much noisome to the common-wealth, being confederate as it were together by one consent to exercise all sorts of mischief and oppression against the poore people, as to rob, spoile, and take from them all that they had, to rauish their wiues, maids, & daughters, and some times to burne their houses: the which licentious libertie in such wicked persons, through want of due punishment in the daies of king Culene, what danger it had brought vnto the whole state of the Scotch common-wealth, there was none but might well vnderstand.

For sith it was so, that the lords and other high estates liued by the trauell of the commons, then if the same commons should in anie wise decaye, the lords and such other high estates could in no wise prosper: for if the labourer through iniurie of the robber were forced to giue ouer his labour, where should the lord or gentleman haue whereupon to liue: So that those which robbed the husbandman, robbed also the lord and gentleman; and they that sought to mainteine such loitering persons as used to rob the poore man, went about the destruction both of king, lord, and gentleman; yea and finallye of the vniuersall state of the whole common-wealth. Therefore he that loued the common-wealth, would not seeke onelie to defend the commons from such iniuries as thieues and robbers dailye offered them; but also would helpe to see iust execution done vpon the same thieues and robbers, according to the laudable lawes and customes of the land. The last yere (saide he) you your selues remember (I thinke) how I purposed by your helpe and counsell to haue proceeded by order of the lawes against all enemies and perturbors of the peace. At Lainrike was the day appointed for them to haue appeared, but there was not one of them that would come in, but contemptuously disobeying our commandement kept them awaie, by whose counsell I know not. But I haue bene informed by some how diuers of you fauoring those rebels, by reason they were of your linage, were of counsell with them, in withstanding them selues so from iudgement.

The often sending of messengers betwixt them and you, well nere persuaded vs to thinke that this report was true. But yet not withstanding, I haue put away all such sinister suspicion out of my head, wishing you (as I trust you be) void of all such dissimulation. And now I require you, not as fauors of the rebelles, but as defenders of the common-wealth, though hapilie somewhat slacke heretofore in discharge of your duties, to shew your selues such in helping to apprehend the offenders, as that the world may perceiue you to haue made full satisfaction for your fault and error, if before in you there were

The king and lords sitting, the armed men step forth.

The king perceiving the lords out of doubt.

An oration made by the king.

A rehearsal of all enormities

Lainrike, or Lanerke.

were anie. In the end he was plaine with them, and told them flatlie that they should assure themselves to haue those armed men which they saw there present, to be continually attendant about them, till he might haue all the rebelles at commandement.

The lords hauing heard the kings speech, and perceiving what his meaning was, first partly excused themselves so well as they might of their cloaked dissimulation, and then falling downe upon their knees afore him, besought him to put away all displeasure out of his mind, and clearelie to pardon them, if in anie wise they had offended his maiestie, promising that they would with all diligence and faithfullnesse accomplish his desire, in causing the offenders to be brought in vnto iudgement: and till the time that this were brought to passe, they were well contented to remaine in such place where he should appoint them to abide. The counsell then being broken by, the king with those lords passing ouer the riuer of Tait, went vnto Bertha, which towne during the kings abode in the same, was straitlie kept with watch and ward, that no creature might enter or go forth without knowledge of the officers appointed by the king to take heed thereunto. If anie idle person were espied abroad in the streets, straightwaies the sergeants would haue him to ward.

The nobles remained in the kings house, or in other lodgings to them assigned, procuring by their friends and ministers to haue such offenders as vied to rob and spoile the husbandmen, apprehended and brought to the king to Bertha, there to receiue iudgement & punishment according to their merits: for so they perceiued they must needs worke, if they minded the safegard of their owne liues. Hereof it followed also, that within short space after, there were brought vnto Bertha to the number nere hand of five hundred such idle loiterers as vied to liue by spoile and pillage, manie of them being descended of famous houses: all which compaignie being condemned for their offenses to die, were hanged by on gibbets about the towne, and commandement giuen by the king, that their bodies should not be taken downe, but there to hang still to giue example to other, what the end was of all such as by wrongfull means sought to liue idelie by other mens labours.

The rebelles being thus executed, king Kenneth licenced the lords to depart to their owne houses, exhorting them to remember their duties towards the common-wealth, and to studie for preservation of peace and quietnesse according to their vocation. After this, the realme continued in quietnesse without anie forraigne or inward trouble for the space of certeine yeares following, and had remained in the same state still, if the Danes had not made a new inuasion, who being soze greued in their hearts for such displeasures as they had sustained in Albion, determined now with great assurance to reuenge the same. Whereupon gathering an huge multitude of men together, they were imbarcked in vessels provided for them; and sailing forth, they purposed to take land vpon the next coast of Albion where they should chance to arrive; & being once on land, to destroye all before them, except where the people should submit & yeld themselves vnto them. This nauie being once got abroad, within short time arrived at that point of land in Angus, which is called the red Bzaies, or red head, not far from the place where the abbie of Abirborth, or Abirborthoke was afterward founded.

Here the Danish fleet first casting anchor, their capteins fell in consultation what they were best to do. Some of them were of this opinion, that it was

not most expedient for them to land in that place, but rather to passe from thence into England; for at the Scottishmens hands being poore, and yet a fierce and hardie nation, there was small good to be got, being thereto accustomed to giue more overthrowes than they commonlie receiued. Againe, the soil of that countrie was but barren, and in manner ouergrown with woods (as it was in deed in those daies) with few towne & small habitations, and those so poore, that no man knowing the same, would vouch safe to fight for anie possession of them: wherein contrariwise England (that part namelie which lieth towards the south) was so fruitfull of corne and cattell, so rich of mines, and replenished with so manie notable cities and towne inhabited with men of great wealth and substance, that few were to be found comparable thereto. So that the matter being well considered, they could not do better, than to saile into Kent, where they might be sure of rich spoile, without anie great resistance. Other there were that held how that this iourne was attempted by the counsell of their superiours, onlie to reuenge such iniuries as the Danish nation had receiued at the hands of the Scottishmen, and not to attaine riches or anie dominion.

The Scots also being a cruell people, & ready to fight in defense of other mens possessions (as in the warres of Northumberland it well appeared) would suerlie be ready to come to the aid of the Englishmen into Kent, euen so some as it was known that the Danes were on land in those parts: so that by this means they should be constrained to haue to do both with the Scottishmen and Englishmen, if they first went into Kent: where if they set on land here in Scotland, they should encounter but onlie with the Scots. Therefore, the best were according to their first determination, to land amongst the Scots, with chance had brought them vnto those coasts; adding that when they had somewhat abated the arrogant presumption of their enemies there, then might they passe more safelie into England, after a luckie beginning of fier and sword, to proceed against their aduersaries in those parties as fortune should lead them. This deuise was allowed of the greatest number, being glad to get beside the water. Whereupon the mariners (vpon commandement giuen) drew with their ships into the mouth of the riuer called Oke, the which in those daies washed on the walles of a towne in Angus called then Celurke, but now Mountros. Here the Danes taking land, put the inhabitants of the countrie thereabouts in great feare; so that with all speed for their safegard they got them into Mountros: but the towne being quickelie assailed of the Danes, was taken, put to the sacke, and after rased, castell and all to the bare ground, not one living creature being left aliue of all such as were found within the same.

From thence the armie of the Danes passed through Angus vnto the riuer of Tait, all the people of the countries by which they marched fleeing afore them. King Kenneth at the same time late at Sterling, where hearing of these greuous newes, he determined forthwith to raise his people, & to go against his enemies. The assemblie of the Scottish armie was appointed to be at the place where the riuer of Erne falleth into the riuer of Tait. Here when they were come together in great numbers at the day appointed, the day next following word was brought to the king, that the Danes hauing passed ouer Tait, were come before the towne of Bertha, and had laid siege to the same. When without further delay, he raised with the whole armie, and marched straight towards his enemies, comming that night

vnto Luncart a brier of Tait, where battell fought the hearing that the time, but forthwith

Kenneth as for the Danes at hand to order. When their manhood, tributs and paine space of fine yeares he offered the sum so much worth in that should bring led them therefore ber there was no must they trie it a fled, in the end to mics hands, who found them forth: ted for refuge, if Scots being no words, kept their were appointed be giuen. Halce led the right wintenant of Atholl uerned the batt had taken their teine right afore both the armies holding either Scots desirous Danes would n advanced forw the case require thowing of dar

The Danes were constraind to come for joining they mens arrowes they came to ha was giuen on was cruell on Scots so much the Danes, e which maner b uing that there they rushed for uersaries, tha lving of the S flee backe, the r ground: but the left naked on t have remaine of the battell c to be thought

For as it d the same time busie about his and stiffe in m with a valiant king with the great baliance the wings, and great violence in his hand, a to do the like, rather among than to remain rable thalbor: bmercifull cr of the battell,

The lords gentle submission, with a large promise.

The king went to Bertha.

Rogers punished.

Furious men brought vnto Bertha.

A great number of vagabonds were iudged to die.

The lords haue licence to depart.

The Danes seek for reuenge old losses.

The Danes take the sea to go into Albion.

The Danes arrive at the red head, or red Bzaies in Angus.

The Danes continue into England.

King Kenneth his man in array.

The king exhorteth the Scots vnto valiantnesse.

They could not for to follow him.

They could not for to follow him.

The order of the Scottish battell array.

The Danes to the advantage of a hill mountaine.

The Scots to the battell.

Some thought best to land in Scotland.

The Danes do land at Mountros.

Mountros taken, and all within was slain.

The Danes come to the riuer of Tait.

King Kenneth gathered a great armie.

They laid siege before Bertha.

into Luncart a village not far distant from the river of Eate, famous ever after, by reason of the battell fought then nere unto the same. The Danes hearing that the Scots were come, detracted no time, but forthwith prepared to give battell.

Kenneth as soon as the same was by, beholding the Danes at hand, quicklie brought his armie to order. When requiring them earnestlie to shew their manhood, he promisseth to release them of all tributes and payments due to the kings coffers for the space of five yeares next ensuing: and besides that he offered the summe of ten pounds, or else lands so much worth in value to everie one of his armie, that should bring him the head of a Dane. He willed them therefore to fight manfully, and to remember there was no place to attaine mercie; for either must they trie it out by dint of sword, or else if they fled, in the end to looke for present death at the enemies hands, who would not cease till time they had found them forth, into what place so ever they resorted for refuge, if they chanced to be vanquished. The Scots being not a little encouraged by the kings words, kept their order of battell according as they were appointed, still looking when the onset should be given. Malcolme Dasse prince of Cumberland led the right wing of the Scots; and Duncane lieutenant of Atholl the left: King Kenneth himselfe governed the battell. The enemies on the other part had taken their ground at the foot of a little mountaine right afore against the Scottish campe. Thus both the armies stood readie ranged in the field, beholding either other a good space, till at length the Scots desirous of battell, and doubting least the Danes would not come forth to anie even ground, advanced forward with somewhat more hast than the case required, beginning the battell with shot, and throwing of darts right freshlie.

The Danes being backed with the mountaine, were constrained to leave the same, and with all speed to come forward upon their enemies, that by joining they might avoid the danger of the Scottish mens arrowes and darts: by this meanes therefore they came to hand-strokes, in maner before the signe was given on either part to the battell. The fight was ruel on both sides: and nothing hindered the Scots so much, as going about to cut off the heads of the Danes, ever as they might overcome them. Which maner being noted of the Danes, and perceiving that there was no hope of life but in victorie, they rushed forth with such violence upon their adversaries, that first the right, and then after the left wing of the Scots, was constrained to retire and flee backe, the middle-ward stoutly yet keeping their ground: but the same stood in such danger, being now left naked on the sides, that the victorie must needs have remained with the Danes, had not a renewer of the battell come in time, by the appointment (as is to be thought) of almightie God.

For as it chanced, there was in the next field at the same time an husbandman, with two of his sons busie about his worke, named Haie, a man strong and stiffe in making and shape of bodie, but indued with a valiant courage. This Haie beholding the king with the most part of the nobles, fighting with great valiance in the middle ward, now destitute of the wings, and in great danger to be oppressed by the great violence of his enemies, caught a plow-beame in his hand, and with the same exhorting his sonnes to do the like, hasted towards the battell, there to die rather amongst other in defense of his countrie, than to remaine alive after the discomfiture in miserable thraldome and bondage of the cruell and most unmercifull enemies. There was nere to the place of the battell, a long lane fenced on the sides with dit-

ches and walles made of turfe, through the which the Scots which fled were beaten downe by the enemies on heapes.

Here Haie with his sonnes, supposing they might best staie the flight, placed themselves overthwart the lane, beat them backe whome they met fleeing, and spared neither friend nor fo: but downe they went all such as came within their reach, therewith diverse hardie personages cried unto their fellows to returne backe unto the battell, for there was a new power of Scottishmen come to their succours, by whose aid the victorie might be easilie obtained of their most cruell adversaries the Danes: therefore might they chafe whether they would be slaine of their olde felowes coming to their aid, or to returne againe to fight with the enemies. The Danes being here staied in the lane by the great valiance of the father and the sonnes, thought verely there had bene some great succors of Scots come to the aid of their king, and thereupon ceasing from further pursute, fled backe in great disorder unto the other of their fellows fighting with the middle ward of the Scots.

The Scots also that before was chased, being encouraged herewith, pursued the Danes unto the place of the battell right fiercelie. Whereupon Kenneth perceiving his people to be thus recomforted, and his enemies partlie abashed, called upon his men to remember their duties, and now with their adversaries hearts began (as they might perceive) to faint, he willed them to follow upon them manfully, which if they did, he assured them that the victorie undoubtedly should be theirs. The Scots encouraged with the kings words, laid about them so earnestlie, that in the end the Danes were constrained to forsake the field, and the Scots egerlie pursuing in the chase, made great slaughter of them as they fled. This victorie turned highlie to the praise of the Scottish nobilitie, the which fighting in the middle ward, bare still the byunt of the battell, continuing manfullie therein even to the end. But Haie, who in such wise (as is before mentioned) staied them that fled, causing them to returne againe to the field, deserved immortall fame and commendation: for by his meanes chiefly was the victorie achieved. And therefore on the morrow after, when the spoile of the field and of the enemies campe (which they had left void) should be divided, the chiefest part was bestowed on him and his two sonnes, by consent of all the multitude; the residue being divided amongst the souldiers and men of warre, according to the ancient custome used amongst this nation.

The king having thus vanquished his enemies, as he should enter into Bertha, caused coslie robes to be offered unto Haie and his sonnes, that being richlie clad, they might be the more honoured of the people: but Haie refusing to change his apparell, was contented to go with the king in his old garments whether it pleased him to appoint. So entring with the king into Bertha, he was received with little lesse honor than the king himselfe, all the people running forth to behold him, whome they heard to haue so valiantlie rescued the battell, when the field was in maner lost without hope of all recoverie. At his entring into the towne he bare on his shoulder the plow-beame, more honourable to him than anie sword or battell are might haue bene to anie the most valiant warrior. Thus Haie being honored of all estates, within certeine daies after, at a counsell holden at Seane, it was ordeined, that both he and his posteritie should be accepted amongst the number of the chiefest nobles and piers of the realme, being rewarded (besides monie and other great gifts) with lands and revenues, such as he should chuse sufficient

Haie staied the Scots from running away

The Scots were open to their battell againe.

The Danes fled towards their fellows in great disorder.

Kenneth called upon his men to remember their duties.

The Danes forsake the fields.

The spoile is divided.

Haie refused coslie garments.

The king came to Bertha.

Haie is made one of the nobilitie.

He had reuenues assigned to him.

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The falcon
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He had
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Civil wars
in Scotland.

In other com-
mon in
Permes by
Cruthlin.

Cruthlin
sought for his
grandfather.

Two of his
servants were
slaine.

They set by-
on Cruthlin
also.

Cruthlin
was instiga-
ted to revenge

He killed all
them that
were in the
castell.

It is said, that by the counsell of his sonnes, who knew the fruitfulness of the soile, he did aske so much ground in those parts where the river of Tair runs by the towne of Arrore ouer against Fife, as a falcon would flie ouer at one flight. Which request being freely granted of the king, the place was appointed at Inshirre for the falcon to be cast off: the which taking his flight from thence, neuer lighted till the came to a great stone nere a villiage called Koffe, not passing foure miles from Dundee. By which meanes all that countrie which lieth betwixt Inshirre aforesaid, and the said stone (being almost six miles in length, and foure in breadth) fell vnto Haie and his sons. The name of the stone also being called the falcons stone to this daie, doth cause the thing better to be beleued, and well nere all the foz said ground still continueth in the possession of the Haies euen vnto this day. Besides this, to the further honoring of his name, the king gaue him armes three scutchons gules in a field of silver, a plowbrame added thereto, which he used in stead of a battell are, when he fought so valiantlie in defense of his owne countrie. Thus had the Haies their beginning of nobilitie, whose house hath attained vnto great estimation of honor, and hath bene decozated with the office of the constableship of Scotland, by the bounteous beneuolence of kings that succeeded. These things happened in the first yere of king Kenneth.

In the residue of the time that he reigned, though there chanced no great businesse by fozren enemies, yet by civil sedition the state of the realme was wonderfullie disquieted. First a companie of Berns of the westerne Isles inuading Koffe, to the intent to haue fetcht a bottie, were met withall by the waite and ouerthrowne by the inhabitants of that countrie. After this sturre, another followed, farre more dangerous to the whole state of the common-welth, raised by one Cruthlin, one of the chiefest lords of the Permes, who was sonne vnto a certaine ladie named Fenella, the daughter of one Cruthneth, that was gouernor of that part of Angus which lieth betwixt the two riuers, the one called Southesk, and the other Northesk. So it chanced, that on a time Cruthlin came vnto the castell of Delbogin to see his grandfather, the said Cruthneth as then lieng in the same: where vpon light occasion a frate was begun amongst the seruingmen, in the which two of Cruthlins seruants fortunied to be slaine. Which iniurie when Cruthlin declared by waie of complaint vnto his grandfather, he was so slenderlie heard, and answered in such reprochfull wise, as though he himselfe had bin the author of the busines, so that Cruthneths seruants perceiuing how little he was regarded of their master, fell vpon him and beat him, that not without danger of life he brake forth of their hands, and hardlie escaped away.

In his returne homewards, he came to his mother Fenella, where she lay within the castell of Fethricarne, the chiefest fortresse of all the Permes. Where being incensed through his mothers instigation, being a woman of a furious nature, he attempted forthwith to be reuenged of the iniurie receiued: so that assembling a number of his friends and kind folks so secretlie as he might together, with a band of the inhabitants of the Permes, he entereth into Angus, and coming vnto the castell of Delbogin in the night season, was suffered to enter by the keepers of the gate, nothing suspecting anie treason in the world, by reason wherof was Cruthneth suddenly oppressed, the house sacked and rased, not one that was found within the same being left alieue. The spoile also was diuided by Cruthlin amongst them which came with him. The next day likewise he for-

raied the countrie all there abouts, returning home with a great bottie.

They of Angus prouoked herewith, rested not long; but assembling themselves together inuaded the countrie of Permes, where making great slaughter on each side, they left the countrie void almost both of men and cattell. Thus did the people of those two countries pursue the warre one against another a certaine time, with daile incursions and waiking of either others countries, in such cruell wise, that it was thought the one of them must needs shortly come to utter destruction, if speedie remedie were not the sooner prouided. The king being informed of this mischief and great trouble, which was fallen out through sedition amongst those his subiects, he made proclamation by an herald, that those of Angus and Permes, whom he understood to be culpable, should appeare within fiftene daies after at Scone, there to make answer afoze appointed iudges, to such things as might be laid to their charge, vpon paine of death to euerie one that made default. When the day of appearance came, there were but few that did appeare.

The most part of them doubting to be punished for their offenses with Cruthlin the capitaine, fled out of Permes, taking with them their wiues, and their children, and all their goods. The king being sore moued herewith, perceiued how readie the Scottish people were by nature vnto rebellion, when they were gentlie used: and againe how they obeyed the magistrates best when they were restrained from their wild outragious doings by due punishment and execution of iustice. He considered therefore that if he did not cause those seditions rebels which had thus disobeyed his commandements to be punished according to the order of the lawes, he should haue the whole realme shortly disquieted with civil warre and open rebellion. Wherevpon with all speed he caused earnest pursuit to be made after Cruthlin, and the residue of the offenders, the which at length being taken in Lochquahar, were brought vnto a castell in Galloway called Dounfinnam, where after iudgement pronounced against them, Cruthlin first, and then other the chiefest stirrers on either side were put to execution. The commons, for that it was thought they followed their superiors against their willes, were pardoned and licenced to depart to their houses.

For this equitie shewed in ministering iustice by the king, he was greatly praised, loued, and bread of all his subiects; so that great quietnesse followed in the state of the common-wealthe, greatlie to the advancement thereof, and so continued till the 22 yere of this Kenneths reigne. At that time the blind loue he bare to his owne issue, caused him to procure a detestable fact, in making away one of his nextest kinsmen. This was Malcolme the sonne of king Duffe, created in the beginning of Kenneths reigne prince of Cumberland, by reason wherof he ought to haue succeeded in rule of the kingdom after Kenneths death. Whereat the same Kenneth greiuing not a little, for that thereby his sonnes should be kept from inhering the crowne, found meanes to poison him. But though the physicians vnderstanding by such euident signes as appeared in his bodie, that he was poisoned indeed, yet such was the opinion which men had of the kings honor and integritie, that no suspicion at all was conceiued that it should be his deed.

The cloked loue also which he had shewed toward him at all times, and so sudden commandement giuen by him vpon the first newes of his death, that his funerals should be celebrated in euerie church and chappell for his soule; and againe, the teares which he shed

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sed for him, in all places where any mention chan-
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sained by the death of so wortheie a prince, made men
nothing mistrustfull of the matter, till at length some
of the nobles perceiving the outward sorrow (which he
made) to passe the true griefe of the heart, began to
gather some suspition, that all was not well: but yet
because no certaintie appeared, they kept their
thoughts to themselves. About the same time came
ambassadors forth of England from king Edward
the sonne of Edgar (which after through treason of
his stepmother Escolda, was made a martyr) requi-
ring that sith Malcolm the prince of Cumberland
was deceased, it might please the king with the
states of the realme to chuse some other in his place,
who doing his homage unto the king of England,
according as it was covenanted by the league,
might be a meane to confirme the same league be-
twixt the two nations for the avoiding of all occa-
sions of breach thereof that otherwise happlie might
ensue.

0 Kenneth at the same time held a councill at
D Scorne, where hauing heard the request of these am-
bassadors, in presense of all his nobles, he answered
that he was glad to vnderstand that king Edward
was so carefull for maintenance of loue and amitie
betwixt his subiects and the Scottishmen, according
to the articles of the ancient league in times past
concluded betwixt them, the ratification whereof for
his part he likewise most earnestlie desired, and
therefore in rendering most heartie thanks vnto
him for his gentle aduertisement, he purposed by the
advisse of his nobles, and the other estates of his
realme as then there assembled, to elect a new prince
of Cumberland, without anie further delaie: and
thereupon required the ambassadoz to be present on
the morrow, to heare what he was whom the nobles
should name to be preferred vnto that dignitie. The
ambassadors hereupon departing south of the coun-
cell chamber, were conueied to their lodging by di-
uerse of the nobilitie that were appointed to keepe
them companie.

Then Keneeth with a long oration went about to perswade the peeres, and other the estates of the realme there (as I said) assembled, to alter the custome and ancient order vsed by their elders in choosing of him that should succede in the gouernance of the realme, after the deceasse of him that was in possession. He vsed so manie reasons as was possible for him to deuise in that behalfe, thereby to induce them to his purpose, which was to haue an act established for the crowne to go by succession, onelie to this end, that one of his sonnes might inioy the same immediatlie after his deceasse. He declared also what discommodities, seditions, and great inconueniences had growne, in that the crowne had gone in times past by election: for though it was ordeined at the first that it should so doe, vpon a good intent and great consideration, yet in proccesse of time prooue and experience had shewed, that moze hindrance happened vnto the common-wealth thereby (beside the danger euer insuing incidentlie vnto such issue as the king left behind him) than profit, if the sundrie murders, occasions of ciuill discord, and other wicked practises were throughlie breied and considered, the summe whereof he recited from point to point, and so in the end with great instance brought them, that so pernicious a custome might be abolished and taken away, to the great benefit of the whole state of the realme, speciallie sith in all realmes commonlie the order was, that the sonne should without anie contradiction succede the father in the heritage of the crowne and kinglie estate.

The king had no sooner made an end of his long

oration, which he handled after the pithiest sort he could, but that diuerſe of the noble men which were there amongſt other, being made priuite to the matter aforehand, motioned meanes to haue Malcolme the ſon of Kenneth created prince of Cumberland, that he might ſo haue an entrance to the crowne after the deceaſſe of his father. This motion by and by was in manie of their mouthes, which Kenneth perceiuing, he required of the moſt ancient peers whome they would name to be prince of Cumberland, that there might be a means to ratifie and confirme the league betwixt the Scots and Engliſh men, Conſtantine the ſonne of king Cullin, and Grime the nephew of king Duſſe by his brother Hogall: howbeit by the force of the former law they might by good reaſon haue looked to haue had the preferment themſelues.

But yet perceiving it was in vaine to denie that which would be had by violence (although they should neuer so much stand against it) being first demanded of the herald what they thought, they answered (notwithstanding against their minds indeed) that the king might order all things as should stand with his pleasure, appointing whom he thought most meet to be prince of Cumberland, and to abrogate the ancient law of creating the kings, devising new ordinances for the same, as should seeme unto him and those of his counsell most requisite and necessarie. The multitude then following their sentence, cried with loud & undiscreet voices, to haue Malcolme the sonne of king Kenneth created prince of Cumberland. And thus the same Malcolme (though as yet vnder age) was by the voices of the people ordeined prince of Cumberland, in place of the other Malcolme sonne to king Duffe. The daie next following, the ambassadors comming into the counsell chamber, heard what was decreed touching their request, and then being highly rewarded of the kings bountious liberalitie, they returned into England, and Malcolme with them, to be acquainted with king Edward, and to doe his homage for the principalltie of Cumberland, as the custom was.

At the same time also there was a new act devised and made, the old being abrogated (by the appointment of the king) for the creation of the Scottish kings in time to come, made of the nobles rather consenting with silence, than greatly allowing it either in hearts or voices, though some curri-fauncers among them set forward the matter to the best of their powers. The articles of this ordinance were these. The eldest heire male of the deceased king, whether the same were sonne or nephue, of what age soever he should be, yea though he should be in the mothers wombe at the time of the fathers deceasse, should from thence forth succeed in the kingdome of Scotland. The nephue by the sonne should be preferred before the nephue by the daughter, in attaining to the heritage of the crowne. And likewise the brothers sonne should be admitted before the sisters son. The same law should be observed of all such of the Scottish nation, as had anie lands or inheritance comming to them by descent. Where the king by this meanes chanced to be under age, & not able to rule, there should be one of the chiefeest pées of the realme chosen and elected to haue the gouernance of his person and realme, till he came to 14 yées of age. The which foureteenth yée of his age being accomplished, he should haue the administration committed to his owne hands. The heires of all other persons of ech estate and degree should remaine under the wardship of their appointed gouernors, till they came to the age of 21 yées, and not till then to meddle with anie part of their lands and liuings.

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King Kenneth
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justice trulie.

The good will
of the nobilitie
he bought
with gifts.

The king had
a gittie confes-
sion.

A voice heard
by the king.

The king
confesseth his
sinnis.

The king taketh
great re-
pentance.

The king
went to For-
dune in pil-
grimage.
He parke with
wild beasts at
the castell of
Fethircarne.

Fenella was
of kin unto
Malcolme.

These lawes and ordinances being once published and confirmed, king Kenneth supposed the kingdome to be fullie assured unto him and his posteritie, and thereupon indued himselfe to win the hearts of the people with upright administration of iustice, and the fauour of the nobles he sought to purchase with great gifts which he bestowed amongst them, as well in lands belonging to the crowne, as in other things greatlie to their contentation. Thus might he seeme happie to all men, hauing the loue both of his lords and commons: but yet to himselfe he seemed most unhappie, as he that could not but still liue in continuall feare, least his wicked practise concerning the death of Malcolme Duffe should come to light and knowledge of the world. For so cometh it to passe, that such as are pricked in conscience for anie secret offense committed, haue euer an vnquiet mind. And (as the same goeth) it chanced that a voice was heard as he was in bed in the night time to take his rest, uttering vnto him these or the like words in effect: 20
"Thinke not Kenneth that the wicked slaughter of Malcolme Duffe by thee continued, is kept secret from the knowledge of the eternall God: thou art he that didst conspire the innocents death, enterprising by traitorous meanes to do that to thy neighbour, which thou wouldest haue reuenged by cruell punishment in anie of thy subiects, if it had bene offered to thy selfe. It shall therefore come to passe, that both thou thy selfe, and thy issue, through the iust vengeance of almightie God, shall suffer worthie punishment, to the infamie of thy house and familie for euermore. For euen at this present are there in hand secret practises to dispatch both thee and thy issue out of the waie, that other maie intop this kingdome which thou dost endeavour to assure vnto thine issue.

The king with this voice being stricken into great dread and terror, passed that night without anie sleepe comming in his eyes. Wherefore in the morning he got him vnto bishop Spouean, a man of great holinesse of life, vnto whome he confessed his heinous and most wicked offense, beseeching him of counsell, which waie he might obtaine pardon and forgiveness at Gods hands by worthie penance. Spouean hearing how the king bewailed his offense committed, he willed him to be of good comfort. For as the wrath of almightie God was prouoked by sinne and wicked offenses, so was the same pacified againe by repentance, if so be we continue penitent and willing to amend. King Kenneth being confirmed in hope of forgiveness by these and sundrie other the like comfortable words of the bishop, studied vnfeinably to do worthie penance, leauing nothing vndone which he thought might serue for a witnesse of his penitent hart, thereby to auoid the vengeance which he stood in feare of to be prepared for him, by reason of his heinous and wicked crime.

It chanced hereupon, that within a short time after he had bene at Fordune, a towne in Hernes, to visit the reliks of Valadius which remaine there, he turned a little out of the waie to lodge at the castell of Fethircarne, where as then there was a forrest full of all manner of wild beasts that were to be had in anie part of Albion. Here was he receiued by Fenella ladie of the house, whose son (as ye haue heard) he caused to be put to death, for the commotion made betwixt them of Hernes and Angus. She was also of kin vnto Malcolme Duffe, whome the king had made awaie, and in like manner vnto Constantine and Grime, defrauded of their right to the crowne, by the craftie deuise of the king (as before is partly mentioned.) This woman therefore being of a stout stomach, long time before hauing conceined an immortal grudge towards the king, vpon the occasions before rehearsed (namelie as well for the death of

his sonne Cruthlunt, as hauing some inkling also of the impoisoning of Malcolme Duffe, though no full certentie therof was knowne) imagined might and day how to be reuenged.

She understood that the king delighted aboue measure in goodlie buildings, and therefore to the end to compasse his malicious intent, she had caused a tower to be made, joining vnto his owne lodging within the foresaid castell of Fethircarne. The which tower was couered ouer with copper finelie ingrauen with diuerse flowers and images. Where to was it hanging within with rich cloths of arras wrought with gold and silke, verie faire and costlie. Behind the same were there crossebowes set ready bent with sharpe quarrels in them. In the midst of the house there was a goodlie bafen image also, resembling the figure of king Kenneth, holding in the one hand a faire golden apple set full of precious stones, denised with such art and cunning, that so soone as anie man should draw the same vnto him, or remove it neuer so little anie waie forth, the crossebowes would immediatlie discharge their quarrels vpon him with great force and violence.

Fenella therefore being thus prouided aforehand, after meate desired the king to go with him into that inner chamber, into the which being entered, he could not be satisfide of long with the beholding of the goodlie furniture, as well of the hangings as of diuerse other things. At the last hauing viewed the image which stood (as is said) in the midst of the chamber, he demanded what the same did signifie: Fenella answered, how that image did represent his person, and the golden apple set so richlie with smaragds, iacints, sapphires, topases, rubies, turkasses, and such like precious stones, she had prouided as a gift for him, and therefore required him to take the same, beseeching him to accept it in good part, though it were not in value worthie to be offered vnto his princelie honor and high dignitie. And here with the himselfe withdrew aside, as though she would haue taken some thing forth of a chest or coffer, thereby to auoid the danger.

But the king delighted in beholding the gems and orient stones, at length removing the apple, the better to aduise it, incontinentlie the crossebowes discharged their quarrels so directlie vpon him, that striking him through in sundrie places, he fell downe stark dead, and lay flat on the ground. Fenella as soone as she beheld him fall to the ground ready to die, she got forth by a backe doore into the next woods, where she had appointed horses to carie for him, by meanes whereof she escaped out of all danger of them that pursued him, per the death of the king were openlie knowne vnto them. His seruants still waiting for his comming forth in the vpper chamber, at length when they saw he came not at all, first they knocked at the doore soflie, then they rapped hard thereat: lastlie, doubting that which had happened, they brake open doore after doore, till at length they came into the chamber where the king lay cold dead vpon the floore.

The clamor and crye hereupon was raised by his seruants, and Fenella cursed and sought for in euerie place, that had committed so heinous and wicked a deed: but the vngatious woman was conueied so secretlie out of the waie, that no where could she be heard of. Some supposed that she fled first vnto Constantine, by whose helpe she got ouer into Ireland. The ambitious desire which the same Constantine shewed he had to succeed in government of the kingdome after Kenneths deceasse, increased that suspicion greatlie. For immediatlie after it was known that Kenneth was dead, he got his friends together, and went vnto diuerse places requiring the lords to

She was
lousie
revenge.

Fenella
malicious
intent.

Crossebowes
ready bent,
hidden.

Fenella had
the king into
the inner
chamber.

The king
was slain
with the crosse
bowes.

Fenella
climbed
from the
wall.

His seruants
looked for the
king.

The doores
broken open,
they find him
dead.

Fenella could
not be found.

Fenella got
herselfe into
Ireland by
the helpe of
Constantine.

Constantine
aspired vnto
the crowne.

amid him in at-
tendance and
beginning, and
one by his pri-
uogate the same
the world verie

Constantine
by their me-
realme, he was
there crowned
ceasse, in the 23
had begun his
the päre of our
piere (as is said
well in Albion,
the sands on the
multitude of all
such a filthie sau-
faced, great dea-
red of a bloudie
that beheld it. It
failed, and catte-
not bene more
med to be, the p-
places. In Albi-
But all these d-
draw the Scot-
wherevnto in the
though there w-
well bishops as
the people to r-
nings: for other
and tokens as
great mischiefes
suerlie their wo-
tinuing in their
one against an-
danger of vtt-
Malcolme th-

haue heard in
berland, hearin-
dinance latelie
some as his fat-
with such fune-
his fathers frie-
as they thought
best to worke
begun, by real-
attempt. The
nie that toke
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suddenlie to g-
himselfe from
were prouided
that feigned th-
take him, so m-
mies at hand
their hands, o-
gard of his lif-

The fierce
the best to his
wit than to th-
bled together
ten thousand
Constantine
into Louthia
his aduerfari-
huge power

amst him in attaining to the crowne, which by the old ordinance and law of the realme (instituted in the beginning, and obserued till now of late; that Kenneth by his private authoritie had gone about to abrogate the same) ought to descend vnto him, as all the world berie well understood.

Constantine procured friends so on each side, that by their meanes being of high authoritie in the realme, he was brought by them vnto Scone, and there crowned king the 12 day after Kenneths deceasse, in the 25 yeere after that the same Kenneth had begun his reigne ouer the Scottis men, and in the yeere of our saluation a thousand iust, in the which yeere (as is said) sundrie vnkinde fights were scene as well in Albion, as in other places. The sea left vpon the sands on the coasts of Buchquane; an infinite multitude of fishes, the which lying there dead, caused such a filthy saour, that the aire being therewith infected, great death of people ensued. The mane appeared of a bloudie colour, to the great terror of them that beheld it. In the summer next following, come failed, and cattell died to generallie, that if there had not bene more plentie of fish got than was accustomed to be, the people had bene famished in manie places. In Albion and also France it rained stones. But all these dreadfull wonders might not with draw the Scottis men from their wicked vices, wherevnto in those daies they were wholly giuen, though there wanted not diuerse vertuous men, as well bishops as other, that in their sermons exhorted the people to repent and amend their naughty linings: for other wise vndoubtedlie such grislie sights and tokens as chanced in those daies, menaced some great mischief to fall vnto the whole nation. And suerlie their words proued true: for the Scots continuing in their wilfulnesse, being stubborne harted one against another, brought their countrie into danger of utter destruction.

Malcolme the sonne of Kenneth, created (as ye haue heard in his fathers life time) prince of Cumberland, hearing that Constantine (against the ordinance lately made) had usurped the crowne, as sone as his fathers bodie was buried in Colmekill, with such funerall pompe as appertained, he desired his fathers friends to giue him such faithfull counsell as they thought most expedient, which way he were best to walke for the appeasing of the sedition now begun, by reason of Constantines presumptuous attempt. There were some amongst that compaignie that toke it to be best, first to vnderstand the minds of all the peeres and nobles of the realme, before they went about anie exploit against the tyrant; least whilst Malcolme should seeke to deliuer himselfe from danger, he might hapilie bind himselfe further into trouble, than without extreame perill of the common wealth he should be able to get forth thereof againe. Other there were that iudged it best suddenlie to go against Constantine before he made himselfe strong: for if they came vpon him yet he were prouided for their coming, manie of them that feigned themselves to be his friends, would forsake him, so sone as they saw anie power of his enemies at hand. And then should he either fall into their hands, or be driven to flee the realme for safeguard of his life.

The fierce young man following this counsell as the best to his seeming, & trusting more to his owne wit than to the graue aduise of men of skill, assembled together in all hast possible about the number of ten thousand men, with whome making towards Constantine with speedie fornicies, at length he came into Louthian. Constantine being informed of all his aduersaries doings, had gotten together also an huge power, so that passing forth with the same to

incounter them, the hate which ran of his great number and puissance, caused Malcolme for verie feare that he should not be able in anie part to match him, to breake vp his armie, and to flee backe into Cumberland: by reason wherof he had bene put to such hinderance and dishonour, as would not easilie haue bene recovered, had not Kenneth the bastard sonne of his father the aboue mentioned Kenneth incamped with a mightie power about Sterling, & defended the passages of the Forth, that Constantine with his armie could not come ouer. Then rose there great famine and penurie of vittels in both hostis, so that Constantine with great indignation was constrained to breake vp his campe, and so to leaue his enterpryse for that season.

Thus was the realme diuided into two sundrie factions, whereupon followed wastings and incursions made into each others possessions, with such crueltie, that the same might be a sufficient instruction what mischief happeneth through ciuill discord. The poore commons and husbandmen were brought to such miserie through the often spoilings and robberies vsed by the men of warre, that they were not able to till their grounds. Finally, there rose one mischief so fast in the necke of an other, that no kind of crueltie was spared, robbing, reauing, and forcible extortion was exercised on all sides without hope of anie redresse or amendment. Whilst the Scottis men were thus at diuision amongst themselves, renting and pulling in peeces their owne miserable native countrie, Edward king of England being oppressed with inuasion of Danes, was glad to buye peace at their hands, for himselfe and his people, with right large summes of monie; but perceiving that his enemies ceased not daillie to spoile and rob his subiects, he purposed to trie what he might doe by making them warre: and to make his part the stronger, he required Malcolme prince of Cumberland to aid him against the Danes, according to the couenant of the ancient league. Malcolme consenting to it, Edwards request, came with a mightie armie of Cumberland men to support him: by reason wherof the Danes doubting to be ouermatched, after certaine light skirmishes, without anie great bloodshed, condescended to haue peace, which was concluded with these conditions: that king Edward should paie vnto the Danes a thousand pounds of gold, for the which they should content themselves with those lands which they had alreadie in possession, and to inuade no further vpon the Englishmen; but contrariwise to be readie to fight in their defense, if anie forreine enemy sought to make anie warres vpon them. In the meane time, whilst Malcolme was thus in England occupied in aid of king Edward against the Danes, king Constantine thought the time to serue verie well for his purpose, to reduce all those regions of Scotland, which toke part with his aduersarie (the foresaid Malcolme) vnder his subiection.

He assembled therefore twentie thousand men, and comming into Louthian, heard how Kenneth the bastard aforesaid (being left by his brother Malcolme to resist Constantines attempts) had got together an huge armie of his brothers friends, and was come vnto Crabmond, where the riuer falleth into the Forth, three miles from Edinburgh, purposing there to abide his enemies, if they minded to assaile him. Constantine hereupon hastened thitherwards, and comming within sight of his enemies, straightwaies ioined battell with them; immediatlie therewith there rose such an outrageous tempest of wind, comming out of the east, & driving the sand in the faces of Constantines men, that they were not able to see about them to make anie defense against

Malcolme thought himselfe too weak

Lacke of vittels caused Constantine to breake vp his campe.

King Edward, or rather Ethelred, purchased peace of the Danes.

Malcolme is ready to helpe king Edward against the Danes.

King Edward made peace with the Danes.

King Constantine renewed warre with Malcolme.

Constantine ioined battell with Kenneth the bastard.

of his good title and right, which he had to the crowne descended vnto him by the old lawes and ancient ordinances of the realme, and therefore he purposed not to leaue the same with life, but to fight for it against Malcolme, and all his partakers, euen vnto death. But if it were so, that Malcolme would content himselfe with the principallitie of Cumberland, and so thereupon breake vp his campe, and depart forth of the lands pertaining vnto the crowne, he would gladly come to a communication with him for peace; but if Malcolme refused thus to doe, he assured him that he would not leaue off to pursue him to the uttermost of his power, as his most cruell and fierce enemy.

Fothadus hauing heard Grimes words, besought him to staie a tyme, till he might go vnto Malcolme, to vnderstand what his full mind was in this behalfe not doubting but to find him conformable vnto anie reasonable motion, for relieuing of the poore afflicted state of the land. Grime granting vnto this request, Fothadus in like sort and habit as he came vnto Grime, went vnto Malcolme, whome he found at Sderling; where comming before his presence with a long oration, he greatlie bewailed the dolorous calamities of the Scottish common-wealth, into the which it was fallen through ciuill sedition onlie, and herewith declared also by great likelihood of substantiall reasons, how infortunat and miserable the end should be of the warres, if the same were pursued to the uttermost. His tale being throughlie heard and well digested, wrought so with Malcolme, that he promised to withdraw into Cumberland without anie further attempt, if Grime would in like case breake by his campe, and agree to haue a truce for thre moneths space, in which meane time they might by certeine commissioners appointed and authorized thereto, talke and common for concluding of a small peace and concord betwixt them.

Grime refused not this offer, and so thereupon licenced his people to depart to their homes, repairing himselfe with certeine of his nobles into Angus vnto the castell of Fozfar, there to take further aduise what was to be done touching the appointed communication of peace. But Fothadus would in no wise rest, till the commissioners were met and assembled together in communication at Scone, where within few daies after (chiefie through his earnest diligence) peace was concluded with these conditions. First, that Grime during his life time should inioy the crowne, and after his decesse the same to remaine to Malcolme & his heirs by lineall descent for euer, according to the ordinance & decree made & established by K. Kenneth. And whosoever should go about either by word or deed to impeach or hinder the said ordinance and decree, should be reputed for a traitor to the common-wealth & realme. Furthermore all the lands lieng betwixt Louthian & Northumberland, and betwixt Clide and Telfermerland, euen from the Almaine seas to the Irish seas, should presentlie remaine & be transported vnto the dominion & gouernment of Malcolme, with the which contenting himselfe, during the naturall life of Grime, he should continue in friendship with the said Grime, & so in no wise stirre or moue anie warre or debate, either against him or anie of his friends: for if he did, and went about to breake anie of the articles of this peace, he should not onelie lose those lands which he now held, but also be deprived of all the right, title, claime, and interest which either he or his posteritie might make or pretend vnto the crowne at anie time hereafter.

When both the princes had bound themselves by solemn othes to perfoyme euerie point and points in these articles comprised, they laid armes aside,

and began to take order for reforming of all misdoemeanours, which had happened within the land, by reason of the ciuill contention moued betwixt them and their partakers. Whomebeit, commandement was giuen by either of these princes, that their subjects should be still in a readinesse with armour and weapons (if need required) to defend themselves against all sudden inuasions of their neighbours, whereby it may be gathered, that the one had the other still in some mistrust, what countenance soeuer they shewed outwardlie. Yet notwithstanding, for the space of 8 yeares together, the peace continued without breach, or any notable trouble betwixt them.

But Grime at length of a chaff & liberall prince, through long slouth and increase of riches, became a most couetous tyrant, and so corrupted in maners and conditions, that it passed the bounds of all reason and equitie: insomuch that when he had put vnto death diuerse of his nobles, to the end he might haue their lands and goods as forfeited by attainder, he oppressed the people by continuall exactions also each day more than other. His subjects being thus brought into extreame miserie through his wicked and vniust gouernement, not knowing where to seeke for redresse, saue onelie at the hands of almighty God, the punisher of all sinne, besought him to haue pitie of their afflictions and miseries, and to change the gouernment of the realme into some better state. The lords also hauing great indignation of the trouble fallen to the realme, by the kings misgouernance and auaricious crueltie, appointed a certeine number of gentlemen to go vnto him as ambassadors from them, to require him to put awaie from him such naughtie persons as by euill counsell had peruerterd his mind, & moued him to doe things contrarie to his honor, and the wealth of his realme.

One of these ambassadors (to whome the charge was giuen) had the words in name of them all, who comming before the kings presence, declared to him that they were sent from the residue of the nobles and peres of his realme, to admonish him of things pertaining to the suertie of his estate, and common wealth of his dominions: which was, that whereas through peruersion of euill counsellors he suffered manie enormities to be committed by his ministers and officers against his subjects, to their utter impoverishment and bndowing, the rebuke wherof did rebound vnto his dishonour, if it would please him to remoue out of his presence and seruice all such disloyall persons as sought the hinderance of the common-wealth, he should win thereby the loue of all his liege subjects, which now could not but grudge and repine at this his gouernement, as men by the same brought into such calamitie, that better it were for them in their iudgements to be dead than aliue, if reformation were not the sooner had against such extortions as his seruants and officers did daillie practise, and for the which no doubt he must needs answer, sith the sword was committed vnto him, not to winch couetous persons, nor to oppress innocent and true dealing people, but contrarie to punish and correct guiltie and vniust dealers.

When king Grime had heard what message these ambassadors had brought, he answered to the same with fained words, and willed them vnder the pretext of courtesie to a banquet, in purpose to haue put them all in prison: but they being aduertised thereof got them in all hast to their hostes, and fled forthwith vnto Bertha, where the residue of the nobles at the same time were assembled. Grime hauing thus no regard to the wholesome aduertisement of his nobles, thought that all things would come forward with such felicitie and hap as he wished, not ceassing from raising new painments and exactions still of

applied their studies to reforme misdoemeanors.

King Grime his alteration from noble qualities vnto detestable vices.

The common peoples prayer

The lords require Grime to reforme the misdoemeanors of his officers.

The office of the sword.

King Grime purposed to haue slaine the messengers.

The lords of Scotland are ere warre against Grime their king.

what mischief ensued.

Malcolme is required to relieve the Scottish estate.

Malcolme consenteth to make warre against Grime.

Grime assembleth an armie to encounter Malcolme. The camps were the one to the other. Grimes policie.

Malcolmes request.

The battell betwixt Grime and Malcolme. Grimes part discomfited.

The end of king Grime.

his subiects, till at length he was advertised how his nobles had raised open warre against him, at which newes being sore kindled with displeasure, he got together a great number of men, and marched forth towards them that had so rebelled against him. When followed more mischief and trouble than ever had bene scene afore that time in Scotland: for by reason of this civil dissention, castles were rased and overthrowne, towncs burned by, coyne destroyed, fields waisted, and the people slaine in all places, yea as well in churches as elsewhere.

Malcolme prince of Cumberland hearing of such cruell wars as were thus raised in Scotland betwixt the king and the nobles of the realme, to the danger of the utter euerion of the whole common-wealth, returned with all speed forth of England (where he was with an armie as then in aid of king Egeldred against the Danes) into his owne countrie for defence of his subiects, if anie attempt should happilie be made against them in that troublesome season. Howbeit, he was no sooner returned home, but the nobles of Louthian came unto him, beseeching him to take pitie vpon his miserable and forne countrie, & to imploie his whole force to remove away from the people such imminent destruction as daile hastened towards them, which to doe they thought it was partlie euen his dutie, sith God had bestowed vpon him such gifts, both of bodie, mind, and fortune, as most pientiously appeared in him, not onlie for the weale of himselfe, but also of his friends & countrie, & therefore his part was to shew his earnest diligence to deliuer the common-wealth of such tyrannie as was practised by the misgouernement of Grime and his unhappie counsellors. Which being done, he might order all things as should like him best.

Malcolme moued with these and the like persuasions of the Scottish lords, which daile reioyced vnto him, resolved with promise of their support to leue warre against Grime in this so necessarie a quarrell, and so assembling a great puissance together, he did set forth towards his aduersarie. By the way also there came still vnto him great numbers of men from each side to aid him in this enterpryse, offering by solenne othes to become his liegemen and subiects. Grime likewise being advertised of those newes, with all speed got together such people as he might assemble for the time, and comming forthward with the same at the towne of Auchnabart, both the armies pitched downe their tents, the one fast by the other, on the Ascension daie. Here Grime supposing that he might take his enemies at some aduantage, if he came vpon them on the sudden, for that being giuen to deuotion, they would loke for nothing lesse than for battell on that daie, he got forth of his campe in the dawning of that morning, in purpose forthwith to assaile them.

Notwithstanding, Malcolme being advertised thereof, sent vnto Grime, requesting him to desist from battell for reuerence of that blessed feast, but Grime would in no wise assent thereto, but nades would come on without stop or staie; wher vpon both the armies rushing together met right fiercelie, so that in the beginning there was great slaughter made on both sides, but within a while king Grimes side was put to the worse, and in the end cleerlie discomfited. In the chase were manie slaine, but yet no such number as so notable a victorie required. It is said that Grime was taken alive standing at defence, & most fiercelie fighting, who being sore wounded in the head, had both his eies put out, and afterwards continuing so in great miserie and languor certaine daies, at length departed out of this life, in the 9 yere of his reigne, and was buried in Colme-

kill, after the incarnation 1010 yeres.

After this victorie thus obtained by Malcolme, he called such noble men as were taken prisoners in this battell before him, vsing manie gentle words toward them, declaring that the right of the crowne appertained vnto him, and that the warres which he had made, were not attempted against the common wealth of the Scottish estate, but rather in reliefe thereof, to the end the people might be deliuered of the tyrannie exercised by Grime and his counsellors. When he had thus vttered his mind vnto them, he appointed a publike assembly to be kept at Scone (for the election of a new king) there to be holden within 15 daies after. Whither the Scottish nobilitie comming together at the time & place appointed, and consenting to crowne Malcolme king, he vtterlie refused to receiue the crowne, except the law established by his father Kenneth for the succession thereof were first confirmed and approued, wher vpon the lords bound themselves by solenne othes to performe the same, and neuer to breake and violate it in anie condition. His request herein being granted with generall consent both of the nobles and commons, the crowne was set vpon his head, he being placed in the chaire of marble, to the great reioysing of all the people present.

When the solemnitie of this coronation was ended, he called before him againe all the lords and peeres of his realme; of the which, part had aided him in the last warres, and part had bene assisstant vnto his aduersarie Grime: and there vied the matter in such wise amongst them, that he made them all friends, each one promising to other to forget all former offenses, displeasures, and controuersies past, which he did to avoid all intestine trouble that might grow out of the rotes of such rancor and malice, as in time of the civil discord had sprung vpon among them. Further, for the better administration of iustice in due forme and maner, he bestowed publike offices vpon discret persons, skilfull in the laws and ordinances of the realme. Other offices pertaining to the warres & defense of the realme, he committed to such as were practised & trained in such exercises, so that iustice was ministred on all sides throughout the kingdome, with such equitie and by rightnesse, as had not bene heard of in anie age before him. Whilist the Scottish estate was gouerned in such happie wise, by the prudent policie of king Malcolme; it chanced that Sueno king of Danes landed in England with a mightie naue, in purpose to reuenge the injuries done before vnto his people by the Englishmen.

This Sueno (as appeareth more at large in the historie of Denmarke) first being an earnest persecutor of christian men, and punished by the diuine prouidence for his crueltie in that behalfe, shewed by sundrie overthrowes receiued at the enemies hands, as in being thise taken prisoner, and in the end driven and expelled out of his kingdome, he came into Scotland for reliefe and succour, where through the wholesome instruction of godlie and vertuous men, he renounced his heathenish belasse, and receiued the christian faith, and being baptised, at length was restored home to his kingdome. Shortly after with a mightie armie of Danes, Gothes, Norwegians, and Swedeners, with other northerne people, he arriued (as is said) in England, and chased king Egeldred into Northumberland, who there receiuing aid from the Scots, according to the league which latelie before he had contracted with them, he determined effronces to trie the chance of battell with his enemies. Marching forwards therefore towards them, he came to the riuer of Wofe, nere to the banks whereof, not farre from Dork, he pitched

1010. A.D. Malcolme king of Scotland to the battell against Grime.

A parliament at Scone.

Malcolme refused the crowne but vpon condition.

The opinion of king Kenneth for the succession of the crowne confirmed.

Malcolme.

Malcolme greatly reioyced in the blessing of his realme.

Malcolme sent some officers.

Malcolme king of Denmark landed in England.

Malcolme carried to the christian faith in Scotland.

Malcolme as the Scots wrote Egeldred chased into Northumberland and from the Scots.

Malcolme as the Scots wrote Egeldred chased into Northumberland and from the Scots.

Malcolme.

Malcolme met the king.

The battell against Egeldred & Sueno.

The English army put to flight by the Danes.

Egeldred was repaid by flight.

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Malcolme.

downe his When pleasures hands, sending them Egeldred cruell battagians, and die bent to fished that into his for a spie. fels ready by dint of rie desirous people in that there ther they neither fit at the first tinning c ter, till at leaving t rie. The great, but men, Eg and passer hands, b ken or la Thus despairing into pored ued of H terwards pormar ter vnto Alured a moze at nercome the whole destroyed the king out anie such as But the determi & falling him in their mi most pu satisfied der what his plea session o onelie t subiectic victors f Su he qual on of th the vict had pur nation wise, as anie ar husband govern resigne holds: Sueno should weapon warre as coin

dolme his tents.

Then Sueno not forgetfull of the benefitts and pleasures receiued but latelie at the Scottishmens hands, sent an herald at armes vnto them, commanding them to depart their waies home, and to refuse Egeldreds compaignie; either else to looke for most cruell battell at the hands of the Danes, the Norwegians, and others the people of Germanie, there ready bent to their destruction. Egeldred being aduertised that his aduersaries messenger was thus come into his campe, caused him to be staied and arrested for a spie. And the same day he brought forth his battels readie ranged into the fields, to trie the matter by dint of sword, if Sueno were so minded: who verie desirous to accept the offer, brought forth also his people in perfect order and well arraied to fight, so that there was no staie on either part, but that together they flic most fiercelie, & in such eger wise, that neither side had leasure to bestow their shot, but euen at the first they buckled together at handblowes, continuing certeine houres with great & cruell slaughter, till at length the Englishmen were put to flight, leauing the Danes a verie deere and bloudie victorie. The murther also that day of the Scots was great, but yet nothing to the number of the Englishmen. Egeldred himselfe with a few other, got a bote and passed ouer Duse, so escaping out of the enemies hands, but the rest were for the most part either taken or slaine.

Thus Egeldred being vtterlie banquished and despairing of all recouerie, fled out of England ouer into Normandie, where he was verie friendlie receiued of Richard as then duke of Normandie, and afterwards purchased such fauour there amongst the Normans, that he married the ladie Emme, daughter vnto the said duke, and begot of hir two sonnes, Alured and Edward, as in the English chronicles more at large it dooth appere. Sueno hauing thus overcome his enemies, and now put in possession of the whole realme of England, was in mind to haue destroyed all the English generation, so to establish the kingdome to him and his posteritie for euer, without anie impeachment afterwards to be made by such as should succed of them that were then alieue. But the nobles of England aduertised of Suenos determination, came humble befoze his presence, & falling doune on their knees at his feet, besought him in most pitifull wise to haue compassion on their miserable estate, who in times past being a most puissant nation, both by sea and land, were now satisfied (if he would grant them life) to continue vnder that bondage and seruitude it should stand with his pleasure to prescribe, for they desired neither possession of castles, towncs, or other sovereignties, but onelie to liue with their wiues and children vnder subiection within their owne native cuntry, at the victors will and appointment.

Sueno, albeit he was of nature verie cruell, yet he qualified his displeasure by this humble submission of the English nobilitie; in such sort, that he used the victorie farre more gentlie, than at the first he had purposed, commanding that the whole English nation should remaine in the cuntry, but in such wise, as by no means they should presume to beare anie armoz or weapon, but to applie themselves vnto husbandrie, and other seruile occupations vnder the gouernement of the Danes, vnto whom they should religne and deliuer all their castles, forts, and strong holds: and taking an oth to be true liege men vnto Sueno, as their soueraigne lord and king; they should bring in (so be deliuered vnto his vse) all their weapons and armoz, with other munition for the warres, also all their gold and siluer, as well in plate as coine. If anie of the Englishmen refused thus to

do, proclamation was made that he should immediatlie lose his life as a rebell and a disobedient person. These conditions were hard, and hardlie vrged. The Englishmen were brought vnto such an extremitie, that they were faine to accept these conditions of peace, for other meane to auoid present death they knew none. And thus was the dominion of England conquered by the Danes, after the Saxons had reigned in the same 564 yeeres.

Such tyrannie also after this was used by the Danes, that none of the English nation was admitted to anie office or rule within the realme, either spirituall or temporall, but were vtterlie removed from the same, and some of them cast in prison and daillie put in hazard of their liues. Finally, the Englishmen were brought into such miserable thraldome, that euerie houtholder within the realme was constrained to receiue and find at his owne proper costs and charges, one Dane, who should continually glue good watch what was said or done in the house, and to aduertise the king thereof, for doubt of conspiracies or treasons to be contriued and practised against his person and rofall estate. This Dane by the good man of the house and his familie, for honor sake, was called lord Dane, which word was afterwards turned to a name of reproch, as where anie sole person liued loitering, without the vse of some honest exercise to get his liuing withall, the people were and yet are accustomed to call him a lordaine.

Thus farre out of Hector Boetius we haue shewed of Suenos doings in England, the which although it agre not in all points with our English histories, yet sith the historie of Scotland in this place seemeth partlie to hang thereon, we haue thought good to set it downe as we find it in the same Boetius: but aduertising the reader withall, that if our histories be true, this which followeth touching Suenos invading of Scotland, chanced befoze that Egeldred, whome the Scottish writers name Eldred, was duen to flee into Normandie. For when that Sueno lastlie returned into England, and constrained Egeldred so to forsake the land, he liued not long after but departed this life about Candelmas, in the yeere 1014 (as in the English histories ye may read more at large) not hauing time to make anie such iourne into Scotland: so that it may be thought, if he did enterprise anie such exploit there, it was befoze this his last arrivall in England.

But now to proceed according to that which we find in the foresaid Boetius. Sueno hauing spoiled the Englishmen of their liberties (in manner befoze remembred, or rather brought them to become tributaries vnto him, as at the first time of his arrivall herte he did in deed, he thought it necessarie, for the more suertie of his estate in England, to conclude some peace or league with his neighbours the Normans, Britains, & Scots, vnder condition that they should not support anie Englishman against him. But for so much as he could not compasse his intention here, in, he furnished all the castles and fortresses on the sea-coasts, ouer against Normandie, with men, munition, and vittels, to resist all sudden inuasions that might be attempted on that side. And on the other part towards the north, he made all the prouision he could deuise to make moztall wars vpon the Scots: and the moze to annoie his enemies, he sent commandement vnto Olauus his lieutenant in Norway, and to Onetus his deputie in Denmarke, to come with all the power they might leaue into Scotland, to make warres on his enemies there.

Whereupon shortly after those foresaid capitains arrived with an huge armie in the mouth of Speie, and landed in such puissant order, that the inhabitants of Orkney land fled out of their houses, with their

529. H.B.
The miserie of the Englishmen vnder the bondage of the Danes.

The name of lordaine howe came by.

Sueno landed here this last time of his coming forth of Denmarke into England in Iulie, in the yeere 1013, & departed this life in the beginning of Februarie, in the yeere 1014.

Sueno prepared to inuade the Scots.

Olauus, and Onetus.

The Danes land in Scots land.

The crueltie
of the Danes.

The castell of
Parne besie-
ged.

Malcolme
sendeth am-
bassadors to
the Danes.

The Danes
sleae the am-
bassadors.

The Scots
through feare
are astonied.

Malcolms
words to his
nobles.

Loncart.

Albion the se-
pulture of
Danes.

their wiues, children, and goods (such as they could conueie awaie with them) into places where they thought to remaine most out of danger. But the Danes, after their manner, burne and spoile all befoze them, aswell churches and chapels, as other buildings and edifices. Such of the people as could not flee in time, but by chance fell into their hands, were slaine without all mercie. Also all the strengths and holds in the countrie were taken by the Danes, thre castles onelie excepted: that is to say, Elgin, Forres, and Parne, which the Danes named after wards Burg, and for that they trusted (when the same was wonne) the other two would yeld without anie further defense, they first laid siege vnto this castell of Parne, inforcing themselves with all their power to win it: but in the meane time, they were informed how Malcolme the Scottish king was come within fife miles of them with all the forces of his realme to giue them battell.

Incontinentlie hereupon they raised their siege, and hasted forth to meet him, with no lesse courage than if victorie were already present in their hands. Shortly after, there came vnto them heralds also from Malcolme, to vnderstand whie they had thus invaded his realme with open and most cruell warre, hauing no occasion giuen by him or his subiects so to do: who scarselie had done their message, but that they were slaine forthwith by cruell outrage of the Danes. Malcolme being soze moued to vnderstand the law obserued by all nations for the safetie of messengers to be thus violated by the enemies, kept on his iourne with the more fierce courage, till he came to a meadow a little beside Killos, where he incamped for that night. Great noise and clamour was heard throughout the armie, euery man being desirous of battell, to reuenge the injuries done by the Danes against their friends and countrymen: notwithstanding on the morrow, when they saw their enemies in farre greater number, and in better order than euer had bene scene by anie of them before that time, their hart began to wax faint, hauing greater care which waie to saue their owne liues, than to giue the onset vpon their enemies.

Malcolme perceiuing such dread to be entred into the harts of his people, that they were now more like to run awaie than to fight, if he should bring them forth to battell, got him to a little hill, and calling his nobles about him, he declared vnto them how he could not but detest their great cowardise, that were thus astonied at the first sight of their enemies, without further triall of their forces. ¶ At home (said he) ye are most hardie and baltant, where no danger appereth. What rebuke then is it vnto you, to be thus faint harted (now that ye are come where ballancie should be shewed) in degenerating so far from your worthie fathers and noble progenitors, the which at Loncart vnder the conduct of my father Kenneth, obtained so famous a victorie of the selfe same nation, whose furious puissance ye seeme now so much to feare: There hath bene triall made in battell with this enimie in our time, both within the bounds of Scotland, and also of England, to the great honor and renowne of our elders. What discomfures the Danes haue receiued are yet fresh in memorie, so manie of them lesing their liues amongst vs, that Albion may well be reckoned the sepulture of Danes; as some of you can well record by your owne remembrance, and other haue heard by report of their forefathers and ancestors. ¶ We ought then (said he) to be of god courage, rather than to faint now at need, considering ye haue to doe with those enimies, who are but the remnant of the other, which befoze haue bene banquished and ouerthrowne by Scottishmen, both at Loncart, and in diuerse other

places; yea and besides that, such as mouing warres now at this present without iust occasion, haue violated the lawes both of God and man, deserring thereby iust vengeance at Gods hands, the punishment of all such traitor offenders. There is great hope therefore of victorie (said he) left vnto all such as fight against these enimies, if we take manlie parts vnto vs, and shew our selues in valiant constancie like to our elders, whereby it shall then appere what outrageous follie remained in the Danes, to invade vs without occasion of injuries preceeding. Therefore if ye haue not more regard to the safetie of your fraile bodies, which must needs at length perish, than to the defense and preseruation of your common countrie, why passe ye not forward, fith there is now no place nor time to take longer abuisse, in the matter, as ye may well vnderstand by the presence of the enimie ready to foine.

The nobles moued with these words of their prince, began boldly to exhort their people to battell. Incontinentlie therupon rose such noise and raging furie through the armie, that without measuring either their owne forces or their enemies, they rush forth vpon them without anie order or god arate. Malcolme beholding the Scots to come thus furiously against them, boldly incountred them with arrayed battels. Whereupon ensued a verie terrible fight, with great manhood shewed on both sides, nothing being let passe that might appertene to worthie captains: the Scots inforcing themselves to defend their countrie and ancient liberties on the one side, and the Danes doing their best endeavour by valiant hardinesse to saue their liues and honors on the other. At length, after huge murder & slaughter made on both parts, the Scots were put to flight, Malcolme was soze wounded, & had his helmet so fast beaten to his head, that it might not well be got off, yet was he conueied out of the field in manner for dead, and kept secret in a wood, till he was somewhat amended, and then got him into places out of danger. The Danes hauing got this victorie, and gathered the spoile of the field, returned to besiege elscones the castell of Parne, with more force and violence than before.

This castell in those daies was inclosed on each side with the sea, hauing one narrow passage as an entrie vnto it, made by craft of man in manner of a bridge. Those that were within it, hauing knowledge of the ouerthrow and losse of the field, rendered the fortreffe, on condition, that leauing all their armor, weapon, and other munitions behind them, they might depart with their liues and other goods saued. Nevertheless the Danes, contrarie to their faith giuen, being once entred the castell, hanged all those which they found within it ouer the walls, in most despitfull manner. Thus was Parne wonne by the Danes, the strongest hold within Murray land, and so garnished with men, munition, and vittels, that it was thought impregnable. When those souldiers which kept Elgin and Forres, hearing what crueltie the Danes had thus befieled out of those castles, and lest them bold without anie person to defend them. The Danes reioissing at this good fortune, trusted to establish themselves sure seates in Murray land, and thereupon sent backe their ships into Forwaie and Denmarke, to fetch from thence their wiues and children. In the meane time they constrained such Scots as they had laid hands on, to reape and inne the corne growing abroad in the fields, vnto their use and commoditie.

Malcolme being aduertised of all these things, doubting least by the arrivall of new aid, his enemies might war more puissant, in the beginning of the next summer he assembled a great multitude of war-
riors,

Marthlake.

The Scots
and Danes
are afraid of
another.

The Scots
forced to re-
turne.

The Scots
without open
warre (simpli-
ty battell.

The Scots
put to flight.
Malcolme
wounded.

Malcolms
place.

Copy, that
is to God, and
our noble, and
saint Malcolme,
for so he ioued
them together
according to
the manner of
that time.

The castell
of Parne re-
sized by com-
position.

The Danes
breakers of
faith and pre-
mise.

The Scots
suddenness re-
new battell.

Elgin and
Forres left
bold.

Stenness is
same.

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and came in good order and most warlike arraie unto *Spurthlake*, a towne of *Shar*, where the first erection of the bishops see of *Abirdeen* was founded. Here the one armie comming in sight of the other, they were suddenly both amazed. For the Scots having had too much experience of the crueltie thewbed afore time by the Danes, were put in no small feare now at the plaine & open sight of them. The Danes being farre off from the sea side, and upon an unknowne ground, were more afraid of some guilefull practise, than of the open violence and force of their enemies. Yet neverthelesse in the end, by the encouragement of the capitaine on both sides, they buckled together with great fiercenesse and most cruel malicious hatred on each hand.

In the first brunt three valiant capitaine, that is to say, *Kenneth of Ala*, *Crine of Strathern*, and *Patrick of Dunbar*, rushing over fiercelie on their enemies, were slaine, and gave occasion to manie of the Scottishmen to flee, but the place was such, that they could not well make their course anye waie forth, by reason of the narrownesse thereof, fenced on either side with deepe trenches full of water and mud: also in trauers were laid sundrie trees, as it had bene of purpose to impeach the passage, denised in that sort (as was thought) in time of some ciuill warres. Here though *Malcolme* like a valiant champion, did his best to staie them that fled, yet was he borne backe with the presse, till he came to the middell of this place, where stood a chappell dedicated in the honor of saint *Poloke*, the which *Malcolme* beholding, cast by his hands towards heauen, making his praier on his wife. Great God of vertue, rewarder of pietie, and punisher of sinne, we thy people seeking to defend our native countrie granted to vs of thy benediction, as now destitute of all mortall helpe, and thus oppressed with the insurious inuasion of Danes, doe lie vnto thee in this our extreme necessitie, beseeching thee to haue compassion vpon our miserable state: remoue (oh mercifull lord) this dreadfull terror from thy people. And oh thou mother of God, the sweet refuge of mortall people in their distresse and miseries: and thou saint *Poloke* to whom this chappell was dedicate, helpe vs at this present, and in the honor of you I here make a vow to build a cathedral church for a bishops see, to remaine as a monument, to testifie vnto our posteritie, that by your support our realme hath bene defended.

Scarcely had *Malcolme* made an end of this praier, when diuers of the nobles with a loud voice, as though they had bene assured that his praier was heard, cried to their companies; Stand good fellows, for suerlie it is the pleasure of almightie God, that we returne and renew the battell against our enemies. Whereupon rose a wonderfull noise amongst the souldiers, each one encouraging other to withstand the enemies, and to fight in most manfull wise in defense of their countrie and ancient liberties, & forthwith as it had bene by miracle they returned vpon their enemies, making great slaughter on each side, without regard to their liues or bloudie wounds, which they boldlie and without feare receiued. Here with *Malcolme* with an ambushment of stout warriors came vpon *Wnetus*, who was prancing vp and downe the field without anye helmet on his head, as though the Scots had bene already without recouerie clearely discomfited, and so there was he beaten downe beside his horse, and amongst the footmen slaine out of hand. The residue of the Danes beholding the slaughter of their capitaine, staied from further pursute on the Scots. Whereof ensued great boldnesse to the Scots, and discouragement to the Danes: albeit the battell continued still a long space, the souldiers doing their best on either side, till

at length the Danes were put to flight, manie of them being slaine, and but few taken. *Malcolme* beholding the discomfite of his people, & how his companion in authoritie was slaine, fled into *Whurcey* land with a small companie about him.

The next day *Malcolme* considering that a number of his most valiant capitaine he had lost in this battell, diuided the spoile of the field amongst his men, and coasting from further pursute of the Danes at that time, went into *Angus*, where he remained the residue of the yere with the castell of *Forfairs*, taking counsell with his nobles touching the publicke affaires of the realme, and how to recouer his countrie of *Whurcey* land out of the enemies hands. King *Surno* hearing in the meane time howe intemperate his people had spied this in *Scott* land at the battell of *Spurthlake*, in reuenge thereof determined to inuade the Scots with two mightie armies, the one to be rigged in *England*, and to come forth of the riuer of *Thames*; and the other to be sent from *Denmarke*, one *Canus* a Dane, verie expert in warlike knowledge, being appointed to be gouernor of all the men of warre that should come from both those parties.

The yere next ensuing, both these fleets according to commandement and order giuen, arrived and met together within the mouth of the *Forth*, nere to *Saint Ebbes* head. Here *Canus* going about to land his men, was kept off by the stout resistance of the Scots, there assembled for the same intent. *Canus* then plucking vp the sailles, directed his course vnto the *Ile of Sketh*, where riding at anchor for the space of one moneth, and abiding for some prosperous wind, at length when the same came onte about, he passed from thence vnto the *Red-bzaies*, called in Latine *Rubrum promontorium*, there landed his whole armie, before the countrie could be gathered to resist him. *Canus* being once landed, got him to the next hill, and beholding the ruine of the towne of *Spontros*, which a few yeares before had bene destroyed by the Danes, he reioiced not a little, for that his chance was to come on land in the selfe same place, where the Danes had earst vanquished their enemies, hoping of like lucke in this his enterprise and present expedition.

After this, he took his iourne through *Angus*, sparing no manner of crueltie that might be deuised: cities, townes, villages, and churches, with all manner of other buildings publicke and priuat were consumed with fire. At his comming to *Brechin*, for that the castell there in those daies was of such strength, that it might not be hastilie woone, he caused the towne and church being right faire and sumptuouslie built in honor of the *Trinitie* (to whom it was dedicated) to be spoiled, & so rased to the earth, that one stone was not left standing vpon another. With these and the semblable cruelties, *Canus* raging both against God and man, was finally advertised that king *Malcolme* was come to *Dundee* with all the power of *Scotland*. Then suddenly he took the next way towards the sea side, comming the next day following vnto a village called *Walbyd*, where he pitched downe his tents. The same day, king *Malcolme* making all hast possible to succour his subjects, and preserue the countrie from the cruell outrage of the Danes, came to the towne of *Barre* two little miles from the place, where his enemies were incamped. In the morning he drew into the field, in purpose to giue them open battell.

But before he arraigned his battels, he called his nobles and capitaine together, desiring them to consider how they should match in fight against people blinded with vile auarice, liuing on the spoile and pilage

The Danes put to flight.

Malcolme fled into *Whurcey* land.

Surno preparing a new armie to inuade *Scotland*.

Canus appointed capitaine general, of the Danes.

Saint Ebbes head.

The Scots kept off the Danes from landing.

Canus took his armie land at the *Red-bzaies*.

Canus marched through *Angus*. The crueltie of the Danes.

The towne and church of *Brechin* destroyed.

King *Malcolme* hastied forward to fight with the Danes.

Malcolme oration.

lage got by thæuerie, and not by ante iust warres: enimies not onelie to the christian faith, but also to all innocent people, whome they sought vniuersally to invade, without hauing occasion so to do, saue onelie vpon an iniurious meaning to liue by spoile of other mens goods, wherein they haue no manner of propriety. He willed them therefore to remember how they were come thus against those enimies in defense of their native countrie, appointed vndoubtedly by God to reuenge the cruell iniuries done by the Danes against his name, and people that professed the same. They ought not then to measure force in number of souldiers, but rather in manhood and valancie of heart. Canus likewise exhorted his people, not vsing manie words, but yet pithie, desiring them to remember how it behoued them either to win immortall fame by victorie, either else to die with miserie in an vncouth land, by the hand of their most fierce and cruell enimies.

Canus exhorteth his Danes.

The nature of valiant hearts and noble stomachs.

A bloudie battell.

Malcolme winneth the field. Canus is slaine.

An obeliske.

The house of Recthes advanced to honor.

Danes slaine at Abirleimon.

Herewith Malcolme imbattelling his people, brought them forth stronglie ranged in good order to encounter the Danes, which likewise approached towards him in good arraie of battell. His heart was filled the more with hope of victorie, for that he had tried sundrie times before the force of the enimies in diuers conflicts and encounters. For such is the nature of noble and valiant stomachs, the more experience they haue in honorable enterprises, the more are they kindled in desire to shew their powers in famous acts and worthie attempts. The armies hereupon on both sides, fiercelie rushing together, began a battell right cruell & terrible, continuing certeine houres with such bloudshed, that the river of Lochte ran with a purple hue downe into the Almaine seas. The fields also where they fought, though they were full of sand (as the nature of the soile giueth) yet were they made moist by the abundance of bloud spilled in the same. Sparie there were so earnestlie bent to be reuenged on the enimie, that after they had their deaths wound, they would run themselves forward vpon their aduersaries weapon, till they might close with him, enforcing their uttermost powers to dispatch him also; so that diuers were seene to fall to the ground togither fast grasping one another, and so immediatlie both of them to die withall: such burning hatred kindled their hearts, that thus were they wholie set on reuenge. At length yet the honor of the field remained with Malcolme.

Canus perceiving the discomfort to light on his side, with a small companie about him thought to haue escaped by flight vnto the next mounteins, but being pursued of his enimies, he was slaine by them per he was got two miles from the place of the battell. The place where he was slaine, is named after him vnto this day, and called Camelfone, where is an obeliske set vp in memorie of the thing, with his picture grauen therein, and likewise of those that slue him. The principall fear of Canus was one Recth, a young gentleman of right hardie courage, whose seruice in the battell was verie notable, in recompense whereof he was rewarded by king Malcolme, with sundrie lands and faire possessions in Louthian. His familie (saith Hector Boetius) hath and doth continue in great honor amongst Scottishmen euen vnto this day, and is decorated with the office of the marshallship of Scotland, to the high renowne and fame thereof, amongst the chiefeest peers of the realme.

An other companie of the Danes fled from this ouerthrow were slaine at Abirleimon, not past foure miles from Brechin, where is set by a great stone or obeliske, grauen with certeine characters or letters, to aduertise them that passe that waters

forth, of this slaughter of Danes there made by our worthie elders. The residue of the Danes that escaped with life from the field, hauing certeine Scottishmen to their guides corrupted with monie fled to their ships, declaring to their fellows that mishap had fortuned. King Malcolme after he obtained this famous victorie (as before is said) at Barre, he caused the spoile of the field to be diuided amongst his souldiers, according to the lawes of armes; and then caused the dead bodies of the Danes to be buried in the place where the field had bene fought, and the bodies of the Scottishmen which were found dead were conueied vnto the places of christian buriall, and there buried with funerall obsequies in sundrie churches and churchyards. There are seene manie bones of the Danes in those places where they were buried, there lieng bare aboue ground euen vnto this day, the sands (as it often chanceth) being blown from them. The other Danes, which escaped to their ships, pulled by failles to haue passed into Murrey land vnto Mlauss, but remaining on the seas the space of foure daies togither, tossed to and fro by contrarie winds, at length by a streinable east wind they were driuen vpon the coast of Buchgahan, and through want of conuenable harbrough were in present danger to haue bene cast away. At length, after they had ridden at anchor in the firth there, to their great displeasure a long space, and finding no prosperous winds to depart from the shore, for that their bittels began to faile them, they set fire vnto their best and lustiest souldiers on land, to fetch in some bottie or preie of cattell, therewith to relieue their hunger and famine. They that were thus sent forth, being perforce appointed with armour and weapon, ranged abroad till they had got togither a great number of beasts, with the which draving towards their ships, they were encountred by the way by Parnachus the thane of Buchgahan, whole accompanied with the power of that countrie, whose force when they saw how they were not well able to resist without some aduantage of place, they got them vp into an high crag, where, with tumbling downe stones vpon the Scottishmen as they mounted vp towards them, they caused them some what to faile; but at length through the earnest exhortation of Parnachus, the Scots (as people inflamed with wode desire to be reuenged) mounted the hill in despight of their enimies, though diuers of them were slaine in that assault. Those which wan the height of the crag vpon the Danes, made such a cruell battell with them, that there was not one Dane that escaped their hands.

This conflict was fought nere vnto Gemmer a village or towne in Buchgahan, where, in memorie thereof, lie manie great bones of the Danes to be seene yet euen vnto these daies. It should appeare by the same bones, that men in former time were of more huge growth and stature, than they be at this present. The other Danes which were on ship board, understanding what had happened to their fellows (because they returned not againe to the ships) so sone as the wind came about for their purpose, holled by failles, and toke their course forthright towards Murrey land. In the meane time king Sueno hearing of these ouerthrowes, which his people had in such sort receiued at the Scottishmens hands, as a prince of a right haughtie courage, not lightlie overcome with ante aduerser fortune, made preparation in all speedie wise to be reuenged, appointing his brother Canute, as then hauing the administration of Denmarke; to come from thence with a new flæte and armie against the Scots. It is said, that this Canute, according to order prescribed him by his brother Sueno, landed first in Buchgahan, and

The burning of the spoils.

King Malcolme's better imitation.

Bones of Danes.

The Scottishmen request vnto their king for licence to fight.

The onset is given.

The Scots have the name of victorie, rather than vice, for it is selfe.

Deare conclusion: do for want of power to mainteine it.

The articles of the peace betwixt the Danes and Scottishmen.

The holden in Scotland deposed by the Danes in the Scottish hands, and returned into Denmarke.

Sueno perceiving the time to invade Scotland, Canute by his brother Sueno, ap-

pointed Canute to come against the Scots.

Canute by his brother Sueno, ap-

pointed Canute to come against the Scots.

Canute by his brother Sueno, ap-

pointed Canute to come against the Scots.

Canute by his brother Sueno, ap-

pointed Canute to come against the Scots.

destroyed a galleon, in reuenge for the Danes he before. Malcolme though thou was greatlie with all speedie same toward with often no wise to ie generall bat throw, he sh for defense o enimies. F togither, the parties. The beholding fo friends, wit of the towne each side befo colme, and licence to fig lie, that if h gine battell Malcolme people to ino that he migh their petition member the the onset w on either pa fight a long other out of both sides w than the vic who were so ter, that in t to pursue th with life fled night, whic they lodged uenture as On the r both parties minds were new battell to maintein toke vpon ti cluded with should depa all other the should clea fishmen, d Malcolme, two nation: thers enimie was fought within the same batte built there, nance of p order of the people: for also receiue the solemn colme, Can session of Sueno land, W of the Scot departed w King Mal vnto full forme the

destroyed a great part of that countrey by fire and sword, in reuenge of the slaughter of his countrey-men the Danes, which had bene there made lately before.

Malcolme soze kindled in wrath by these iniuries, though through continuance of the wars his power was greatly decayed, yet did he assemble an armie with all speed he could deuise, and marched with the same towards the Danes, in purpose to staie them with often skirmishes and light encounters, but in no wise to teopard with them in anie pitcht field or generall battell, for feare least if he had the ouerthrow, he should not be able to furnish a new power for defense of his countrey, against the rage of the enemies. For the space tweretye of sixe daies together, there was often skirmishing betwixt the parties. The which terme being expired, the Scots beholding so huge murder of their countrey-men and friends, with the spoile of the fields, and destruction of the towne and villages, burning and blasing on each side before their faces, they come to king Malcolme, and desired him that he would grant them licence to fight with their enemies, protesting plainely, that if he would not consent thereto, they would giue battell at their owne choise.

Malcolme perceiving the earnest minds of his people to encounter their enemies in plaine field, and that he might no longer protract the time, he granted their petition, and therewith beseeching them to remember their honors and duties: incontinentlie the onset was giuen with great hatred and malice on either part, so that most egerlie continuing in fight a long time, they enforced themselves to rid each other out of life: so that all the nobles well nere on both sides were slaine, the name of victorie rather than the victorie it selfe remaining with the Scots, who were so fable and faint with long fight & slaughter, that in the end of the battell they were not able to pursue those few of the Danes, which elcasing with life fled faintlie out of the field. And so for that night, which followed the day of this bloudie battell, they lodged here and there in severall places, at aduantage as well as they might.

On the morrow after, when it was understood on both parties, what losse they had sustained, their minds were conuerted rather to peace than to renew battell, because they were not of power longer to mainteine it. Whereupon by mediation of such as tolke vpon them to treat a peace, the same was concluded with these articles. First, that the Danes should depart out of Murrey land, Buchquhan, and all other the boundes of Scotland. That the warres should clearelie cease betwixt the Danes and Scottishmen, during the naturall liues of Sueno and Malcolme, or either of them. That neither of those two nations should aid or in anie wise support the others enemies. That the field where the last battell was fought, should be halloved for christian buriall, within the which the Danes that were slaine in the same battell should be buried, and a church to be built there, and lands appointed forth for the maintenance of priests, to celebrate there according to the order of the christian religion, then vsed by both the people: for the Danes latelie before that season had also receiued the faith. This peace being ratified by the solemne othes of both the kings, Sueno and Malcolme, Canute with his Danes resigning vp the possession of such holds and places as they held in Murrey land, Buchquhan, or else where within anie part of the Scottish dominions, got him to his fleet, and departed with the same home into Denmarke.

King Malcolme hauing thus restored his countrey vnto so full peace, thought nothing so good as to perforce the articles of the agreement accorded be-

twixt him and the Danes, and therefore caused a church to be builded in the place appointed, dedicating the same in honor of saint Olafus patrone of Denmarke and Norwaie, to signifie vnto such as came after, that sundrie nobles of the Danes laie buried in that church. In memorie hereof, the lands that were giuen to the same church, are called euen yet vnto these daies Crowdan, which signifieth as much as if ye should say, The slaughter of Danes. The church which was first builded there, chancing as often happeneth in those parties, to be ouercast with sands, an other was erected in place not farre off, hauing a more commodious site. Sundrie of the bones of them that were buried in this place, being left bare by reason that the sands were blowne away besides them, Hector Boetius (the writer of the Scottish chronicle) beheld in the yere 1527, which seemed more like vnto giants bones, than to men of common stature (as he ausucheth) whereby it should appeare, that men in old time were of much greater stature and quantitie of bodie, than anie that are to be found in these our daies.

Malcolme being thus deliuered of his enemies the Danes, caused publike praiers generallie to be made throughout the realme, in rendering thanks to almightie God, that it had pleased him to deliuer his people from the troubles of warre. He toke order also, that churches should be repaired, which by the enemies in time of the warres had bene destroyed. And further, he caused the administration of the lawes and wholesome ordinances of the realme to be vsed and put in practise, according to the due forme of the same, which manie yeres before could haue no place, by reason of the warres. He caused an assemble of all the estates of his realme to be called at Wertha castell, in those daies standing not farre from the place where the towne of Perth now standeth. In which conuention were manie things enacted, both for the setting forth of Gods honor, and the weale of the realme, whereby Malcolme wan much praise amongst his subiects, to the eternall memorie of his name.

After this, supposing it most honorable to aduance the blood of such as had serued well in the last warres, or had their fathers or other friends slaine in the same, he called a parlement at Scone, in the which, causing partition to be made of the realme, by diuiding it into baronies, he bestowed it amongst the nobles, according to the qualitie of euerie one his merits, reseruing in maner nothing to the maintenance of the crowne, common enties onelie excepted, with the mountaine wherein the marble chaire stood, and a few other possessions which he purposed to giue vnto churches and chapells. The nobles on the other part, to the end the king might haue sufficient wherewith to mainteine his roiall estate, granted vnto him and his successors for euer the custodie and wardship of their heires, if they chanced to die leauing them vnder the age of 21 yeres: and in the meane time till the same heires came to the said age, they agreed that the king and his successors should inioy the vse and profits of their lands, whether they were men or women, and when they came to the age of 21 yeres, that then they should enter into the possession of their lands, yelding vnto him or his successors one yeres rent in name of a reliefe, and if they chanced not to be married before their fathers deceasse, then also should they marrie at the kings appointment, or else compound with him for the same.

Thus ended the parlement for that season, with great ioy and comfort on each hand, for that the king had shewed such liberall bountyfull towards his barons, and they no lesse mindfull of their duties had declared

A church
builded.

Crowdan.
what it sig-
nifieth.

Bones of
Danes.

Publike
praiers.

The repa-
ring of churches.
The restoring
of lawes and
iustice.

A parlement
at Wertha.

A parlement
at Scone.
Diuisiō of
the realme into
baronies.

The ward-
ship of heires
granted to
the king.

Marriage of
wards.

Bones of
Danes.

Malcolme
thane of
Buchquhan.

Danes slaine
vnto
Scone.

Sueno prepa-
red the third
time to invade
Scotland.
Canute dis-
turbeth vnto
Sueno, ap-

declared such beneculent hearts, as appeared in that their free and large gift granted in forme and maner as before is exprest. Neither did Malcolme forget the vow which he made at Purthlake, when he was in danger to haue received the overthow at the hand of the Danes. For according to the same vow, he caused a church to be built in the same place, erecting a bishops see there, and indowed it with the lands & possessions of these three places, Purthlake, Cleometh, and Dunnieth, with all ecclesiasticall iurisdiction and tithes appertaining thereto. The bishops that sat in this see were called the bishops of Purthlake, till the daies of king Dauid the first, who changing the name, caused them to be called the bishops of Abirden, augmenting the see with sundrie faire reuenues to the better maintenance thereof.

The see of Purthlake, otherwise Abirden.

The booke called Regia maiestas.

Malcolme warre and vicious. Courtesies and age arriving together.

Malcolme's cruelty to purchase riches.

The conspiracy of the Scottish nobles against Malcolme.

Malcolme's line at Clamnis.

The murderers drowned.

21. H.B.
1040. H.B.

Strange sights.

Malcolme thus having purchased rest from further troubles of warre, governed the realme a certeine time after in good order of iustice, and caused a booke to be set forth, called *Regia maiestas*, containing the lawes and ordinances wherby the realme should be governed: and assigning forth in the same what fees also should be giuen vnto the chancelor, secretaire, constable, marshall, chamberlaine, iustice, treasurer, register, comptroller, and other the officers of his house. Such princelie doings and noble vertues were found in this Malcolme for a season, that if the same had continued with him in his latter age, there had neuer reigned anie king in Scotland, that might haue bene thought to haue passed him in two: this same: neuertheless his excellent qualities were stained at length by that reprochfull vice of vile avarice. For as it oftentimes happeneth, courtesies and age laid hold on him both at once. He then began to repent in that he had bene so liberall in giuing away his lands to his barons; & to recouer the same againe, he surmised feigned matter by untrue suggestions against diuerse of the chiefe nobles, putting some to death, & banishing other, that he might by this meanes introy their lands and goods as confiscate to the crowne for their supposed offences.

The nobles hauing great indignation at such cruelty used by the king against them and their linage, and that vpon no iust causes, but onelie vpon forged deuises, they conspired in sundrie meetings secretlie appointed amongst them, to find some meanes to dispatch him out of life. At length he chanced to haue some inbiling thereabout they went, & doubting to fall into their hands, fled for safegard of his life vnto Clamnis, where diuerse of the conspirators were brought into his lodging, by some of his owne household seruants, and there slue him in reuenge of their friends, whome he before had wrongfullie put to death. These murderers with their complices incontinentlie fled with all speed possible to auoid further danger for this their act: but missing their way (for the ground was quite couered as then with snow) they finallie came to the loch of Forfair, which was the same time frozen ouer. They therefore thinking to passe ouer it, when they came into the midst, the ice brake vnder them, so that sinking in, they were finallie drowned. Howbeit their bodies were afterwards draue forth of the loch with drags, and dismembred, and their heads and quarters were sent to diuerse towne of the realme, and there hong vp for a signification of their wicked treason. This was the end of king Malcolme in the 32 yere of his reigne, if ye reckon from the death of Constantine, or 25 after the death of Crine, and after the incarnation of our Sauour 1034 yeres. He was buried in Colmekill with his ancestors.

In this season was scene manie wonders and strange sights in Albion. On Christmas daie there was an earthquake, and a great rift of the earth

made therewith in the midst of Strueling towne, out of the which issued such an abundant streame of water, that it bare away the next wood that was adjoining to the ruer of Forth. In the summer the sea rose higher, & flowed further into the land, than euer it had bene scene at anie other time. On Midsummer daie, which is the feast of saint John Baptist, there was such a vehement frost, that the corne and other fruits of the earth were blasted and killed, so that thereupon followed a great dearth in all the countrie.

After Malcolme succeeded his nephew Duncane the sonne of his daughter Beatrice: for Malcolme had two daughters, the one which was this Beatrice, being giuen in marriage vnto one Abbanath Crinen, a man of great nobilitie, and thane of the Isles and west parts of Scotland, bare of that marriage the foresaid Duncane; the other called Doda, was married vnto Sinell the thane of Glamis, by whom she had issue one Makbeth a valiant gentleman, and one that if he had not bene somewhat cruell of nature, might haue bene thought most worthy the gouernement of a realme. On the other part, Duncane was so soft and gentle of nature, that the people wished the inclinations and manners of these two cousins to haue bene so tempered and interchangeable bestowed betwixt them, that where the one had too much of clemencie, and the other of crueltie, the meane vertue betwixt these two extremities might haue reigned by indifferent partition in them both, so should Duncane haue proued a worthy king, and Makbeth an excellent capitaine. The beginning of Duncans reigne was verie quiet and peaceable, without anie notable trouble; but after it was perceived how negligent he was in punishing offenders, manie misruled persons took occasion thereof to trouble the peace and quiet state of the common-wealth, by seditions commotions which first had their beginnings in this wise.

Wanguho the thane of Lochquhaber, of whom the house of the Stewards is descended, the which by order of linage hath now for a long time intored the crowne of Scotland, euen till these our daies, as he gathered the finances due to the king, and further punished some that sharpe such as were notorious offenders, being assailed by a number of rebels inhabiting in that countrie, and spoiled of the monie and all other things, had much ado to get atwale with life, after he had received sundrie grievous wounds amongst them. Yet escaping their hands, after hee was somewhat recovered of his hurts, and was able to ride, he repaired to the court, where making his complaint to the king in most earnest wise, he purchased at length that the offenders were sent for by a sergeant at armes, to appeare to make answer vnto such matters as should be laid to their charge: but they augmenting their mischievous act with a more wicked deed, after they had misused the messenger with sundrie kinds of reproches, they finallie slue him also.

Then doubting not but for such contemptuous demeanour against the kings regall authoritie, they should be invaded with all the power the king could make, Makdowald one of great estimation among them, making first a confederacie with his nearest friends and kinsmen, took vpon him to be chiefe capitaine of all such rebels as would stand against the king, in maintenance of their grievous offences latelie committed against him. Manie slanderous words also, and railing taunts this Makdowald uttered against his prince, calling him a faint-hearted milkesop, more meet to gouerne a sort of idle monks in some cloister, than to haue the rule of such valiant and hardie men of warre as the Scots were. He

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bles also such ments, that in mightie power there came vnto ferer them quarell, and o no small number gladlie please him to

about him, ple as were discomfiting Malcolme. his head. He did put him small skill in nobles to a uise for the bels. Here were sundrie to euerie m much againe nesse in pur time to asse ding, if it vnto Ban bels should and that ne to make re

And eu with a ne ber, the such seare. lie atwale uerthea beth, with being oue (within t length wh hold anie surrende first slue least if he executed Makbeth then set eng deat dies, whi cruell na head to sent it a Bertha hong v

that the terprise whome to bea Herbp toward bloude the kin full wo againe Isles, t berall some o sented king t law re the oil upon arriu

Justice law reposed.

bled also such subtil persuations and forged allurements, that in a small time he had gotten together a mightie power of men: for out of the westerne Isles there came vnto him a great multitude of people, offering themselves to assist him in that rebellious quarrell, and out of Ireland in hope of the spoile came no small number of Herries and Galloglasses, offering gladlie to serue vnder him, whither it should please him to lead them.

Malcolmdwald thus hauing a mightie puissance about him, incountered with such of the kings people as were sent against him into Lochquhaber, and discomfiting them, by mere force took their capitaine Malcolme, and after the end of the battell smote off his head. This ouerthrow being notified to the king, he put him in wonderfull feare, by reason of his small skill in warlike affaires. Calling therefore his nobles to a counsell, he asked of them their best aduise for the subduing of Malcolmdwald & other the rebels. Here, in sundrie heads (as euer it happeneth) were sundrie opinions, which they vttered according to euery man his skill. At length Hakbeth speaking much against the kings softnes, and ouermuch slacknesse in punishing offenders, whereby they had such time to assemble together, he promised notwithstanding, if the charge were committed vnto him and vnto Banquo, so to order the matter, that the rebels should be shortly vanquished & quite put downe, and that not so much as one of them should be found to make resistance within the countrey.

And euen so it came to passe: for being sent forth with a new power, at his entring into Lochquhaber, the same of his comming put the enimies in such feare, that a great number of them stole secretly awaye from their capitaine Malcolmdwald, who nevertheless enforced thereto, gaue battell vnto Hakbeth, with the residue which remained with him: but being ouercome, and fleeing for refuge into a castell (within the which his wife & children were inclosed) at length when he saw how he could neither defend the hold any longer against his enimies, nor yet vpon surrender be suffered to depart with life saued, he first slue his wife and children, and lastlie himselfe, least if he had yelded simple, he should haue bene executed in most cruell wise for an example to other. Hakbeth entring into the castell by the gates, as then set open, found the carcasse of Malcolmdwald lying dead there amongst the residue of the slaine bodies, which when he beheld, remitting no pece of his cruell nature with that pittifull sight, he caused the head to be cut off, and set vpon a poles end, and so sent it as a present to the king, who as then laie at Bertha. The headlesse trunk he commanded to bee hong by vpon an high paire of gallowes.

Them of the westerne Isles suing for pardon, in that they had aided Malcolmdwald in his traitorous enterprise, he fined at great sums of monie: and those whom he took in Lochquhaber, being come thither to beare armor against the king, he put to execution. Wherevpon the Islandmen conceiued a deadly grudge towards him, calling him a couenant-breaker, a bloudie tyrant, & a cruell murderer of them whome the kings mercie had pardoned. With which reprochfull words Hakbeth being kindled in wrathfull ire against them, had passed ouer with an armie into the Isles, to haue taken reuenge vpon them for their libellous talke, had he not bene otherwise perswaded by some of his friends, and partlie pacified by gifts presented vnto him on the behalfe of the Islandmen, seeking to auoid his displeasure. Thus was iustice and law restored againe to the old accustomed course, by the diligent means of Hakbeth. Immediatlie wherevpon word came that Sueno king of Norway was arrived in Jfife with a puissant armie, to subdue the

whole realme of Scotland.

But here to the intent it maie be the better perceived, what this Sueno was, I will somewhat touch from whence he descended. That Sueno, who (as ye haue heard) conquered the realme of England, being also king of Denmarke and Norway, had three sonnes, Harold, Sueno, and Canute; the first he made king of England, the second king of Norway, and the third king of Denmarke. Harold inioined not the same dominion of England past three yeeres after his fathers decease, but was slaine by Etheldred or Ethelred, whom his father Sueno had chased into Normandie. But the same Etheldred kept not long the kingdome in peace, for Canute king of Denmarke, to reuenge his brothers death, landed in England with a mightie host, and beating Etheldred, recovered the kingdome to the vse of the Danes: but yet one Edmund sonne to the foresaid Etheldred, surnamed Ironside, maintained the warre against Canute for a season, till at length by both their consents they agreed to fight a combat singularlie man to man, so to trie the matter betwixt them, who should reigne as king ouer the Englishmen.

In this fight when they had continued a long space, and shewed right notable proofes of their manhood: Edmund (saith Canute) sith it hath pleased almighty God, that thou shouldest thus trie the force of my hand without hurt or wound, I thinke it bee likewise his pleasure, that thou shouldest inioy part of the realme: go to therfore, I receiue thee as partner with me in the kingdome, so that (if thou be contented let vs diuide the kingdome betwixt vs with out any more contention. Edmund gladlie accepted this condition of agreement, supposing it better to haue halfe the kingdome, than to stand to the doubtful triall of losing the whole: for he had receiued a wound at Canutes hands, though Canute vnderstood not so much: againe, he foresaw that occasion hereafter might be offered, whereby he might with out all trouble come to inioy the whole. Wherevpon either of them leapt beside their wearied horses in that fierce & earnest fight, & embracing each other became good friends, in diuiding the realme according to the aboue mentioned motion of Canute. That part of England that lieth ouer against France was assigned vnto Canute; and the other, that is, the north parts vnto Edmund. In the meane time Emma the wife of Etheldred with hir two sonnes (which she had by the same Etheldred) Alured and Edward, fled ouer into Normandie, doubting least this concord betwixt Canute and Edmund should turne smallie to hir aduancement.

But now touching the arrivall of Sueno the Norwegian king in Jfife (as before is exprest) ye shall vnderstand, that the pretense of his comming was to reuenge the slaughter of his vncle Canus, and other of the Danish nation slaine at Barre, Crowdane, and Semmer. The crueltie of this Sueno was such, that he neither spared man, woman, nor child, of what age, condition or degree: sooner they were. Whereof when it was certified, he set all slouthfull and lingering delais apart, and began to assemble an armie in most speedie wise, like a verie valiant capitaine: for oftentimes it happeneth, that a dull coward and slouthfull person, constrained by necessitie, becommeth verie hardie and aduie. Therefore when his whole power was come together, he diuided the same into three battels. The first was led by Hakbeth, the second by Banquo, & the king himselfe gouerned in the maine battell or middle ward, wherein were appointed to attend and wait vpon his person the most part of all the residue of the Scottish nobilitie.

The armie of Scottishmen being thus ordered, came

This agreement was not with our English writers.

Harold that reigned king of England, was not the son of Sueno but of Canute and was not slaine, but died of naturall disease. See more hereof in England. Canute king of Denmarke. Edmund Ironside.

Canutes sonnes to Edmund Ironside.

The diuision of the realme of England betwixt Canute and Edmund Ironside.

Alured & Edward the sons of king Etheldred.

The crueltie of Sueno king of Norway.

Duncane be- threth him- selfe in assembling an armie.

The Scottish armie diuided into three battels.

Sueno batt-
quithly the
Scots.

Suenos com-
manement
to spare fire
and sword.

Duncane fled
to the castell of
Bertha.

Sueno belie-
ged King
Malcolme.

Fained trea-
tie.

Spiced cups
prepared for
the Danes.

The Danes
ouercome
with drinke,
fall asleepe.

Malbeth al-
saileth the
campe of the
Danes, being
ouercome
with drinke
and asleepe.

The slaugh-
ter of Danes,
Sueno with
ten other esca-
ped.

came into Culros, where incountering with the en-
emies, after a fore and cruell foughten battell, Sueno
remained victorious, and Malcolme with his Scots
discomfited. Howbeit the Danes were so broken by
this battell, that they were not able to make long
chase on their enemies, but kept themselves all night
in order of battell, for doubt least the Scots assem-
bling togither againe, might haue set vpon them at
some aduantage. On the morrow, when the fields
were discouered, and that it was perceiued how no
enemies were to be found abroad, they gathered the
spoile, which they diuided amongst them, according
to the law of armes. Then was it ordeined by com-
mandement of Sueno, that no souldier should hurt
either man, woman, or child, except such as were
found with weapon in hand ready to make resi-
stance, for he hoped now to conquer the realme with-
out further bloodshed.

But when knowledge was giuen how Duncane
was fled to the castell of Bertha, and that Malbeth
was gathering a new power to withstand the incur-
sions of the Danes, Sueno raised his tents, & com-
ming to the said castell, laid a strong siege round a-
bout it. Duncane seeing himselfe thus environed by
his enemies, sent a secret message by counsell of
Banquo to Malbeth, commanding him to abide
at Berthentill, till he heard from him some other
newes. In the meane time Duncane fell in fained
communication with Sueno, as though he would
haue yielded by the castell into his hands, under cer-
taine conditions, and this did he to drine time, and to
put his enemies out of all suspicion of anie enterprize
ment against them, till all things were brought to
passe that might serue for the purpose. At length,
when they were fallen at a point for rending by the
hold, Duncane offered to send forth of the castell in-
to the campe great provision of vittells to refresh the
armie, which offer was gladlie accepted of the
Danes, for that they had bene in great penurie of
sustenance manie daies before.

The Scots hereupon took the iuice of mekil-
woxt berries, and mixed the same in their ale and
bread, sending it thus spiced & confectioned, in great
abundance unto their enemies. They reioicing that
they had got meate and drinke sufficient to satisfie
their bellies, fell to eating and drinking after such
greedie wise, that it seemed they stroue who might de-
uoure and swallow by most, till the operation of the
berries spread in such sort through all the parts of
their bodies, that they were in the end brought into
a fast dead sleepe, that in manner it was impossible
to awake them. Then forthwith Duncane sent vnto
Malbeth, commanding him with all diligence to
come and set vpon the enemies, being in easie point
to be overcome. Malbeth making no delate, came
with his people to the place, where his enemies were
lodged, and first killing the watch, afterwards enter-
red the campe, and made such slaughter on all sides
without anie resistance, that it was a wonderfull
matter to behold, for the Danes were so heauie of
sleepe, that the most part of them were slaine and ne-
uer stirred: other that were awakened either by the
noise of other waies forth, were so amazed and dizzie
headed vpon their wakening, that they were not a-
ble to make anie defense: so that of the whole num-
ber there escaped no more but onelie Sueno him-
selfe and ten other persons, by whose helpe he got to
his ships lying at rode in the mouth of Tait.

The most part of the mariners, when they heard
that plentie of meate and drinke the Scots had sent
vnto the campe, came from the sea thither to be par-
takers thereof, and so were slaine amongst their fel-
lowes: by meanes whereof when Sueno perceiued
how through lacke of mariners he should not be a-

ble to conuie alwaie his familie, he furnished one ship
thoughtlie with such as were left, and in the same
sailed backe into Forwaie, cursing the time that he
set forward on this unfortunate iourneie. The other
ships which he left behind him, within three daies af-
ter his departure from thence, were tossed to tog-
ther by violence of an east wind, that beating and
rushing one against another, they sunke there, and
lie in the same place euen vnto these daies, to the
great danger of other such ships as come on that
coast: for being covered with the fload when the tide
commeth, at the ebbing againe of the same, some
part of them appeere aboue water.

The place where the Danish vessels were thus lost,
is yet called Drownelow sands. His ouerthrow re-
ceiued in manner afore said by Sueno, was verie
displeasing to him and his people, as should appeere,
in that it was a custome manie yeeres after, that no
knights were made in Forwaie, except they were
first swayne to reuenge the slaughter of their coun-
triemen and friends thus slaine in Scotland. The
Scots hauing wone so notable a victorie, after they
had gathered & diuided the spoile of the field, caused
solemne processions to be made in all places of the
realme, and thanks to be giuen to almighty God,
that had sent them so faire a day over their enemies.
But whilest the people were thus at their process-
ions, word was brought that a new fleet of Danes
was arrived at Kingorne, sent thither by Canute
king of England, in reuenge of his brother Sueno
ouerthrow. To resist these enemies, which were
alreadie landed, and busie in spoiling the countrie,
Malbeth and Banquo were sent with the kings au-
thoritie, who hauing with them a conuenient power,
incountred the enemies, due part of them, and chased
the other to their ships. They that escaped and got
once to their ships, obtained of Malbeth for a great
summe of gold, that such of their friends as were
slaine at this last bickering, might be buried in saint
Colmes Inch. In memorie whereof, manie old se-
pultures are yet in the said Inch, there to be seene
grauen with the armes of the Danes, as the maner
of burying noble men still is, and heretofore hath
bene used.

A peace was also concluded at the same time be-
twixt the Danes and Scottishmen, ratified (as some
haue written) in this wise: That from thenceforth
the Danes should neuer come into Scotland to
make anie warres against the Scots by anie maner
of meanes. And these were the warres that Dun-
cane had with forren enemies, in the seventh yere
of his reigne. Shortly after happened a strange and
vncouth wonder, which afterward was the cause of
much trouble in the realme of Scotland, as ye shall
after heare. It fortuned as Malbeth and Banquo
iournied towards Forres, where the king then late,
they went sporting by the waie togither without o-
ther companie, saue onelie themselves, passing thro-
ugh the woods and fields, when suddenly in the
middest of a laund, there met them three women in
strange and wild apparell, resembling creatures of
elder world, whome when they attentiuely beheld,
wondering much at the sight, the first of them spake
and said; All haile Malbeth, thane of Glamis (for
he had latelie entered into that dignitie and office by
the death of his father Sinell.) The second of them
said; Haile Malbeth thane of Catwder. But the third
said; All haile Malbeth that hereafter shall be king
of Scotland.

Then Banquo; What manner of women (saith
he) are you, that seeme so little fauourable vnto me,
whereas to my fellows here, besides high offices, ye
assigne also the kingdome, appointing forth nothing
for me at all? Yes (saith the first of them) we pray
mife

“ mife great
“ shall reigne
“ ther shall
“ his place,
“ reigne at
“ shall gouern
“ of continu
“ banished
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“ on by Ma
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“ Catwder
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“ beth.

“ thing to
“ wonder at.

“ Banquo the
“ father of Ma
“ kinge.

“ The thane of
“ Catwder con-
“ demned of
“ Malcolme.
“ Malbeth
“ made thane of
“ Catwder.

“ Malbeth
“ how
“ might at-
“ taine the king-
“ dome.

“ The daugh-
“ ter of Sheward
“ sister of For-
“ ward, she
“ wife to king
“ Duncane.

“ Danes burnt
“ in S. Colmes
“ Inch.

“ A peace con-
“ cluded be-
“ twixt Sheward
“ and Danes.

“ Malbeth
“ which way he
“ may take the
“ kingdome by
“ force.

“ Prophesies
“ made men to
“ vncouth at-
“ tempts.

“ women desi-
“ rous of high
“ estate.

“ Malbeth
“ death king
“ Duncane.

“ Malbeth be-
“ lieues the
“ crowne.

“ Duncanes
“ battell.
“ 1046. H. B.

“ mife great
“ shall reigne
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“ offices v
“ beth.

10 milie greater benefits vnto the, than vnto him, for he
shall reigne in deed, but with an unluckie end: nei-
ther shall he leaue anie issue behind him to succeed in
his place, where contrarie thou in deed shalt not
reigne at all, but of thee those shall be bozne which
shall gouerne the Scottis kingdome by long order
of continuall descent. Here with the foresaid women
banished immediatlie out of their sight. This was
reputed at the first but some vaine fantastick illu-
sion by Macbeth and Banquo, in somuch that Ban-
quo would call Macbeth in iest, king of Scotland;
and Macbeth againe would call him in sport like-
wise, the father of manie kings. But afterwards the
common opinion was, that these women were ei-
ther the weird sisters, that is (as ye would say) the
goddesses of destinie, or else some nymphs or feiries,
indued with knowledge of prophesie by their necro-
manticall science, because euerie thing came to passe
as they had spoken. For shortly after, the thane of
Cawder being condemned at Forres of treason a-
gainst the king committed; his lands, linings, and
offices were giuen of the kings liberalitie to Mac-
beth.

The same night after, at supper, Banquo iested
with him and said; How Macbeth thou hast obte-
ned those things which the two former sisters prophe-
sied, there remaineth onelie for thee to purchase that
which the third said should come to passe. Whereupon
Macbeth reuoluing the thing in his mind, began
enen then to deuise how he might attaine to the
kingdome: but yet he thought with himselfe that he
must tarry a time, which should aduance him there-
to (by the diuine prouidence) as it had come to passe
in his former preferment. But shortly after it chan-
ced that king Duncane, hauing two sonnes by his
wife which was the daughter of Siward earle of
Northumberland, he made the elder of them called
Malcolme prince of Cumberland, as it were there-
by to appoint him his successor in the kingdome, im-
mediatlie after his decesse. Macbeth soze trou-
bled herewith, for that he saw by this means his
hope soze hindered (where, by the old lawes of the
realme, the ordinance was, that if he that should
succeed were not of able age to take the charge vpon
himselfe, he that was next of blood vnto him should
be admitted) he began to take counsell how he might
vsurpe the kingdome by force, hauing a iust quarrell
so to do (as he took the matter) for that Duncane
did what in him lay to defraud him of all manner of
title and claime, which he might in time to come,
pretend vnto the crowne.

The words of the three weird sisters also (of whom
before ye haue heard) greatlie encouraged him here-
vnto, but speciallie his wife lay soze vpon him to at-
tempt the thing, as she that was verie ambitious,
burning in vnquenchable desire to beare the name
of a quene. At length therefore, communicating
his purposed intent with his trustie friends, amongst
whome Banquo was the chiefest, vpon confidence
of their promised aid, he sue the king at Ennernes,
or (as some say) at Wotgolfuane, in the first yeare of
his reigne. Then hauing a companie about him of
such as he had made priuie to his enterprise, he cau-
sed himselfe to be proclaimed king, and forthwith
went vnto Scone, where (by common consent) he
received the inuestiture of the kingdome according to
the accustomed manner. The bodie of Duncane was
first conueied vnto Elgine, & there buried in king-
lie wife; but afterwards it was remoued and con-
ueied vnto Colmekill, and there laid in a sepulture
amongst his predecessors, in the yeare after the birth
of our Saviour, 1046.

Malcolme Cammore and Donald Bane the sons
of king Duncane, for feare of their liues (which they

might well know that Macbeth would seeke to
bring to end for his more sure confirmation in the
estate) fled into Cumberland, where Malcolme re-
mained, till time that saint Edward the sonne of
Ethelred recovered the dominion of England from
the Danish power, the which Edward receiued Mal-
colme by way of most friendlie entertainment: but
Donald passed ouer into Ireland, where he was ten-
derlie cherished by the king of that land. Macbeth,
after the departure thus of Duncanes sonnes, used
great liberalitie towards the nobles of the realme,
thereby to win their fauour, and when he saw that
no man went about to trouble him, he set his whole
intention to mainteine iustice, and to punish all en-
ormities and abuses, which had chanced through the
feeble and slothfull administration of Duncane.
And to bring his purpose the better to passe without
anie trouble or great businesse, he deuised a subtil
wile to bring all offenders and misdoers vnto ius-
tice, solliciting sundrie of his liege people with high
rewards, to challenge and appeale such as most op-
pressed the commons, to come at a day and place ap-
pointed, to fight singular combats within barriers,
in triall of their accusations. When these thaeues,
barretors, and other oppressors of the innocent peo-
ple were come to darren battell in this wile (as
is said) they were streight waies apprehended by
armed men, and trussed vp in halters on gibbets,
according as they had iustlie deserued. The residue
of misdoers that were left, were punished and ta-
med in such sort, that manie yeares after all thess
and reifings were little heard of, the people intioing
the blissefull benefit of good peace and tranquillitie.
Macbeth shewing himselfe thus a most diligent
punisher of all iniuries and wrongs attempted by a-
nie disordered persons within his realme, was ac-
counted the sure defense and buckler of innocent
people; and hereto he also applied his whole indueor,
to cause yong men to exercise themselves in vertu-
ous maners, and men of the church to attend their
diuine seruice according to their vocations.

He caused to be claime sundrie thanes, as of Cath-
nes, Sutherland, Stranauerne, and Ross, because
through them and their seditious attempts, much
trouble baillie rose in the realme. He appeased the
troublesome state of Galloway, and sue one Mak-
gill a tyrant, who had manie yeares before passed no-
thing of the regall authoritie or power. To be briefe,
such were the worthe doings and princelie acts of
this Macbeth in the administration of the realme,
that if he had attained therevnto by rightfull means,
and continued in byrightnesse of iustice as he began,
till the end of his reigne, he might well haue bene
numbred amongst the most noble princes that anie
there had reigned. He made manie wholesome lawes
and statutes for the publike weale of his subiects.

Lawes made by king Makbeth set
foorth according to Hector
Boetius.



That is within orders of the
church, shall not be compelled
to answer before a tempozall
iudge, but be remitted to his or-
dinarie.

The tenth part of all fruits that in-
crease on the ground, shall be giuen to the
church, that God may be worshipped with
oblations and prayers.

He that continueth obstinatlie in the
curse of the church by the space of one
yeare, shall be excommunicated.

Liberties of
them that
haue taken or-
ders.

Cithers to be
paid to the
church.

Persons ac-
cursed.

whole yeare, continuing to be reconciled, shall be reputed enemie to the common-wealth: and if he perseuere both indurand mind the space of two yeares, all his goods shall be forfeited.

The order of
knighthood.

He that taketh the order of knighthood, shall take an oth to defend ladies, virgins, widows, orphans, and the communallite. And he that is made king, shall be swozne in semblable maner.

Eldest Vaughn =
terg

The eldest daughter shall inherit hir fathers lands, as well as the eldest sonne should, if the father leaue no sonne behind him. And if anie woman marie with the lord of the soile, she shall lose hir heritage.

The king's
gift.

No man shall enjoy anie lands, rents, offices, or other possessions, but onelie by gift and grant of the king.

No offices to go by inheritance

No office shal go by inheritance, but
shal still remaine at the kings free disposi-
tion, as shal stand with his pleasure to af-
figne it

Задание

No man shall sit as iudge in anie temporall court without the kings commission authorizing him thereto.

He that is retained or becommeth a
sworne man to anie other person saue one
lie to the king, shall lose his life for it; and
euerie man shall be bound to defend the
king against all other creatures.

Railers of the
Kings people,
or unlawfull

king against all other creatures.
 He that raiseth the kings liege people
 shall lose life, goods, and lands, and so shall
 they doo that assemble together by his pro-
 veynement

waiters upon

He that attendeth anie man to the church, market, or to anie other publicke assemblie, as a retainer, shall suffer death, except he haue living at his hands, on what day he so offendeth.

Keeping of

whome he so attendeth.

A houlfe kept by anie of the commons or husbandmen to anie other vñe than for til-
lage and laboring of the earth, shall be for-
feited to the King by vsure.

Counterfet
foles, with
minstrels and
souldiers

Counterfeit foolcs, minstrels, iesters
and these kind of iuglers, with such like
idle persons, that range abroad in the
countrie, hauing no speciall licence of the
king, shall be compelled to learne some sci
ence or craft to get their liuing; if they re
fuse so to do, they shall be drawen like hore
sog in the plough and harrong.

Possession of

Though the sonne chance to be put in possession of his fathers lands by the kings licence, during the life of his father; yet shall the same lands be forfeited to the king if his father be afterwards convicted of treason committed against the kings person.

Dowrie of

All such women, that are married to a
 nie lord or baron (though the haue no issue
 by him) shall yet haue the third part of his
 lands after his decesse, and the remanent
 shall go to his heires.

Marriage of
lords and

All maner of lordes and great barons
shall not contract matrimonie with other
vnder paine of death, speciallie if thei
landes and rooues lie nere together.

All armour and weapon borne to other effect than in defense of the king & realme in time of wars, shall be confiscated to the kings use, with all other moveable goods of the partie that herein offendeth.

Such as be appointed gouernours, or (as I may call them) capteins, that buy with in those limits, where their charges lie, anye lands or possessions, shall lose both lands, & possessions, and the monie which they haue paid for the same.

And if anie of the said captaynes or gouernours marie their sonnes or daughters vnto anie maner of person that dwelleth within the bounds of their roomes, they shall lose their office: neither shall it be lawfull for anie of their sonnes or coperteners to occupie the same office.

These and the like commendable lawes Haketh caused to be put as then in use, governing the realme for the space of ten yeares in equall iustice. But this was but a counterfet zeale of equitie shewed by him, partly against his naturall inclination to purchase thereby the fauour of the people. Shortly after, he began to shew what he was, in stead of a quicke practising crueltie. For the pricke of conscience (as it chanceth euer in tyrants, and such as a teine to anie estate by vnrightheous means) caused him euer to feare, least he should be seruend of the same cup, as he had ministred to his predecessors. The words also of the three weired sisters, would not out of his mind, which as they promised him the kingdome, so likewise did they promise it at the same time vnto the posteritie of Wanguho. He will therefore the same Wanguho with his sonne named Silence, to come to a supper that he had prepared for them, which was in deed, as he had deuised, present death at the hands of certaine murderers, whom he hired to execute that deed, appointing them meete with the same Wanguho and his sonne without the palace, as they returned to their lodging, and there to slea them, so that he would not haue his house slandered, but that in time to come he might cleare himselfe, if anie thing were laid to his charge.

upon anie suspicion that might arise.
 It chanced yet by the benefit of the darke night
 that though the father were slaine, the sonne yet
 the helpe of almighty God reseruing him to bet-
 ter fortune, escaped that danger: and afterwards
 using some inkeling (by the admonition of his
 friends which he had in the court) how his life was
 sought no lesse than his fathers, who was slaine
 by chance medlie (as by the handling of the mat-
 tress which would haue had it to appare) but eu-
 er upon a preperensed deuise: wherevpon to auoid
 further perill he fled into Wales. ¶ But here I thinke
 it shall not much make against my purpose, if (ac-
 cording to the order which I find obserued in the
 first historie) I shall in few words rehearse
 the original line of those kings, which haue descen-
 ded from the fore said Banquo, that they which haue
 ioined the kingdome by so long continuance of suc-
 cession, from one to another, and that euen vnto the
 our daies, may be knownen from whence they
 their first beginning.

Wherefore (as before is said) fled into Wales, where theophilus offer by his courteous and amiable behaviour, he grew into such favour and estimation with the prince of that countrie, that he might banneth have wished anie greater; at length also he came into such familiar acquaintance with the said princes daughter, that she of courtesie in

and suffered him to get hir with child; which being once understood, hir father the prince conceived such hateful displeasure towards him, that he finally due him, & held his daughter in most vile estate of servitude, for that she had consented to be on this wife deflowered by a stranger. At the last yet, she was delivered of a sonne named Walter, who within few yeares proued a man of greater courage and valiance, than arie other had commonlie bene found, although he had no better bringing vp than (by his grandfathers appointment) among the baser sort of people. Howbeit he shewed euer euen from his infancie, that there reigned in him a certaine stoutnesse of stomach, readie to attempt high enterprises.

It chanced that falling out with one of his companions, after manie talunting words which passed betwixt them, the other to his reproch objected that he was a bastard, and begotten in unlawful bed; where-with being sore kindled, in his raging furie he ran vpon him and slue him out of hand. Then was he glad to flee out of Wales, and comming into Scotland to seek some friendship there, he happened into the company of such Englishmen, as were come thither with quene Margaret, and behaued himselfe so soberlie in all his demeanours, that within a while he was highly esteemed amongst them. Not long after by such means attaining to the degree of high reputation, he was sent with a great powder of men into the westerne Isles, into Galloway, & other parts of the realme, to deliuer the same from the tyrannie and inuious oppression there exercised by diuers misgouerned persons; which enterprise according to his commission he atchieued, with such prudent policie and manhood, that immediatlie vpon his returne to the court, he was made lord steward of Scotland, with assignement to receive the kings rents and duties out of the parts of the realme.

This Walter Steward had a sonne named Alan Steward, who went after with Goodricke of Bulleigne duke of Roaine, & Robert duke of Normandie sonne to king William the bastard that conquered Englnd, into the holie land, at what time they with other westerne princes made the great iourneie thither, in the yeare 1099. Alan had issue Alexander Steward, that founded the abbrie of Pasleie of saint Benedicts order. Walter Steward, whose valiance was well notified at the battell of Largis, as hereafter shall be shewed, was the sonne of the said Alexander. The same Walter had issue two sons, the one named Alexander, fought right ballantlie in defense of his father at the foresaid battell; and the other named Robert Steward got the lands of Terbowtoun, and married the heire of Crukeistoun, from whom descended the earles of Leuenor and Dervlie. Moreover, the aboue mentioned Alexander Steward that founded Pasleie, had diuerse mo sonnes, as John and James, with sundrie other. Howbeit they tooke new surnames by the name of those lands, vnto the which they succeeded. The afore reckoned John Steward, after the death of his brother James, married the heire of Bonkill a virgine of great beautie, and had by hir Walter Steward that inherited the lands of Bonkill, Kankreth, Kothelsaie, Bute, and Stewatoun, after that his father the foresaid John was slaine at Falkirke.

He married Margaret Bruce daughter to king Robert Bruce, by whome he had issue king Robert the second of that name. This Robert the second tooke to wife one Isabell Spire, a damsell of right excellent beautie, she was daughter to sir Adam Spire knight, and brought forth issue, thre sonnes and thre daughters. The eldest sonne hight John Steward otherwife named Robert, who succeeded im-

mediatlie after his fathers deceasse in gouernance of the crowne. The second called Robert was made earle of Fife and Menteith, also he was created duke of Albanie, and ruled the realme of Scotland vnder the name of gouernour, for the space of fifteene yeares. The third sonne named Alexander was earle of Buchquhane and lord of Baudenot. The eldest daughter was married to James that was the sonne and heire of William earle of Douglas. The second daughter was married to John Dunbar, brother to George of Dunbar earle of March, and was made to the aduancement of his further fame earle of Murray. He begot on hir one onelie daughter, that was married to the Dowglas, and so Douglas came to the earle dome of Murray. The third daughter was married vnto John Lioun, that was after made lord of Glammis.

Moreover, the foresaid Robert that was the first of the Stewards which wore the crowne in Scotland, married Eufame daughter to the earle of Ross, and got on hir two sonnes, Walter earle of Atholl, and David earle of Stratherne. This Walter solicited Robert duke of Albanie, to sea David Steward duke of Rothsaie. And after that James the first was returned home forth of England, he did what he could to moue him to sea all the lineage of the said duke still being in hope after the dispatch of his kinsmen to come to the crowne himselfe, which hope moued him to procure his nephue Robert Steward, and Robert Graham his daughters son, to sea king James the first also, for the which crime the same Walter was after conuicted and destroyed with all his sonnes. His brother David earle of Buchquhane died without issue, and so the lands of both these brethren returned againe to the crowne, without anie memorie of their blood. Of Robert Steward duke of Albanie, came duke Murdoch, who married the earle of Leuonor daughter, and got on hir thre sonnes, Walter, Alexander, and James.

Duke Murdoch himselfe with his two first sonnes were slaine at Striueling by king James the first, & the third brother James in reuenge thereof burnt Dunbertane, and was after chased into Ireland, where he deceased without issue. Robert the third of that name married Annabill Drommond, daughter to sir John Drommond of Strobhall knight, and got on hir David and James. The first died in Falkland, and the other attained the crowne, and was called James the first, and married the ladie Jane daughter to John Beauford erle of Summerset in England. He had by hir two sonnes borne at one birth, Alexander and James. The first died young, the second attained the crowne, named James the second. James the first had also six daughters, of the which the eldest was giuen in mariage to the Dolphin of France, the second to the duke of Britaine, the third to the lord of Feir, the fourth to the lord of Dalkeith, the fifth to the earle of Huntley, and the sixth had no succession. James the second married Margaret daughter to the duke of Gelderland, and begot on hir thre sonnes, and two daughters.

The first succeeded him in the kingdome, and was called James the third: the second named Alexander was duke of Albanie, and married first the earle of Dhenies daughter, and got on hir Alexander, that was afterward bishop of Murray, and then parting with hir went into France, where he married the countesse of Bullogne, and begot on hir John Steward duke of Albanie, that was gouernor of Scotland manie yeeres in the minority of James the first. The third sonne, John Steward was earle of Mar, whose chance was to be slaine in the Cannongat in a bathat. The first daughter of James the second, was married to the lord Boid, who begot on

Duke of Albanie.
Alexander Steward, sonne to king Robert the second.

John Dunbar.

Eufame.

Walter and David sonnes to king Robert.
Robert duke of Albanie.
James the first.

Graham.

Duke Murdoch

King Robert the third.

David and James, sons to king Robert the third

John Beauford earle of Summeriet.

James the first and his issue.

The duke of Gelders daughter.

James and Alexander.

Duke of Albanie the gouernor of Scotland.
The lord Boid.

The lord
Hammilton.

Lord Creich-
ton.
James the
third and
his issue.

James the
fourth.

Malbeths
brood.

His crueltie
caused thogh
fear.

The castell of
Dunslane
hailed.

Malbethe
thane of Fife.

hir a sonne that was slaine by the lord Spungumrie, and a daughter that was married to the earle of Castels. After the death of the lord Boid, the husband of this first daughter of James the second, she was effionies married to the lord Hammilton, and by that means was the house of the Hammiltions honored with the kings blood. The other sister was married to the lord Creichten, of whom came small succession worthe to be mentioned. James the third married Margaret daughter to the king of Denmarke. Of the which marriage was borne James the fourth, Alexander that was bishop of saint Andrews & duke of Albanie, and John Stewart earle of Mar, but these two died without issue.

James the fourth married Margaret daughter to king Henrie the seventh of England, and begot on hir James the fifth, who marrieng first the ladie Pagdalen daughter to Francis the French king, had no issue by hir, for that she died in the yere next after hir comming into Scotland, and then shortly after the said James the fifth married the ladie Marie de Lorein, duchesse of Loule, a widow, and by hir had he issue Marie quene of Scotland, that toke to husband Henrie Stewart lord Dornlie, by whome she had issue Charles James, now king of Scotland. But to returne unto Malbeth, in continuing the historie, and to begin where I left, ye shall understand that after the contrived slaughter of Banquo, nothing prospered with the foresaid Malbeth: for in manner euerie man began to doubt his owne life, and durst bneath appeare in the kings presence; and euen as there were manie that stood in feare of him, so likewise stood he in feare of manie, in such sort that he began to make those awaie by one surmized cauillation or other, whome he thought most able to worke him anie displeasure.

At length he found such sweetnesse by putting his nobles thus to death, that his earnest thirst after blood in this behalfe might in no wise be satisfied: for ye must consider he wan double profit (as hee thought) hereby: for first they were rid out of the way whome he feared, and then againe his coffers were enriched by their goods which were forfeited to his use, whereby he might better mainteine a garrd of armed men about him to defend his person from iniurie of them whom he had in anie suspicion. Further, to the end he might the more cruelle oppresse his subiects with all tyrantlike wrongs, he builded a strong castell on the top of an hie hill called Dunslane, situate in Colvrie, ten miles from Perth, on such a proud height, that standing there aloft, a man might behold well nere all the countries of Angus, Fife, Stremmond, and Ermedale, as it were lieng underneath him. This castell then being founded on the top of that high hill, put the realme to great charges before it was finished, for all the stufte necessarie to the building, could not be brought vp without much toile and businesse. But Malbeth being once determined to haue the worke go forward, caused the thanes of each shire within the realme, to come and helpe towards that building, each man his course about.

At the last, when the turne fell vnto Malbethe thane of Fife to build his part, he sent workemen with all needfull provision, and commanded them to shew such diligence in euerie behalfe, that no occasion might be giuen for the king to find fault with him, in that he came not himselfe as other had done, which he refused to do, for doubt least the king bearing him (as he partly understood) no great good will, would late violent hands vpon him, as he had done vpon diuerse other. Shortly after, Malbeth comming to behold how the worke went forward, and because he found not Malbethe there, he was

soze offended, and said; I perceiue this man will neuer obeie my commandements, till he be ridden with a snaffle: but I shall prouide well inough for him. Neither could he afterwards abide to looke vpon the said Malbethe, either for that he thought his puissance ouer great; either else for that he had learned of certaine wizzards, in whose words he put great confidence (for that the prophesie had happened so right, which the thre faries or weire sisters had declared vnto him) how that he ought to take heed of Malbethe, who in time to come should seeke to destroy him.

And fuerlie herevpon had he put Malbethe to death, but that a certeine witch, whome hee had in great trust, had told that he should neuer be slaine with man borne of anie woman, nor vanquished till the wood of Wernane came to the castell of Dunslane. By this prophesie Malbethe put all feare out of his heart, supposing he might do what he would, without anie feare to be punished for the same, for by the one prophesie he beleued it was impossible for anie man to vanquish him, and by the other impossible to slea him. This vaine hope caused him to do manie outragious things, to the greuous oppression of his subiects. At length Malbethe, to auoid perill of life, purposed with himselfe to passe into England, to procure Malcolme Cammore to claime the crowne of Scotland. But this was not so secretlie denised by Malbethe, but that Malbeth had knowledge giuen him thereof: for kings (as is said) haue sharpe sight like vnto Lynx, and long ears like vnto Vidua. For Malbeth had in euerie nole mans house, one lie fellow or other in fee with him, to reueale all that was said or done within the same, by which sight he oppressed the most part of the nobles of his realme.

Immediatlie then, being aduertised whereabout Malbethe went, he came hastily with a great power into Fife, and forthwith besieged the castell where Malbethe dwelled, trusting to haue found him therein. They that kept the house, without anie resistance opened the gates, and suffered him to enter, mistrusting none euill. But neuertheless Malbeth most cruelle caused the wife and children of Malbethe, with all other whom he found in that castell, to be slaine. Also he confiscated the goods of Malbethe, proclaimed him traitor, and confined him out of all the parts of his realme; but Malbethe was already escaped out of danger, and gotten into England vnto Malcolme Cammore, to trie what purchase hee might make by means of his support, to reuenge the slaughter so cruelle executed on his wife, his children, and other friends. At his comming vnto Malcolme, he declared into what great miserie the estate of Scotland was brought, by the detestable cruelties exercised by the tyrant Malbeth, hauing committed manie horrible slaughters and murders, both as well of the nobles as commons, for the which he was hated right mortallie of all his liege people, desiring nothing more than to be deliuered of that intollerable and most heauie yoke of thraldome, which they sustained at such a castifes hands.

Malcolme hearing Malbethes words, which he vttered in verie lamentable sort, for more compassion and verie ruth that pearced his sorrowfull hart, bewailing the miserable state of his countrie, he fetched a deepe sigh; which Malbethe perceiuing, began to fall most earnestlie in hand with him, to enterprise the deliuering of the Scottish people out of the hands of so cruell and bloudie a tyrant, as Malbeth by too manie plaine experiments did shew himselfe to be: which was an easie matter for him to bring to passe, considering not onelie the god title he had, but also the earnest desire of the people to haue some or-

Malcolme
Cammore his
answer.

Malbethe
answer.

Lynx
and
Vidua.

Table of a
fox.

Malbethe
crueltie
against
Malbethe.

Malbethe
capitula
England
to
Comm.

Malbethe
words
Malcolme.

Malbethe
words
Malcolme.

Malbethe
words
Malcolme.

Malbethe
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Malcolme.

Malbethe
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Malcolme.

Malbethe
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Malcolme.

Malbethe
words
Malcolme.

castion mini-
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the outragio-
nance. Tho-
the oppressio-
ner as Mal-
he were com-
spake, or el-
he thought t-
on dissembl-
followeth.

I am t-
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of certeine i-
nothing ma-
and voluptu-
teine of all i-
king of Sco-
and matron-
cie should b-
blondie ty-
Malbethe
answer.

Malbethe
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Malbethe
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Malbethe
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caſion miniſtred, whereby they might be reuenged of thoſe notable iniuries, which they daillie ſuſtained by the outrageous crueltie of Makhbeths miſgouernance. Though Malcolme was verie ſorrowfull for the oppreſſion of his countie-men the Scots, in manner as Makhduſſe had declared; yet doubting whether he were come as one that ment unſeinedlie as he ſpake, or elſe as ſent from Makhbeth to betraie him, he thought to haue ſome further triall, and thereby on diſſembling his mind at the firſt, he answered as followeth.

I am trulie verie ſorie for the miſerie chanced to my countie of Scotland, but though I haue neuer ſo great affection to relieue the ſame, yet by reaſon of certeine incurable vices, which reigne in me, I am nothing meet thereto. Firſt, ſuch immoderate luſt and voluptuous ſenſualitie (the abhominable ſountain of all vices) followeth me, that if I were made king of Scots, I ſhould ſeeke to deſloure your maids and matrones, in ſuch wiſe that mine intemperance ſhould be moze impoſſible vnto you, than the bloudie tyrannie of Makhbeth now is. Wherevnto Makhduſſe answered: This ſuerlie is a verie euill fault, for manie noble princes and kings haue loſt both liues and kingdomes for the ſame; neuertheleſſe there are women enow in Scotland, and therefore follow my counſell. Make thy ſelfe king, and I ſhall conueie the matter ſo wiſelie, that thou ſhalt be ſo ſatiſfied at thy pleaſure in ſuch ſecret wiſe, that no man ſhall be aware thereof.

Then ſaid Malcolme, I am alſo the moſt auariti-ous creature on the earth, ſo that if I were king, I ſhould ſeeke ſo manie waies to get lands and goods, that I would ſea the moſt part of all the nobles of Scotland by ſurmized accusations, to the end I might inioy their lands, goods, and poſſeſſions; and therefore to ſhew you what miſchiefe may inſue on you through mine unſatiable couetouſnes, I will rehearſe vnto you a fable. There was a ſor hauiug a ſore place on him ouerſet with a ſwarme of flies, that continually ſucked out his bloud: and when one that came by and ſaw this manner, demanded whether ſhe would haue the flies bzauen beſide him, he answered no: for if theſe flies that are already full, and by reaſon thereof ſucke not verie egerlie, ſhould be chafed alwaie, other that are emptie and fellie an hungred, ſhould light in their places, and ſucke out the reſidue of my bloud farre moze to my greauance than theſe, which now being ſatiſfied doe not much annoy me. Therefore ſaith Malcolme, ſuffer me to remaine where I am, leaſt if I attaine to the regiment of your realme, mine unquenchable auarice may proue ſuch; that ye would thinke the diſpleaſures which now grieue you, ſhould ſeeme eaſie in reſpect of the unmeaſurable outrage, which might inſue through my comming amongſt you.

Makhduſſe to this made answer, how it was a far worſe fault than the other: for auarice is the root of all miſchiefe, and for that crime the moſt part of our kings haue bene ſlaine and brought to their ſinall end. Yet notwithstanding follow my counſell, and take vpon thee the crowne. There is gold and riches enow in Scotland to ſatiſſie thy greedie deſire. Then ſaid Malcolme againe, I am furthermore inclined to diſſimulation, telling of leaſings, and all other kinds of deceit, ſo that I naturallie reioiſe in nothing ſo much, as to betraie & deceiue ſuch as put anie truſt or confidence in my words. When ſith there is nothing that moze becommeth a prince than conſtancie, veritie, truth, and iuſtice, with the other laudable fellowſhip of thoſe faire and noble vertues which are comprehended onelie in ſootherneſſe, and that lieng vtterlie ouerthroweth the ſame; you ſee how vnable I am to gouerne anie prouince or regi-

on: and therefore ſith you haue remedies to cloke and hide all the reſt of my other vices, I praie you find ſhift to cloke this vice amongſt the reſidue.

Then ſaid Makhduſſe: This yet is the worſt of all, and there I leaue thee, and therefore ſaie; Why ye unhappy and miſerable Scottiſhmen, which are thus ſcourged with ſo manie and ſundrie calamities, each one aboute other! We haue one curſed and wicked tyrant that now reigneth ouer you, without anie right or title, oppreſſing you with his moſt bloudie crueltie. This other that hath the right to the crowne, is ſo replet with the inconstant behauiour and manifeſt vices of Engliſhmen, that he is nothing worthe to inioy it: for by his owne confeſſion he is not onelie auaritiſious, and giuen to unſatiable luſt, but ſo falſe a traitor withall, that no truſt is to be had vnto anie word he ſpeaketh. Adieu Scotland, for now I account my ſelfe a baniſhed man for ever, without comfort or conſolation: and with thoſe words the blackiſh teares trickled downe his cheekes verie abundantly.

At the laſt, when he was readie to depart, Malcolme toke him by the ſleeue, and ſaid: We of god comfort Makhduſſe, for I haue none of theſe vices before remembred, but haue teſted with thee in this manner, onelie to proue thy mind: for diuerſe times heretofore hath Makhbeth ſought by this manner of meanes to bring me into his hands, but the moze now I haue ſhewed my ſelfe to condeſcend to thy motion and request, the moze diligence ſhall I be in accompliſhing the ſame. Incontinentlie herevpon they embraced each other, and promiſing to be faithfull the one to the other, they ſell in conſultation how they might beſt prouide for all their buſineſſe, to bring the ſame to good effect. Some after, Makhduſſe repairing to the borders of Scotland, addreſſed his letters with ſecret diſpatch vnto the nobles of the realme, declaring how Malcolme was confederat with him, to come haſtilie into Scotland to claime the crowne, and therefore he required them, ſith he was right inheritor thereto, to aſſiſt him with their powers to recouer the ſame out of the hands of the wrongfull ſurper.

In the meane time, Malcolme purchaſed ſuch fauor at king Edwards hands, that old Siward earle of Northumberland was appointed with ten thouſand men to go with him into Scotland, to ſupport him in this enterpriſe, for recouerie of his right. After theſe newes were ſpread abroad in Scotland, the nobles drew into two ſeueral factions, the one taking part with Makhbeth, and the other with Malcolme. Wherevpon inſued oftentimes ſundrie bickerings, & diuerſe light ſkirmiſhes: for thoſe that were of Malcolmes ſide, would not leaſard to ioine with their enemies in a pigbt field, till his comming out of England to their ſupport. But after that Makhbeth perceiued his enemies power to increaſe, by ſuch aid as came to them forth of England with his aduerſarie Malcolme, he recoiled backe into Fife, there purpoſing to abide in campe fortified, at the caſtell of Dunſinane, and to fight with his enemies, if they ment to purſue him; howbeit ſome of his friends aduiſed him, that it ſhould be beſt for him, either to make ſome agreement with Malcolme, or elſe to flee with all ſpeed into the Fles, and to take his treaſure with him, to the end he might wage ſundrie great prizes of the realme to take his part, & reſtaine ſtrangers, in whome he might better truſt than in his owne ſubiects, which ſtale daillie from him: but he had ſuch confidence in his prophecies, that he beleued he ſhould neuer be vanquiſhed, till Birnane wood were brought to Dunſinane; nor yet to be ſlaine with anie man, that ſhould be or was borne of anie woman.

Malcolme

Branches of
trees.

Malcolme let-
teth his men
in order of bat-
tell.
Malcolme fle-
eth, & is pur-
sued of Mal-
duffe.

Malcolme is
slaine.

1057. 10. M.
1061. H. B.
8. H. B.

Malcolme

A parlement
at Forfar.

Thanes
changed into
earles.

Surnames.

Malcolme following basilie after Malbeth, came the night before the battell vnto Birnane wood, and when his armie had rested a while there to refresh them, he commanded euerie man to get a bough of some tree or other of that wood in his hand, as big as he might beare, and to march forth therewith in such wise, that on the next morrow they might come close lie and without sight in this manner within view of his enemies. On the morrow when Malbeth beheld them comming in this sort, he first marvelled that the matter ment, but in the end remembered himselfe that the prophesie which he had heard long before that time, of the comming of Birnane wood to Dunstan castle, was likeli to be now fulfilled. Heurther-
thelesse, he brought his men in order of battell, and exhorted them to do valiantlie, howbeit his enemies had scarcelie cast from them their boughs, when Malbeth perceiuing their numbers, betooke him streit to flight, whom Malduffe pursued with great hatred euen till he came vnto Lunfannaine, where
Malbeth perceiuing that Malduffe was hard at his backe, leapt beside his horse, saying: Thou traitor, what meaneth it that thou shouldest thus in vaine follow me that am not appointed to be slaine by anie creature that is borne of a woman, come on thee, for, and receive thy reward which thou hast deserued for thy paines, and therewithall he lifted by his sword thinking to haue slaine him.
But Malduffe quicklie auoiding from his horse, per he came at him, answered (with his naked sword in his hand) saying: It is true Malbeth, and now shall thine insatiable crueltie haue an end, for I am euen he that thy wizards haue told thee of, who was neuer borne of my mother, but ripped out of her wombe: therewithall he slept vnto him, and slue him in the place. Then cutting his head from his shoulders, he set it vpon a pole, and brought it vnto Malcolme. This was the end of Malbeth, after he had reigned 17 yeeres ouer the Scottishmen. In the beginning of his reigne he accomplished manie woorthie acts, verie profitable to the common-wealth (as ye haue heard) but afterward by illusion of the diuell, he defamed the same with most terrible crueltie. He was slaine in the yeere of the incarnation, 1057, and in the 16 yeere of king Edwards reigne ouer the Englishmen.
Malcolme Canmore thus recovering the relme, in the 16 yeere of the same Edwards reigne, he was crowned at Scone the 25 day of Aprill, in the yeere of our Lord 1057. Immediatlie after his coronation he called a parlement at Forfar, in the which he rewarded them with lands and liuings that had assisted him against Malbeth, aduancing them to fees and offices as he saw cause, & commanded that speciallie those that bare the surname of anie offices or lands, should haue and inioy the same. He created manie earles, lords, barons, and knights. Manie of them that before were thanes, were at this time made earles, as Fife, Wentesh, Atholl, Leuenor, Murray, Cathnes, Koss, and Angus. These were the first earles that haue bene heard of amongst the Scottishmen (as their histories do make mention.) Manie new surnames were taken by at this time amongst them, as Cauder, Lokart, Gordon, Selton, Lauder, Malwane, Meldrum, Schaw, Leithmouth, Libertoun, Strachguben, Cargill, Kattrep, Dundas, Cockbourne, Pirton, Penzeis, Abercummie, Lillie, with manie other that had possessions given them, which gaue names to the owners for the time. Others got their surnames by offices, as Steward, Durward, and Banerman. Also the proper names of manie valiant captiues were turned into generall surnames, as Bennedie, Graham,

Hate, with diuerse other too long here to rehearse. So that it came to passe then, as it hath done manie times since, that new surnames haue woone the old out of vse.

In the foresaid parlement thus holden at Forfar, in the beginning of his reigne, there were manie hole some ordinances established, both appertaining to ciuill administration, and also to the ecclesiasticall iurisdiction. In reward also of Malduffes seruice, who (as ye haue heard) chieslie aided him to the attaining of the crowne, he honozed him and his posteritie with three sorts of priuileges. First, that the earle of Fife, for the time being, at the coronation of a king, should by his office set the crowne on the kings head. The second was, that when the king should give battell to his enemies, the same earle should lead the vauitgard of his host. The third, that the linage of Malduffe should inioy regall authoritie and power within all their lands and comes, as to appoint officers and iudges for the hearing and determining of all matters and controuersies (treason onelie excepted) and that if anie of their men or tenants were called to answer in anie court out of their circuit, they might appeale to their owne iudges to be appointed, as before is expessed.

Johannes Maior writeth in his chronicles, that the third priuilege, which Malcolme granted vnto this Malduffe and his posteritie, was this, that for euerie gentleman, that anie of them should hap to kill by chance medlie, and not vpon pretended malice, for the summe of 24 marks he should redeeme his punishment due for the same: & for the casuall slaughter of a meaner person he should be fined at twelue marks. So that murderers were wont to say, that if they were able to paie that summe to the kinroc, they ought to be released of further punishment, by Malduffes priuilege. But this third priuilege, together with the other two former grants, the said Maior fore reprehendeth, and not without cause, as may appere, considering the naturall inclination of that people vnto murder, which by this meanes nourishing secret hatred and malice in their hearts, might vnder the cloke of casuall falling out, slea whom they liked.

It was ordeined also at this parlement, that barons which had liberties within themselves, should make gibbets, whereon men that deserued death should suffer execution: and also draw-wels, wherein women that were condemned should be drowned, according to the order of the ciuill lawes vied in Scotland. Moreover, all the lawes that Malbeth had ordeined, were abrogated at this parlement. Thus whilest Malcolme was busied in setting orders amongst his subjects, tidings came that one Lugtake surnamed the sole, being either the sonne, or (as some write) the cosen of the late mentioned Malbeth, was conueied with a great number of such as had taken part with the said Malbeth vnto Scone, and there by their support receiued the crowne, as lawfull inheritor thereto. To appeale this businesse, was Malduffe earle of Fife sent with full commission in the kings name, who incounting with Lugtake at a village called Ellen in Bogdale, slue him, and discomfited his whole power, ordering the matter with them in such wise, that afterwards there was no more trouble attempted in that behalfe.

After this, the realme continued in peace certeine yeeres, till it chanced a great number of theues and robbers assembling themselves together at Cocbourne pethes, did much hurt, by robbing and spoiling the people in the countries of Pers and Louthian: howbeit, at length one Patrike Dunbar of Dunbar, by commandement of the king, fought with them, slue their capteine, with six hundred of his companie,

robbers of the
countrie.

Patrike
Dunbar earle
of March.

The head of a
thief or felon
given in arms

A conspiracie.

The manlike
garage of St.
Malcolme.

the more her-
in England

the more her-
in England

Malbeth and
Malduffe.

Malbeth's
lawes abrogat-
ed.

Malbeth.

Malbeth
crowned at
Scone.

Malbeth
slaine.

Malbeth
Dunbar.

Malbeth
Dunbar.

Malbeth
Dunbar.

company, and took fourescore prisoners, the which he caused to be hanged. And thus hauing deliuered the countie of those peblers, with losse of fortie of his owne men, he returned to the king, with the head of the capteine of that rout: so that for his manhod herein shewed, he was made by the king earle of March, and for the maintenance of his estate, had the lands of Cockbourne Bethes giuen to him and his heires for euer, vpon this condition, that in times conuining, the earles of March should purge Spers and Louthian of all theues and robbers. In memorie whereof, he was commanded to beate in his armes a fellows head sprinkled with blood.

Shortlie after he got knowledge, how there were certeine gentlemen that had conspired to slea him, & therefore taking occasion to go on hunting, where this act should haue bene executed, he calleth the chiefe anthoz of the conspiracie apart into a certeine ballie, which was closed on euerie side with thicke woods, and there brake the matter vnto him, in reposing him verie charpelle, for that he had so traitorously conspired his death, whose preservation he ought chiefe to haue wished, considering the manifold benefites he had receiued at his hands. And here-with leaping from his horse, drew his sword, commanding the other likewise to draw his, that now hauing conuenient time and place thereto, they might trie the matter betwixt them, who should be thought most worthy of life, by open force of knightlie prowesse. The conspirator hearing these words, as a man altogether astonished, fell downe vpon his knees at the kings feet, beseeching his grace of mercie for his wicked purpose and heinous offense: who seeing him thus penitent, had him arise, and said; I am content here vpon to forgive thee, so that thou be not of countsell hereafter in anie such traitorous practise.

Whilist things passed thus in Scotland, great and marvellous chanches came to passe within the realme of England. For after the death of king Edward, surnamed the Confessor, Harold the sonne of earle Godwine took on him the kingdome. But William bastard duke of Normandie, pretending title to the crowne of England, at length inuaded the land, and sleaing Harold in field, made a full conquest of the realme, and was crowned king at London by Eldred archbishop of Yorke. Here ye haue to understand, that king Edward in his life time had sent for his nephew Edward, the sonne of his brother Edmund Ironside, to come home forth of Hungarie, whither (after his fathers deceasse) he and his brother Godwine had bene sent aboate, as in the historie of England it appeareth more at large. This Edward had married the daughter of the emperor Henric, named Agatha, sister to the quene of Hungarie, and not the king of Hungaries daughter, although the Scottish writers doe so affirme. By hir he had issue a sonne named Edgar, and two daughters, the one named Margaret, and the other Christen.

King Edward ment that his nephew the said Edward should haue succeeded him, and (as some write) he would in his life time haue resigned the crowne vnto him. But he (a thing worthy of admiration) bitterlie refused it, and would not once meddle therewith during his uncles life time; & (as it chanced) he died, whilist his uncle king Edward was yet liuing. His sonne Edgar therefore, to whom it seemed that the crowne was due, when he saw the realme conquered by the Normans, despairing to recouer it out of their hands, got a ship, and determined with his mother and sisters to passe ouer into Germanie to his friends and kinsfolke there: but by contrarie winds he was driuen to shoure in the Forth, at a place called vnto this day the quenes ferrie. Malcolme being at the same time at Dunfermeling, when he

heard of the arriual of this ship, and understood that they were that were aboard in hir, he resorted thither with an honorable companie about him, to visit them for honours sake, vpon fauour he bare towards them, for that they were descended of that noble prince king Edward, in whose aforesaid time he had found so much gentleness and friendship.

Finallie, when he understood their estate, he brought them home with him to his palace, shewing them all the loue and friendship he could deuise; and in the end considering the excellent beutie, wisdom, and noble qualities of the ladie Margaret, sister to the same Edgar, he required of Agatha his mother to haue hir in marriage, wherevnto Agatha gladly condescended. Shortlie after, with an assemble of all the nobles of Scotland, this marriage was made and solemnized after the octaues of Easter, in the yeare 1067, with all the ioy & triumph that might be deuised. King William conqueror of England, being informed hercof, feared least this alliance betwixt Malcolme and Edgar might breed some trouble and disquietnesse to his estate, with the same Edgar had manie friends through all the parties of England. To prevent therefore the occasions of intestine troubles, he confined all the lineage of the foresaid Edgar, by reason whereof, a great number of Englishmen came into Scotland vnto king Malcolme, and manie of them obtaining livings at his hands, remained there continually during their liues, leauing to their posteritie their names & possessions. Amongst whom were these, Lindseie, Claus, Ramsie, Louell, Colchris, Prestoun, Sandlands, Wiffart, Sowlis, Wardlaw, Martwell, with diuerse other.

There came diuerse also out of Hungarie with quene Margaret, who likewise left their names to their families, which yet remaine euen vnto this day, as Creichtoun, Fotheringham, Giffart, Meluill, Worthwike, and others. Also there haue come at sundrie seasons out of France diuers surnames into Scotland, as Fraiser, Sinclare, Boswell, Pootray, Pountgummerte, Campbell, Bois, Betoun, or Betuin, Taillefer, and Bothwell, besides sundrie other which were but superfluous to rehearse at this time. & But to the order of the historie, it is recorded by writers, that these (which at this time came out of England vnto Edgar) brought great quantitie of gold and siluer with them; also manie reliques of saints, and (amongst other) that blacke crosse which king David gaue vnto the abbey of Holie rood house in Louthian, which he founded at his owne charges. Shortlie after the proscription of these Englishmen, William the conqueror sent an herald at armes vnto king Malcolme, demanding to haue Edgar deliuered into his hands, and threatening that if he refused to deliuer him, he would surely fetch him, and that smallie for Malcolms commodity.

But Malcolme, though he understood that he should be sure of wars at King Williams hands for his deniall, yet he declared plainelie to the herald, that his maisters request was unreasonable, & therefore he minded not in anie wise to gratifie him therein. King William receiuing this answer from king Malcolme, proclaimed open warre against Scotland. In the meane time all Northumberland took part with King Malcolme, for that he was their earles sisters sonne. Wherevpon King William sent a valiant capteine, a Norman borne named Roger, to inuade Northumberland. Which Roger gathering a power of men, came hastily into that countie, howbeit he abode a short time there in honor, for by the Scots & Northumberland men his armie was discomfited, and he himselfe traitorously slaine by his owne souldiers.

But

Malcolme
Conqueroz
sister to
Edgar
king.

1067.H.B.

Englishmen
sleed into Scot
land.

Surnames of
Englishmen
in Scotland.

Surnames
of Hungari-
ans.

Surnames of
Frenchmen.

The blacke
crosse.

William con-
queroz threat-
ning king
Malcolme.

Malcolms
answere.

Open warre
proclaimed by
William con-
queroz.
Northumber-
land taketh
part with King
Malcolme.
Roger a Nor-
man capteine
or rather earle
Roger (as I
take it.)
sleed in Eng-
land.

The earle of
Glocester.

Gospatrike
faith Simon
Duncel.

Odo bishop of
Baieur and
earle of Kent.

Malcolme
enterpris a-
gainst his en-
emies.

Robert the
sonne of wil-
liam conquere-
rour.
Berocastell
vpon Tine
fortified.

A peace con-
cluded be-
twixt William
Conquerour,
and Mal-
colme Cam-
more.

The roicrosse.
waltheof.

Sward earle
of Northum-
berland.

Rebellion in
Galloway.

Walter the
sonne of Fle-
ance.

Malglawe.

Walter crea-
ted high ste-
ward of
Scotland.

A new rebel-
lion in Mur-
repland.

But king William nothing discouraged with this overthrow: sent one Richard earle of Glocester (whome amongst all the Englishmen he had most in trust) with a mightie armie into Cumberlond, against whome were sent the earles of March and Penetith, who defended the countrie right manlie from the inuasion of the said earle, so that he was not able to take anie aduantage of them. King William aduertised herof, wared wonderfull wroth, that no more good was done against his enemies, whereupon he sent a new power thither with all speed, vnder the leading of his brother Odo, who was both bishop of Baieur, and earle of Kent. By this last armie, the countrie of Northumberland was soze spoiled, and a great number both of Scots and Northumberlandmen discomfited and slaine. But as Odo was preparing to returne, there came Malcolme, with all the power he might make, and giuing an onset vpon his enemies, slue a great number of them, and recouered all the bottie which Odo men had got in the countrie, and so right tofull of that victorie, returned into Scotland. King William yet nothing abashed for these mishaps, sent his sonne called Robert, with a far greater power than at anie time he had sent before, into Northumberland, who remaining a long season in campe nere to the riuer of Tine, attempted no notable enterprise, sauing that he repaired and newlie fortified the towne of Berocastell, which standeth vpon the same riuer of Tine, and then at length a peace was concluded betwixt the two kings vnder these conditions, that king Malcolme should inioy that part of Northumberland which lieth betwixt the Tweed, Cumberlond, and Stainmore, and to do homage to the King of England for the same. In the midst of Stainmore there shall be a crosse set vp, with the king of Englands image on the one side, and the king of Scotlands on the other, to signifie that the one is march to England, and the other to Scotland. This crosse was called the roicrosse, that is, the crosse of the kings. Moreover, it was concluded that Waltheof or Woldosius (as the Scottish writers name him) the sonne of Sward earle of Northumberland should marie king Williams niece, bozne of his daughter, and to be free from all payments and exactions due to the king by anie manner of prerogative or means, for the space of twentie yeares next ensuing.

In the necke of this peace thus concluded betwixt the kings, happened new trouble in Scotland, by reason of intestine rebellion: for the people of Galloway, and the Irland men, rose in great numbers, and spoiled the borders of their neighbors, not sparing from slaughter in all parts, where they were anie thing resisted. Against these rebels was sent by king Malcolme, Walter the sonne of Fleance (of whome there is mention made before) with a convenient armie, who at his coming into Galloway, first gaue the people of that countrie an overthrow, and slue their chiefe capteine Malglawe. Then afterwards fighting with them of the Isles, he subdued them in such wise, that all things were pacified euen at commandement. For which high prowes and diligence in this pece of seruice shewed, he was created by Malcolme high steward of the realme, so that afterwards both he and his posteritie euer since haue bozne that surname, euen vnto these our daies.

After the quieting of this businesse, there sprang a new tumult more dangerous than the former, for the Murrepland men, procuring them of Ross and Cathnes, with diuers other to ioine with them in confederacie, did not onelie slea the kings seruants, and those that were appointed vnder him to see in

vice ministered, but through support of one Malcolme, whome they chose to be their capteine, they also wasted and destroyed the kings possessions, with more crueltie than euer had bene heard of before. Wherefore to punish these traitorous attempts, Malcolme was sent with an armie into Mar. But the traitors doubting least they should not be able to withstand his puissance, thought nothing more available than to stop him with monie: but in the meane time came the king himselfe in good season into Monimusk, where he was aduertised, that in maner all the north parts of Scotland with the Isles, were confederat with the Murrepland men against him. The king astonished something at these newes, boined to glue the baronnie of Monimusk (which he vnderstood to be lands pertaining to the crowne) vnto the church of saint Andrew in Fife, if it might please God to send him victorie over his enemies.

At length comming vnto the water of Speie, he beheld his enemies on the further side, in greater number, and in better furniture for armor than he thought had bene possible to haue found in all Scotland: he perceiued also that his standard-bearer began to shrink, and not to shew the like cheerefull countenance as he ought to haue done. Wherefore he pulled the banner from him, and gaue it to sir Alexander Carron, who with this his new office obtained sundrie faire lands and possessions, to him and to his betres for euer: but his surname was afterwards changed, and called Skrimgeour; of the which is descended a noble house, continuing yet in great honor in the same surname and office. When the king was once passed the water, and the armies on both sides readie to haue ioined, through mediation of bishops and other vertuous men, the matter was taken vp, and peace made on these conditions: That the commons that took part with the rebels, should returne home out of hand, and the gentlemen to submit themselves to the kings pleasure, their liues and lands saued. Howbeit manie of them were kept in perpetuall prison during their liues, and all their goods confiscated to the kings vse.

All ciuill trouble and commotion being thus quieted, king Malcolme (speciallie by the good admonishment and exhortation of his wise quene Margaret, a woman of great zeale vnto the religion of that time) gaue himselfe in maner altogether vnto much deuotion, and workes of mercie; as in doing of almes deeds, by prouiding for the poore, and such like godlie exercises: so that in true vertue he was thought to excell all other princes of his time. To be brieue, herein there seemed to be in maner a certaine strife betwixt him, and that vertuous quene his wife, which of them should be most seruent in the loue of God, so that manie people by the imitation of them were brought vnto a better life. Agatha and hir daughter Christine also, by the example of these two holie liuers, renounced the pompe of the court, and got them to a priuat and solitarie life, wherein they gaue themselves wholie to diuine contemplation. Furthermore, Malcolme by the setting on of the quene his wife, ceased not to let his indeuor wholie to the aduancement of the christian religion, and to restore things that were decayed by the negligence of his predecessors. Wherefore whereas before his time, there were but foure bishops sees in Scotland, as saint Andrews, Glasco, Galloway, and Murthlake, and two of them, that is to say, saint Andrews and Murthlake remaining onelie in god reparation (the other being decayed) he restored the other two to their former beauties, and furthermore erected two other of new, as Murrepland and Cathnes, placing men of singular vertue and purenesse of life in the same.

Not and si-
perious
there brought
into Scot-
land.

The lamenta-
tion of the
Scottish nobi-
lity for the in-
temperate
succeding be-
gun to grow
in vse in their
countrie.

The ancient
sperence of
her amongst
the Scots.

Robert earle
of strength and
hugeness
of boile.

Standard
bearer.

Sir Alexan-
der Carron.

A peace con-
cluded.

The submi-
sion of gentle-
men.

King Mal-
colme things
exhortation
his wife, by
which himselfe
to deuotion.

A godlie

Agatha and
Christine re-
nounce the
world.

Bishops re-
restored and
newlie crea-
ted by king
Malcolme.

But

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Scotland
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1087. Al
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It is said, that such outrageous riot entered at this time, and began to grow in use among the Scottishmen, together with the language and manners of the English nation (by reason that such a multitude of the same, fleeing out of their countrie, were daily received as then into Scotland to inhabit there, as before is shewed) that disorder of the nobles perceiving that discommoditie and decay to the whole realme would insue of this intemperance, came to the king, lamenting grievously the case, for that this venemous infection spread so fast over the whole realme, to the perverting and utter removing of the ancient sobrietie of diet used in the same. Wherefore they besought him to provide some remedie in time, before hope of redresse were past, that the people might be againe reduced unto their former frugalitie, who hitherto used not to eat but once in the day, and then desiring no superfluous meates and drinks to be sought by sea and land, nor curiouslie dressed or served forth with sauces, but onelie feeding to satisfie nature, and not their greedie appetites.

Although this their sober fare, with the exercising of their bodies herewith in continuall travell, they grew more strong and greater of bodie, than their offspring are found to be in these daies: for they were more in resemblance like unto giants than unto men of our time, with great and huge bodies, mightie armes and limbs, pressing upon their enemies like unto fierre lions, bearing downe all before them, without dread of any danger, for that they exceeded all humane strength and power. Hereupon king Malcolme took great paines to have redressed this infective poison, and vnterlie to have expelled it forth of his realme. Nowbeit the nature of man is so prone and readie to embrace all kinds of vice, that where the Scottish people before had no knowledge nor understanding of fine fare or riotous surfeit; yet after they had once tasted the sweet poisoned-bait thereof, there was now no meane to be found to restrain their licentious desires. And yet those corrupted abuses and riotous superfluities (which came into the realme of Scotland with the Englishmen) planted therein by the daies of king Malcolme, are not to be compared in exercise with things used in our time. For in those daies, as yet the nature of man was not so overcome with the abuse of superfluities, as it is now adates; for then though they were gone from the ancient sparenesse of diet, they yet did not eat past twice a day, and had but two dishes at a meale: but now the greedie taste of mens insatiable lust is such, that no kind of flesh, fish, fruit, or whatsoever may be gotten, is unneeth able to quench their gluttonous appetit: a ravenous gormandizing; so that neither land, sea, nor aire, is left unsought to satisfie the same, as though they were too little of most high commendation that may devour most: wherein they may be justlie compared to greedie wolues and coywants. But to bewaile that in words which cannot be amended in deeds, is but a folke: for the infection is so entered into the inner parts of the intrails, that neither with purging, cutting, nor fasting, it may be holpen. Sooner shall you destroye the whole nation, than remove this vice.

In the meane time whilst things passed thus in Scotland, king William the Conqueror died in the 21 yeere of his reigne, and after the incarnation 1087. About which time king Malcolme caused the old church of Dunfermling to be plucked downe and builded by a new, beginning even at the first floze. In which season, one Egellwin or William (as the Scottish writers say) was bishop of that see, and prior of the abbey was one Turgot, who afterward was made bishop of saint Andrews, and wrote the lives

of quene Margaret and Malcolme his husband in the Scottish tong. Afterward he decessed in saint Andrews, but his bodie was brought unto Dunfermling, and there buried, because he was first prior thereof. King Malcolme by perswasion of this Turgot, builded also a church in Dunfermling, dedicated to the Trinitie, ordering from thenceforth that the common sepulture of the kings should be there, in like maner as it had bene afore time in the Ile of Iona at the abbey of Colmekill.

Amongst other vertuous ordinances also, which were devised and made by king Malcolme (through exhortation of his wife quene Margaret) mentioned by Turgot in the booke which he wrote of their lives, this is not to be forgotten, that he abrogated that wicked law, established by king Ewin the third, appointing halfe a marke of silver to be paid to the lord of the soile, in redemption of the womans chastitie, which is used to be paid yet unto this day, and is called the marchets of woman: where otherwise by tenor of king Ewins law, the lord had the use of their bodies all the first night after their marriage. King William surnamed the Red, the second sonne of king William the Conqueror, and successor to him in the kingdome of England, not well contented nor pleased in his mind, that the Scots should inuoy a great portion of the north parts of England, ancientlie belonging to his crowne as parcell thereof, he raised a great armie, and before any denouncing of warre by him made, invaded Northumberland, and took the castell of Anwik, putting all such to the sword as were found in the same.

King Malcolme, to withstand such exploits attempted by his enemy, leuied a great host of his subjects, and comming with the same into Northumberland, besieged the said castell of Anwik. And now when the keepers of the hold were at point to have made surrender, a certaine English knight conceiuing in his mind an hardie and dangerous enterprise, mounted on a swift horse without armor or weapon, sauing a speare in his hand, upon the point whereof he bare the keyes of the castell, and so issued forth at the gates, riding directlie towards the Scottish campe. They that warded, mistrusting no harme, brought him with great noise and clamour unto the kings tent. Who hearing the noise, came forth of his pavilion to understand what the matter ment. The Englishman herewith couched his staffe, as though it had bene to the end that the king might receiue the keyes which he had brought. And whilst all mens eyes were earnest in beholding the keyes, the Englishman ran the king through the left eye, and suddenlie dashing his spurs to his horse, escaped to the next wood out of all danger. The point of the speare entered so farre into the kings head, that immediatlie falling downe amongst his men, hee perished by the ghost. This was the end of king Malcolme in the midst of his armie.

It is said, that king William changed the name of this aduenturous knight, & called him Perceus, for that he strooke king Malcolme so right in the eye, and in recompense of his seruice gaue him certaine lands in Northumberland: of whome those Percees are descended, which in our daies haue ioined the honorable title of earles of Northumberland. The Scots after the slaughter of their king, brake by their campe, and buried his bodie within the abbey of Tynmouth in England. But his sonne Alexander caused it afterward to be taken vp, and buried in Dunfermling before the altar of the Trinitie. At the same time was Scotland wounded with another mishap. For Edward the prince of Scotland, eldest sonne to king Malcolme, died of a hurt

The church of Dunfermling

The sepulture of the Scottish kings.

King Ewins law abrogated or rather altered.

William Rufus.

The castell of Anwik won by the Englishmen.

The castell of Anwik besieged by the Scots.

An hardie enterprise.

Malcolme is slain.

The name of the Percees had no such beginning, for they came forth of Normandie at the conquest. Earles of Northumberland. Malcolme buried at Tynmouth.

Edward prince of Scotland died.

King and his nobles were brought into Scotland.

The lamentation of the Scottish nobles for the intemperance of their diet.

The excellent benefit of frugalitie.

How farre they grew in strength and might.

His nature was to die.

He was a godlike king.

How he was a godlike king.

How he was a godlike king.

But

Queene Margaret died.

1097. H. B.

The flood of
Droghda H.B.
Strange
wonders.
A huge tide.

Godwins
lands.

Thunder.

Trees and
corne burnt.

Marianus.

Veremond.

The sons of
R. Malcolm
Cannmore.

Donald Bane

Donald Bane
fled into the
Fles.
Donald Bane
returneth into
Scotland.
His covenant
for the gift of
the Fles to
the king of
Norwaie.

The respect
that the people
had to receive
Donald Bane
for their king.

R. Malcolms
sons sent for
into England
by Edgar
their uncle.

hurt which he receiued in a skirmish not farre from Anwik, and was buried in Dunfermling, the first of the blond roiall that had his bones laid in that place. Queene Margaret being aduertised of the death both of hir husband and sonne, as then lieng in Edinburgh castell, hir disease increas'd through griefe therof so vehementlie, that within thre daies after she departed out of this life, vnto an other more iofull and blessed. King Malcolme was slaine in the yere of our redemption 1092, on the 13 day of Nouember, and in the 36 yere of his reigne.

In the same yere, manie vncouth things came to passe, and were seene in Albion. By the high spring-tides which chanced in the Almaine seas, manie towne, castles, and woods were drowned, as well in Scotland as in England. After the ceasing of which tempest, the lands that sometime were earle Godwins (of whome ye haue heard before) lieng not farre from the towne of Sandwich, by violent force and drift of the sea, were made a sand-bed, and euer since haue bene called Godwins sands. The people haue thought that this vengeance came to that pece of ground being possessed by his posteritie, for the wicked slaughter of Alured, which he tratorously contriued. Whereouer sundrie castles and townes in Surrey land, were ouerthrowne by the sea tides. Such deadfull thunder happened also at the same time, that men and beasts were slaine in the fields, and houses ouerturned euen from their foundations. In Lothian, Fife, and Angus, trees and corne were burned by fire, kindled no man knew how, nor from whence.

In the daies of this Malcolme Canmore, liued that famous historiographer Marianus a Scottishman borne, but professed a monke in the monasterie of Fulda in Germanie. Also Veremond a Spanishe priest, but dwelling in Scotland, storied about the same time, and wrote the Scottish historie, whome Hector Boetius so much followeth. Malcolme had by his wife queene Margaret (otherwise called for hir holinesse of life saint Margaret) six sonnes, Edward (as is said) was slaine: Ethelred, which died in his tender age, and was buried in Dunfermling: and Edmund which renounced the world, and liued an holie life in England: the other three were named Edgar, Alexander, and David. There be that write how Edmund was taken, and put to death by his uncle Donald Bane, when he invaded the kingdom, and usurped the crowne, after the decesse of his brother king Malcolme, and so then was Edgar next inheritor to the crowne.

This Donald Bane, who (as before is mentioned) fled into the Fles to eschue the tyrannicall malice of Hakbeth, after he once heard that his brother king Malcolme was dead, returned into Scotland by support of the king of Norwaie, vnto whom he covenanted to giue the dominion of all the Fles, if by his means & furtherance he might obtaine the crowne of Scotland. Whereupon landing with an armie in the realme, he found small resistance, and so with little adoe received the crowne. For manie of the people abhorring the riotous maners and superfluous gouerning brought in among them by the Englishmen, were willing inough to receiue this Donald for their king, trusting (because he had bene brought up in the Fles with the old customes and maners of their ancient nation, without tast of the English likerous delicats) they should by his seuerer order in gouernement recouer againe the former temperance of their old progenitors.

As soone as Edgar Etheling brother to Queene Margaret was aduertised that Donald Bane had thus usurped the crowne of Scotland, he sent secretly for his three nephues, Edgar, Alexander, and Da-

uid, with two sisters which they had, to come vnto him into England, where he had not kept them anie long while, but that a knight whose name was Edgar, accused him of treason, alledging how he nourished his sisters sonnes and daughters within the realme, in hope to make them inheritors to the crowne: but the malice of this false surmise remained not unpunished, for one of Edgars friends, taking in hand to barraine battell with Edgar, in defense of Edgars innocencie, due him within lists. After that Donald had receiued the crowne at the abbey of Scone, he perceiued that some of the nobles grudged at his preferment, shewing by some tokens that they had more affection vnto king Malcolmes children, than vnto him: and therefore he cast out a word amongst his familiars, that per it were long the nobles should repent their of their doing, if they applied not them selues the more to his opinion.

Which words being marked, and depelie imprinted in some of their hearts, turned after wards to his great displeasure. For shortly after came Duncane the bastard sonne of king Malcolme out of England into Scotland, supported with an armie of men appointed by king William the Red, to place him in the kingdom, and to expell Donald out of the same by force of armes, if he attempted anie resistance. Now when Donald approached with his puissance, in purpose to haue giuen battell, the most part of his people did forsake him, and flew vnto Duncane's side, so that Donald thus abandoned of them that should haue aided him, was constrained for his refuge to flee againe into the westerne Fles: and so Duncane then comming vnto Scone, receiued the crowne of Scotland. But for that he had bene trained the most part of his life in the warres both in England and France, he had small skill in ciuill gouernement, iudging that thing onelie to stand with iustice, which was decided with speare and shield. By reason whereof Scotland was shortly filled with new troubles and seditious diuisions.

Donald Bane being aduertised of all those things, that thereby happened in Scotland, solicited Hakpender erle of Bernes to take his part, and by some meanes to dea R. Duncane, which enterprise Hakpender taking in hand, at length (in Lenteth) accomplished the same in the night season, when he had espied such advantage and opportunitie of time, that not so much as one man was found to pursue him. But to say the truth, Duncane was so farre out of the peoples fauor, that more reioised than were soyle for his death. After he was thus dispatched, his uncle Donald was restored againe to the kingdom, chieflie by support of the forenamed Hakpender, after his nephue the foresaid Duncane had reigned one yere and an halfe, where Donald himselfe had reigned (before he was expelled by his said nephue) the space of six moneths, and now after he had recouered the kingdom, he continued in the regiment thereof three yeres, not without great trouble and intestine commotions: for the most part of the lords maligning his aduancement, sought occasions daily to depose him.

In the meane time the Zlandmen made some stirre, neither did the warres with England cease, (though without anie great exploit or enterprise worthy of remembrance) sauing a few light skirmishes betwixt the parties, as occasion serued. At length came Magnus king of Norwaie with a great fleet, and sailing about the westerne Fles, garnished all the strengths within them in most defensible wise, with men, munition, and vittels, usurping the dominion as soueraigne lord of the same Fles: and at the same time ordeined those lawes and constitutions,

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stitutions which are used there amongst the inhabitants even unto these daies. The Scottis men having great indignation, that the Isles being ancientlie parcell of the crowne, should be thus alienated from the same, sent orators unto Edgar (who was, as ye have heard, the fourth sonne of king Malcolm) desiring him most instantlie to come into Scotland, to recover his fathers heritage and crowne of Scotland out of the usurpers hands.

Edgar taking deliberate advise touching this request, first sent ambassadours unto Donald, promising that if he would be contented to restore unto him the crowne, being due to him by lawfull succession, he would gladlie reward him with great lordships and revenues in Louthian: but Donald was so farre from minding to do him reason in this behalfe, that causing them which brought this message to be put in prison, he finallye sue them. Then Edgar by counsell of his uncle Edgar Etheling, purchasing an aid of men at the hands of king William Rufus, set forwards toward Scotland. At his coming to Durham, he was admonished by a vision in his sleepe, that if he took with him the banner of saint Cuthbert, he should have victorie. On the morrow after, he came into the abbey church, where first hearing divine service, when the same was ended, he displayed the foresaid banner, and caused it to be borne before him in that iournie. Nevertheless king Donald met him with a mightie armie, and after long fight, was chased into the Isles, where he was taken and brought unto Edgar. Some say that when the battels were readie to have joined, his men beholding the banner of saint Cuthbert sped against them, immediatlie forsooke him, so that he being destitute of succour, fled, in purpose to have saved himselfe in some one of the westerne Isles: but being apprehended by the inhabitants, was brought (as is said) unto Edgar, by whom he was (howsoever the hap of his taking chanced) cast immediatlie into prison, wherein he shortly after died. The victorie thus achieved, Edgar went unto Edinburgh, and from thence unto Dunfermeling to visit the sepulchres of his mother and brethren.

Afterwards comming to the abbey of Scone, and assembling the lords of the realme, he received the crowne, and shortly after was anointed by the archbishop of saint Andrews named Godlike, in the yere of our redemption 1101. For his mother queene Margaret purchased a little before his death of Urbane the pope, that from henceforth all the kings of Scotland should be anointed. This priviledge was confirmed afterwards by pope John the second of that name. The first king that was anointed according to that grant, was this Edgar, in the yere aforesaid. About two yers before this Edgar recovered thus the crowne of Scotland, was that generall passage made into the holie land under Godfrie of Bullongne, and other christi-an princes.

Amongst them, as one of the chiefe, Robert duke of Normandie went, and should have bene created king of Jerusalem, had he not at the same time heard how his brother William Rufus the king of England was slaine by chance, through glansing of an arrow shot at a deer in the new forest; and then hoping to succeed him in the kingdom of England, he preferred that honor to the other, wherein he saw to be more travell than gain. But at his coming home, he found that his yongest brother Henrie surnamed Beauclerke, was placed in the kingdom of England, and so was duke Robert his hope frustrate of both the kingdomes, and that worthilie (as most men thought) for that he refused so necessary a dignitie, wherein he might have served the com-

mon cause of the christian common-wealth. Unto Henrie Beauclerke in the second yere of his reigne king Edgar married one of his sisters called Paula. The other named Marie he coupled with Eustace earle of Bullongne: in which marriage was borne a daughter that was the onelie heire of the same Eustace in the countie of Bullongne, the which when she came to womans state, was married unto Stephan earle of March in England, and of Poiteigne in France, nephew to Henrie Beauclerke by his sister. The king of England Henrie, had issue by queene Paula, two sonnes and two daughters, William and Richard, Eustace and Paula.

But now to returne to king Edgar, to the some token of thanks towards saint Cuthbert for his aid shewed, as was thought, in the battell against his uncle Donald, he gave unto the monks of Durham the lands of Coldingham: and to the bishop of Durham called Canolf; he gave the towne of Berwick. But for that the same bishop wrought afterwards treason against him, he lost that gift, and the king resumed that towne into his hands againe. I do not find that Edgar had any warres any waie forth during all the time of his reigne, a prince rather reuerenced than dread amongst his subjects for his singular equitie and upright dealing. He departed out of this life at Dundee, in the 9 yere of his reigne, and after the birth of our Saviour 1107.

After the decesse of this Edgar, succeeded his brother Alexander the fierce, so called for his rigorous valiancie in pursuing of theues and robbers. In the beginning of his reigne, the inhabitants of Murray land and Ross, beholding him to be most an end in the church at his prayers, and divine service, after the maner of his parents, supposed he would prove no great quickie sufficient in punishing offenders, and thereupon most presumptuously they began to rob and reave on each side, not sparing to kill and slea all such as came in their hands, without respect to age or sex; insomuch that the yong infants smiling upon the murtherers, being about to execute their detestable crueltie, passed by the sword as well as the resistors: such rooted malice remained in their beaslly hearts, which upon renewing their old grudges they now accordinglie shewed. King Alexander therefore advertised hereof, came into those parts with a competent armie, and apprehending the chiefe authors and capteins, strooke off their heads. As he returned backe through Bernes, there came a woman unto him weeping in most lamentable sort, who fell upon his knees at his feet, beseeching him to pittie his case, having lost both his husband and sonne, by the tyrannous crueltie of the master of Bernes, who for that they had called him before a iudge in an action of debt, had slaine and murdered as well the one as the other. The king moved with this detestable kind of iniurie, lighted from his horse, and would not mount up againe, till he had scene the author of that heinous trespass hanged upon a gibbet. After his comming into Galloway, he took in hand to finish and make up the castell of Waledgar, the foundation whereof his brother Edgar had begun, that it might be an aid to chastise a sort of theues and robbers which haunted the woods thereabout, to the great disquietnes of all the countie. He gave also to the maintenance of that house certeine lands, which the earle of Galloway had given him at the font stone, when he became his godfather.

Whilste he was thus busie about the furtherance of that worke, diuerse of those theues that were accustomed to live by robberies in those parts, perceiving that this castell, which the king was about to build, should turne unto their destruction, they conspired his death, and winning by rewards and promises the king.

Paula kind
Edgars sister.

Eustace earle
of Bullongne.

The lands of
Coldingham.
Canolf bishop
of Durham.

Edgar rather
reuerenced
than dread.
1107. 10. Ma.
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Alexander.

Theues of
Murray land
and Ross.

The crueltie
of theues.

Execution.

The earle of
Bernes son.

A righteous
iusticier.
The castell of
Waledgar.

Treason of
conspirators
to have slaine
the king.

mises the helpe of the kings chamberlaine to the accomplishing of their traitorous and most diuelliſh practises, they entered one night through a priuite in to his lodging, in purpoſe to haue ſlaine him as he ſlept in his bedchamber: but he by Gods providence hauing knowledge of their comming, ſtarted out of his bed, and caught a ſword which hang nere at hand, wherewith he ſue firſt his chamberlaine that had brought them in, and then diſpatched fir of the other traitors (which were already entered his chamber) with ſingular force and manhood: the other fearing leaſt with the noiſe, his ſeruants that lodged within the houſe ſhould haue bene raiſed, and ſo haue haſted to aſſaile them on the backs, fled in all haſte poſſible. Neuertheleſſe, ſuch purſuite was made after them, that manie of them were apprehended, & vpon their examination, being brought before the king, they declared plainlie how they were encouraged to worke that treason which they had gone about, by ſundrie great barons and gentlemen of the countrie. Finally, the matter was ſo handled with them, that they diſcloſed the names of thoſe that had thus procured them to the treason. Wherevpon the king gathering an armie, he marched ſouth to purſue them, but before he came vnto the water of Spaie, the conſpirators had gotten together their power, & were lodged on the further ſide of the ſame water, to ſtop him from paſſing ouer.

The king ſeeing them thus aſſembled to impeach his paſſage, ſent his banner-man ſir Alexander Carron with a choſen part of his armie to paſſe the water, and to fight with his enemies, where, by the hardie onſet of the ſaid ſir Alexander, they were quicklie put to flight, and manie of them that were taken in the chaſe ſuffered death, according as they had well deſerued. The realme after this execution done on theſe offenders, continued manie yeeres after in good tranquillitie. This Alexander Carron alſo ſo that he was ſaine in the kings fight that day to fight moſt manfullie, in ſlaing diuerſe of the rebels with a crooked ſword which he had in his hand (of which ſort manie were ſled in thoſe daies) he was highlie rewarded at the kings hands, & euer after named ſhrimgeour, that is to ſay, An hardie fighter. He had alſo his armes increaſed with a rampant lion holding a crooked ſword, as is to be ſene in the armes of his poſteritie vnto this day. Other there be that ſay he got the ſurname of ſhrimgeour, becauſe he ſue an Engliſhman in a ſingular combat. The principall of this ſurname in our time held the conſtableſhip of Dundee, bearing in his armes a crooked ſword in faſhion of an hoke.

After that king Alexander had appeaſed the intestine commotions thus within his realme, he ſet in hand to repare the abbeie of Scone, wherein he placed regular canons, dedicating the church in the honoꝝ of the Trinitie, and ſaint Michaell. Not long after this alſo, he chanced to come into ſaint Colmes Inch, where he was conſtrained to abide three daies together through violent rage of weather and tempeſts: and becauſe he found ſome reliefe of meate & drinke, by meanes of an heremit that dwelt within the ſame Inch, and kept a chappell there dedicated to ſaint Colme, he made of that chappell an abbeie of regular canons, in the honoꝝ of ſaint Colme, endowing it with ſundrie lands and rents for the maintenance of the abbat and conuent of that houſe. He alſo gaue to the church of ſaint Andzeles, the lands called the Boarrinke, ſo named, for that a great boze was ſlaine vpon the ſaid ground, that had done much hurt in the countrie thereabout. The tuſks of this boze doe hang in chaines vpon the ſtalles of the quier in ſaint Andzeles church afore the high altar, and are 16 inches in length, & foure inches in thicke-

neſſe. Moreover, the abbeie of Dunfirmling was ſiſtified by king Alexander, and endowed with kindrie lands and poſſeſſions.

Whileſt king Alexander was thus occupied in building and repairing of religious houſes, his brother David liued in England with his ſiſter queene Maude, & through fauour which the king his husband bare towards him, he obtained in marriage one Maude, daughter vnto Mordolus, or rather Maltſe of earle of Huntington and Northumberland, begot of his wiſe the ladie Iubith that was neece vnto king William the Conqueror. And for that the ſaid Mordolus or Maltſe had no other iſſue to inherit his lands, David in right of his wiſe Maude inioined the ſame, and was made earle of Huntington and Northumberland, and had iſſue by his wiſe a ſon named Henrie, by whome the lands of Huntington, and ſome part of Northumberland were annexed vnto the crowne of Scotland, as after ſhall appeere. Maude the daughter of king Henrie Beauchelre, was married vnto Henrie the emperor, the fourth of that name. William, Richard, and Cuſeme, the reſidue of the iſſue which the ſame Henrie Beauchelre had by his wiſe (ſurnamed for his ſingular bounty, ouerſeſſe, the good queene Maude) in comming ſouth of France to repaſſe into England, perished in the ſea by a tempeſt, to the great dolour of the king their father, and to all other his ſubiects of eche ſtate and degree. Their mother the ſaid Maude was before that time departed out of this life. It was not long after, but that Alexander deceaſed alſo, and was buried in Dunfirmling beſides his fathers ſepulture, in the 17 yeere of his reigne complet, and from the incarnation of Chriſt 1125 yeeres.

In the daies of this king Alexander, the kindred of the Cummings had their beginning, by one John Cumming, a man of great prowelle and valiance, obtaining of the king in reſpect therof, certaine ſmall poſſions of lands in Scotland. The houſe of theſe Cummings roſe in proceſſe of time thus from a ſmall beginning to high honoꝝ and puiſſance, by reaſon of the great poſſeſſions & ample reuenues which they afterwarde attained. At length (as often happeneth) the importable height of this lineage was the onelie cauſe of the decaie and ſmall ruine thereof, as in the ſequelle of this hiſtoꝝie ye map at full perceiue. Alſo in the daies of king Alexander, the order of knights of the Rhodes had their beginning, and likewiſe the order of White monks, the author whereof was one Rodobert. About the ſame time liued that holie man Richard de ſancto Victore, a ſcotiſhman borne, but dwelled for the moze part of his time at Paris in France, where he died, & was buried wiſh in the cloiſter of the abbeie of ſaint Victor, being a brother of the ſame houſe.

It now to proceed with the hiſtoꝝie. After the deceaſe of Alexander the ſierce and firſt of that name, his brother David came vnto Scone, and there received the crowne, as lawfull heire to his brother, for that he left no heire behind him. This David, according to the example of his noble parents, ſet his whole care about the due miniſtring of iuſtice, to the honoꝝ of almighty God, and the weale of his realme. He had no trouble by warres with anie ſoꝝtaine enemies, ſo long as king Henrie Beauchelre liued. Therefore hauing opportunitie of ſuch a quiet time, he rode about all the parts of his realme, and vied to ſit in hearing of iudgement himſelfe, ſpeciallie concerning poze mens cauſes and matters: but the controuerſies of the lords and barons he referred to the hearing of other iudges. If he underſtood that anie man were indamaged by anie wrongfull iudgement, he recompensed the party wronged, according to the value of his loſſe and hinder-

The kings manhood.

The water of Spaie.

Sir Alexander Carron. The rebels are vanquiſhed.

Skrimgeour.

The abbeie of Scone.

Saint Colmes Inch.

The abbeie of ſaint Colmes Inch builded.

Lands named the Boarrinke. Poze tuſks.

The abbeie of Dunfirmling.

David brother to king Alexander.

Mordolus earle of Huntington and Northumberland.

The lands of Huntington and Northumberland annexed to the crowne of Scotland.

The death of king Alexander.

1124. H. The beginning of the Cummings.

Knights of the Rhodes. White monks.

Richard de ſancto Victore.

David. David is crowned king of Scotland.

The church of Dunfirmling, and the conuent of ſaint James.

The care of king David for the poze.

A rightous king.

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Thus in the first years of his reigne he did manie things to the aduancement of the common-wealth, and banished such banketting cheare as was vied amongst his people after the example of the Englishmen, perceiuing the same to breed a great weakening & decaye of the ancient stoutnesse of stomack, that was wont to remaine in the Scottish nation. He builded to the number of fiftene abbeies, part of them in the beginning of his reigne before the warres were begun which he had with the Englishmen, and part after the same warres were ended. The names of those abbeies are as followeth: Holie rood house, Kelso, Jedburgh, Melrose, Newbottell, Holmcultrane, Dunstanane, Cambuskenneth, Kinlois, Dunfirmling, Holme in Cumberland; also two nunries, the one at Carleill, and the other at north Berwikke: with two abbeies beside Newbottell, the one of saint Benedicts order, and the other of white monkes. He erected also foure bishoprickes within his realme, Kesse, Brechin, Dunkeld, and Dablane, indowling them with rich rents, faire lands, and sundrie right commodious possessions. Moreover he translated the bishops see of Perth into Aberdeen, for sundrie aduised considerations, augmenting it with certeine reuenues, as he thought expedient.

He was admonished (as the report goeth) in his sleepe, that he should build an abbeie for a religious order to liue in together. Whereupon he sent for workemen into France and Flanders, and set them in hand to build this abbeie of canons regular, as he was admonished; dedicating it in the honor of a crosse (whereunto he bare speciall deuotion) for that verie strangellie it slipped into his hands (on a time) as he was pursuing and following of a hart in the chase. But inough of these monkish deuises. Manie prudent men blame greatlie the vniuersall liberalitie of king Dauid, the which he vied towards the church, in diminishing so hugelie the reuenues of the crowne, being the cause that manie noble princes his successors haue come to their final ends, for that they haue bene constrained through want of treasure to mainteine their roiall estates, to procure the fall of sundrie great houses; to possesse their lands and liuings; also to raise payments and exactions of the common people, to the vtter impoverishment of the realme. And sometime they haue bene constrained to invade England by warres, as desperat men, not caring what came of their liues. Wherethilles they haue bene inforced to stampe naughtye monie, to the great preiudice of the common-wealth. All which mischiefes haue followed since the time that the church hath bene thus enriched, and the crowne impouertished.

Therefore king James the first, when he came to king Dauid his sepulture at Dunfirmling, he said, that he was a fore saint for the crowne, meaning that he left the church ouer-rich, and the crowne to poore. For he took from the crowne (as Iohn Maior writeth in his chronicles) 60 thousand pounds Scottish of percellie reuenues, wherewith he indowed those abbeies. But if k. Dauid had considered how to nourish true religion, he had rather indowed churches with such riches, nor built them with such roialtie: for the superfluous possessions of the church (as they are now vied) are not onelie occasion to enuill prelats to liue in most insolent pompe & corrupt life, but an assured net to draw gold and siluer out of realms. But now to retorne where I left, touching the historie, ye shall note that (as I said before) Dauid had by his wife Maude inheritor of part of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntington, a

sonne named Henrie, who married the earle of Marrens daughter, a ladie of high parentage, as descended of most noble blond both French and English. On whom he begat three sonnes, Malcolm, William, and Dauid; also three daughters, Adhama, Margaret, and Maude. But now in the meane time, whilst the estate of the common-wealth in Scotland stood in high felicitie, vnder the prosperous gouernement of king Dauid, there happened to him an heauie losse. For the quene his wife the foresaid Maude deceased in hir flourishing age, a woman of passing beautie and chastitie, which two points (as is thought) commend a woman aboue all the rest. King Dauid therefore took such griefe for hir death, that he would neuer after giue his mind to marie anie other, but passed the residue of his life without companie of all women. She was buried in Scone, in the yeare of our Lord God 1132.

Whilst these things came thus to passe in Scotland, Henrie Beauchelke king of England, caused all the nobles of his realme to take their othes, that after his deceasse they should receiue his daughter Maude the emperesse for their soueraigne ladie and quene. She was as then returned into England; for hir husband the emperour was latelie before deceased. King Dauid also took his oth, and therefore when king Stephan (who vsurped the crowne of England after king Henriess deceasse against the said emperesse) sent vnto king Dauid to come and do his homage for the earledomes of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huntington (according as by his tenure he was bound to do) with intimation that if he refused, king Stephan would invade him with open warre; king Dauid answered, that he had giuen his faith once aforehand for those lands vnto the emperesse Maude, which he minded not to breake for the threatening wordes of anie new inuasions. King Stephan moued with this answer, sent a power of men to the borders of Northumberland, (which as then was vnder the dominion of the Scots) to make a rode vpon the inhabitants of that countrie. They that had the charge of this enterprise, entering into the lands of their enemies, put all to fire and sword that came in their way. The Scots kindled with that displeasure, rode into England, and did the like displeasures and hurts there. For the yeare after, the earles of March, Penteth, and Angus entred into England with a great armie, against whome came the earle of Gloucester, and giuing them battell at Northalerton, lost the field, and was taken prisoner himselte, with diuers other nobles of England. King Stephan therefore, constrained to redeme the captiues, gaue not onelie a great summe of monie for them; but also made resignation of all such title, claime, or interest, as either he or anie of his successors might make or pretend to the countiees of Northumberland and Cumberland. Notobest his nobles were no sooner returned home, but that repenting him of that resignation, he gathered his puissance againe, and entering into Northumberland, fought with the Scots that came forth to resist him, and obtaining the victorie, took a great part of the countrie into his possession.

King Dauid, to redresse these iniuries, gathered a mightie armie, with deliberat mind, either to expell the Englishmen out of all the bounds of his dominions, or else to die in the feld. But shortly after, Thurstane archbishop of Yorke came vnto Roxburgh, called in those daies Marken, to treat for peace, where a truce was concluded for three moneths, with condition, that the Englishmen should deliuer vp the dominion of Northumberland vnto the lord Henrie king Dauid his sonnes. But for so

D. li.

much

Earle of Warren.

The issue of Henrie.

Quene Maude deceased.

1132.

Maude the emperesse.

k. Stephan.

Homage is required.

The English men invade Northumberland.

The Scots make rodes into England

The earle of Gloucester Robert was against king Stephan, but there might be some other happie. vnto whome king Stephan had giuen that title.

A resignation.

k. Stephan repenteth.

Roxburgh in old time Marken. A truce.

King David
inuaeth
Northumber-
land.
King Ste-
phan passeth
vnto Rox-
burgh.

much as this covenant was not performed on king Stephens side, king David inuaeth that part of the countrie which the Englishmen held, making great slaughter of all them that he found there about to resist him. King Stephan moued herewith leuied his people, and came in puissant araine vnto Roxburgh; but for that he had secret knowledge that some of the nobles in his armie sought his destruction, he was constrained to returne without atching of anie worthie enterpryse.

The yeare next ensuing, a peace was talked upon, the archbishops of Cantuarburie and York appointed commissioners in the treatie thereof on the behalfe of king Stephan, and the bishops of Glasgowe, Aberdeen, and saint Andrews on the part of king David. But Maude queene of England, the daughter of Eustace earle of Bullongne, and nece to king David by his sister Marie, was the chiefe dower in this matter, to bring them to agreement. The one of the kings, that is to say Stephan, laie at Duresme with his nobles; and the other, that is to say David, lay at Newcastle, during all the time of this treatie, which at length sorted to the conclusion of a peace, on these conditions: that the countie of Northumberland and Huntington should remaine in the gouernement of Henric prince of Scotland, as heire to the same by right of his mother; but Cumberland should be reputed as the inheritance and right of his father king David. And for these lands and seignories the forenamed prince Henric & his successors, princes of Scotland, should doe homage vnto king Stephan and his successors kings of England, for the time being.

A peace.

Covenants of
agreement.

Homage.

K. Stephan
returneth.
Carleill was
separated by
William I.
king of
England, a-
bout the yeare
of our Lord,
1092.

The death of
Henric prince
of Scotland.
1152.

Prince Hen-
ric his issue.

The lawes
of nature.

The peace thus ratified betwixt the two kings and their subjects, K. Stephan returned into Kent, and king David repaired into Cumberland, where he fortified the towne of Carleill with new walles and ditches. Thus passed the first three yeares of king Stephens reigne. In the fourth yeare came Maude the emperesse into England to claime the crowne thereof (as in the English historie more plainelie may appeare.) But whilest England was soe tormentted with warres by contrarie factions of the nobles for the quarels of these two persons, no small sorow hapned to Scotland for the death of Henric the prince of that land, and onelie sonne vnto king David, who died at Bello, and was buried in the abbete church there, in the yeare of our redemption, 1152. His death was greatlie bemoaned aswell of his father the king, as of all other the estates and degrees of the realme, for such singular vertue and noble conditions as appeared in him. But yet, for that he left issue behind him three sonnes and three daughters (as before is mentioned) the realme was not thought vnprovident of heires.

The king also being mortified from the world, toke the death of his sonne verie patientlie, considering that all men are subiect vnto death by the lawe of nature, and are sure no longer to remaine here, than their day appointed by the eternall determination of him that giueth and taketh away life & breath when it pleaseth him, as by daily experience is most manifest. Therefore that king David weied the losse of his sonne in such balance, it may appeare by an oration which he made to his nobles, at what time (after his sonnes deceasse) they came to comfort him. For he perceiuing them to be right heauie and sorowfull for the losse which he and they had sustained by the death of so towardlie a prince, that was to haue succeeded him, if God had lent him life thereto; in the end of a roiall feast, the which he made vnto those nobles that came thus to visit him, he began in this wise.

Exhortation.

How great your fidelitie and care is, which you

beare towards me, although oftentimes heretofore I haue proued it, yet this present day I haue receiued most ample fruit thereof: for now doe I plainelie see, that you lament no lesse for the losse of my late deceased sonne, than if you had buried some one of your owne sonnes, and are therefore come to your great trauell and paine to comfort me, whome you esteeme to be soe afflicted for the ouer-timelie death of my said most obedient sonne. But to let passe for this time due yielding of thanks to you for the same, till occasion and leasure may better serue thereto; this now may suffice, that I acknowledge my selfe to be so much beholden to you, that whatsoeuer thing I haue in the world, the same is readie to doe you pleasure. But concerning the cause of your coming hither, in shewing your courtesies therein, you shall vnderstand, that my parents, whom I trust to be in heauen, and (as saints) inioy the fruits of their vertuous trauels here taken on earth, did so instruct me from my tender youth, that I should worship with all reuerence the most wise creator and prudent gouernor of all things; and to thinke that nothing was done by him in vaine, but that the same is provided and ordeined to some good vse by his high and vnsearchable counsell. And therefore whilest day and night I haue and doe resolue and call to remembrance the precepts and instructions of my parents, whatsoeuer hath chanced either touching aduersitie or prosperitie, god hap or bad, the same hath seemed to me (at the first) receiuing all things with equall and thankfull mind, and interpreting them to the best, farre more light than they commonlie seeme to others; and lesse they did disquiet me: so as with vse I haue learned at length, not onelie patientlie to beare all aduersities that may happen, but also to receiue the same as things pleasant and euen to be desired. And verelie my hap hath bene to be greatlie exercised in this behalfe, for I haue first sene my father, more deere to me than anie earthlie treasure; and no lesse profitable than greatlie desired of all the people: and yet neither the loue of the people, nor of his kinsmen and friends might warrant him from this fatall necessitie of death. I haue known my mother right famous in the world for hir singular vertue to passe hence in like maner. My brethren that were so louing, and againe so greatlie beloued of me; also my wife whome I esteemed above all other creatures, are they not gone the same way, and compelled to beare deaths hard ordinance? So be relie standeth the case, that no man might yet at anie time avoid the violence of his force when he cometh, for we all alike owe this life vnto him, as a due debt that must needs be paid. But this is to be receiued with a thankfull mind, in that the bountifull beneuolence of our God hath granted that we shall be all immortall, if we our selues through vice, & as it were spotted with filthie diseases of the mind, doe not fall into the danger of eternall death. Wherefore of right (me thinke) I haue cause to reioice, that God by his singular fauour hath granted to me such a sonne, which in all mens iudgements was worthy to be beloued whilest he was here amongst vs, and to be wished for now, after he is departed from hence. But ought we to take it heauilie, that he to whome he belonged, and who had lent him vnto vs, should call for him againe, and take him that was his owne? For what iniurie is it, if (when I see occasion) I shall aske that againe, which you haue possessed through my benefit as lent to you for a time? Neither doe I trust to want him long, if God shall be so mercifull vnto me, as I wish him to be: for I hope shortly to be called hence by commandement of that most high king, and to be caried vp to rest among that fellowship of beauenlie spirits, where I shall

This parents
goble instruction,

Losse of
friends.
His father,

His mother,

His brethren,

His wife.

Death cannot
be dispensed
with.

Why we
ought to take
the death of
our children
and friends
patientlie.

Malcolme the
sonne of Hen-
ric procla-
med prince of
Scotland.

Earle of North-
umberland.

Henric the
emperesse his
sonne recei-
ued the order
of knighthood.

The exhorta-
tion of king
David to his
nobles.

King David
departeth out
of this life.

1152.

" Shall find my father and mother, my brethren, wife,
and sonne in far better estate than here I kinde
them. Therefore that I may repeate it once againe,
I reioice (I say) to haue obtained in my sonne, by
the grace of the supernall God, that I am assured by
faith, he is already in that place to the which all we
do earnestlie wish that we may attaine; and do in-
deuour by all means, that when the time commeth
in which our soules are to be loosed forth of these
frailie bodies of ours, as out of prisons, they may be
found worthe of that companie, in which our confi-
dence is that he now most blissefullie is remaining.
Except anie man may thinke that we are so enui-
ous, that therefore we do lament, because as yet
we sticke fast overwhelmed and drowned in such ill-
thie miers, and cumbered in such thornie thickets and
bulshes, out of the which he (being now deliuered of
all cares) hath escaped. But let vs rather by follow-
ing the footsteps of him and other vertuous persons
that are gone afore vs, labor both day and night, that
at length (through heauenlie fauour) we may come
to the place where we do reckon that by diuine
pouer he is already arrived.

After that the king had made an end of his ora-
tion, and thanks given to God for his bountifull
magnificence, they rose from the table, and depar-
ted to their lodgings, they all greatlie maruelling
at the kings high prudence and goodlie wisdom.
Then was Malcolme, the eldest sonne of the before-
mentioned prince Henrie, proclaimed in his place
prince of Scotland, and conueied through the most
parts of the realme by Duncane earle of Fife, and
other of the nobles appointed to attend vpon and to
receiue the oths of all the barons for their allegi-
ance in his name. William the second sonne of
prince Henrie was conueied into Northumberland
by the foresaid nobles, and there proclaimed and cre-
ated earle of that countrie. Then went king Da-
uid himselfe vnto Carleill, where he met with Hen-
rie the sonne of the emperesse, who receiued the order
of knighthood there at his hands. This was a little
before that the same Henrie came to an agreement
with king Stephan, whereby he was admitted to
the possession of halfe the realme of England, and
promised by oth of assurance (as the Scotch writers
say) that he should neuer go about to take the coun-
tries of Northumberland, Cumberland, and Huring-
ton from the crowne of Scotland.

Shortlie after was king David taken with a soze
disease and maladie, which continued with him to the
end of his life. And so when he perceived himselfe
to wax faint and feeble, he required to be borne in to
the church, where he receiued the sacrament of the
Lords bodie and bloud, with most solemn reue-
rence: and then being brought againe to his cham-
ber, he called together his nobles, and commending
to them his yong nephues, the sons of his son the
forenamed prince Henrie, he kissed ech one of them
after an other, most instantlie desiring them in the
honor of almightie God, to seeke the preferuation
of common quiet, to the aduancement of the publike
weale. This done, he departed out of this life in the
29 yeare of his reigne, or rather in the 30 yeare, if
he reigned 29 and two moneths, as Iohn Maior
saith. His bodie was buried in Dunfermeling, after
the incarnation of Christ our Saviour 1153 yeares.

How farre this prince king David excelled in no-
ble vertues and sober conuersation of life, I haue
thought it better to passe ouer with silence, than to
go about in few words to comprehend that, where-
in if I should spend much time, I were not able in
anie wise wortheilie to performe. For where in such
cases few things are slenderlie shewed, the residue
may seeme to be omitted through fault of the writer.

But yet this is not to be forgotten, that where his
singular pitifull regard, which he had toward the re-
liefe of the poore, passed all other his notable vertues,
he purged his court also in such wise of all vicious
rule and misordered customes, that his whole fami-
lie was giuen onlie to the exercise of vertue. No
riotous banquet, nor surfeiting there was: fled
amongst them, no lasciuious word heard come forth
of any mans mouth, nor yet any wanton signes
shewed to prouoke sensuall lust or carnall concu-
piscence. All the words, works, and whole demeanour
of his seruants tended to some conclusion: nothing
moued to stire strife or sedition, but all things or-
dered in such friendlie and peaceable sort, that the
chaîne of brotherly loue seemed to haue linked them
all in one mind and will. Such a rule was their ma-
ster king David vnto them and all other, to direct
and frame a perfect and goodlie life after.

King David being dead & buried (as is before
said) Malcolme nephew to him by his son Hen-
rie succeeded in the estate. He was but 13 yeeres of
age, when he began his reigne; but yet his modellie
and pertuous conditions were such, that all men
conceiued a good hope that he would proue a right
noble and wortheie prince. He was nourished and
brought vp in such vertue, euen from his infancie,
that delisting in chaff conuersation and cleannesse of
bodie and mind, he liued single all the daies of his
life, and without marriage: therefore he was surna-
med Malcolme the maid. About the time of his en-
tring into the possession of the crowne, there was a
great dearth through all the bounds of Scotland. And
sone after followed a soze death both amongst men
and beasts, though it was not perceived that the
disease whereof they died was anie thing conta-
gious.

Whereof did one Somerleide the thane of Argile
take occasion to attempt an higher enterprisse than
 stood with the basenesse of his linage and estate: for
considering that the one halfe of the realme was
consumed by mortallitie, and the other halfe nere
hand famished through lacke of food, he thought it
an easie matter for him, now whilst the king was
vnder yeeres of ripe discretion, to vsurpe the gouer-
nance of the realme into his owne hands, and so as-
sembling together an huge companie of such as in
hope of preie lightlie consented to his opinion, he
came forwards, to make as it were a full conquest,
stealing and spoiling all such in his way as went
about to resist him. But his presumptuous enterprisse
was shortlie repressed: for Gilcrist earle of Angus
lieutenant of the kings armie, raised to resist So-
merleids attempts, incountred with him in battell,
& slue 2000 of his men. Somerleide hauing receiued
this ouerthrow, and escaping from the field, fled into
Ireland, and so saued his life.

Henrie the second of that name king of Eng-
land, hearing that Malcolme had thus subdued his
domesticall enemies, feared least he being unbolde-
ned therewith, should now attempt somewhat a-
gainst the Englishmen; and therefore by counsell of
his nobles, he sent an herald vnto king Malcolme,
commanding him to come vp to London, there to
do his homage vnto him, for the lands of Cumber-
land, Northumberland, and Huntington, in maner
and forme as his grandfather king David had be-
fore done vnto his predecessor Henrie the first, with
certificat, that if he failed, he would take from him
all the said lands. King Malcolme obeyed this com-
mandement of king Henrie: but yet vnder con-
dition (as the Scotch writers affirme) that it should in
no maner wise preiudice the franchises and liber-
ties of the Scotch kingdome. At the same time king
Henrie had warres against Helwes the first, king of
France,

His singular
pittie toward
the poore.

King Dauids
court.

King Dauids
seruants.

King Dauids
example, a rule
of goodlie life.

Malcolme

The educati-
on of king Ma-
colme.

A dearth.

A death not
contagious.

Somerleide
thane of Ar-
gile goeth a-
bout to make
himselfe king.

Somerleids
crucitie.

Gilcrist sent
with an armie
against So-
merleide.

Malcolme
summoned to
do homage.

Malcolme
goeth with
king Henrie
into France.

France, and so passing ouer into that realme, constrained king Malcolme to go with him in that for-
nie against his will, notwithstanding that he had a
safe conduct fraile to come and go. In this volage
king Henrie did much hurt to the Frenchmen, and
at length besieged the cite of Tholouse.

In all which enterprises he had Malcolme present
with him, to the end that Malcolme might incurre
such hatred and displeasure of the Frenchmen, that
therby the bond betwixt them and the Scots might
finallie be dissolved. But in the end king Henrie ha-
uing lost diuers of his noble men by sicknesse, re-
turned into England, and then licenced king Mal-
colme to returne home into Scotland; who at his
comming home, sent the bishop of Purrey, and one
of his secretaries vnto the see of Rome, as ambassa-
dors vnto the pope, which as then hight Eugenius
the third of that name, to recognise the obedience
which he ought to the Romane see. Shortly after al-
so, there was a parlement holden at Scone, where
king Malcolme was soze rebuked by his lords, in
that he had bozne through his owne follie, armed a-
gainst the Frenchmen their old confederate friends
and ancient allies: but king Malcolme excused the
matter with humble words, saying he came vn-
warlike into king Henries hands, and therefore
might not chole but accomplish his will and plea-
sure at that time; so that he supposed verelie the
French king would take no great displeasure with
his doings, when he once vnderstood the truth of the
matter.

King Henrie hauing perfect vnderstanding of
this grudge betwixt the Scottish lords and their king,
thought to renew the same with moze displeasure,
and thereupon sent for king Malcolme to come vnto
York, to a parlement which he held there, where
at his comming he was burdened with a right grie-
uous complaint furnished against him by king Henrie,
for that he should reueale vnto the Frenchmen
all the secrets of the English armie, when he was
with him in France, at the aboue remembred iour-
nie, alledging the same to be sufficient matter, for
the which he ought to forfeit all the lands which he
held of the crowne of England, as Cumberland,
Northumberland, and Huntington. And though
king Malcolme by manie substantiall reasons de-
clared those allegations to be vnture and vniuallie
forged, yet by king Henries earnest inforcing of the
matter, sentence was giuen against him, by the ge-
nerall consent of all the estates there in that parle-
ment assembled. And mozeouer, to bring king Mal-
colme in further displeasure with the nobles, king
Henrie gaue notice vnto them, before king Mal-
colme returned backe into his countrie, how he had
of his owne accord renounced all his claime, right,
title, and interest, which he had to the foresaid lands,
supposing by this means to make king Malcolme
farre moze odious to all his lieges and subiects, than
euer he was before.

Malcolme therefore, vpon his returne into his
countrie, not vnderstanding anie thing of that sub-
till contriued policie and slanderous report, was
besieged within the castell of Bertha by the thane of
Cunedale, and diuerse others. But after it was
knowne how euill king Malcolme had bene used,
and most vnturallie slandered, they desired pardon of
their offense, as induced thereto by vnture reports,
which once being granted, they brake vp their siege,
and euer after continued in faithfull allegiance like
true and most obedient subiects. But king Mal-
colme soze moued for that he was thus iniuriouslie
handled by king Henrie, first desiring restitution to
be made of all such things as had bene wrongfullie
taken from him, and so detained by the Englishmen,

proclaimed open warres against them. At length, af-
ter sundrie harmes done, as well on the one part as
the other, they come to a communication in a cer-
taine appointed place, not far from Carleill, where
(to be briefe) it was finallie concluded, that Mal-
colme should receiue againe Cumberland and Hun-
tington: but for Northumberland, he should make a
plaine release thereof vnto king Henrie, and to his
successors for euer.

For the which agreement he ran so farre into the
hatred of his people, that he might neuer after find
means to win their fauor againe; but doubting least
if they should stirre anie rebellion against him, they
might become an easie preie vnto the Englishmen,
they remained quiet for a time. Whobeyt hostlie af-
ter, there arose another peece of trouble, though lesse
in outward apperance, by reason of the small power
remaining in the author, yet dangerous inough,
considering it was with in the realme it selfe. One
Angus as then the thane of Galloway, perceiving
he might not by secret practise atchieue his purposed
intent (whatsoeuer the same was) determined by o-
pen force to assaile that luckie success fortune would
send him; hoping that those which through feare late
as yet still, would assist him in all his attempts, so
soone as they saw anie commotion raised by him to
occasion them thereto. Whereupon he assembled to-
gether a great companie: but before he could worke
anie notable feat, to make anie account of, Gilchrist
earle of Angus (whose faithfull ballancie was before
manifestlie approued in the suppression of Somers-
leids rebellion) discomfited his power, in three sun-
drie bickerings, & chased Angus himselfe into Whit-
terne, where is a place of sanctuarie privileged for
the safegard of all offenders that flie thereto for suc-
cor in the honor of saint Martin.

Malcolme then, for that he durst not breake the
franchises of that place, set a band of men of warre
round about it, to watch that he should by no means
escape awate; so that at length wearied as it had
bene with long siege, he yielded himselfe to the king,
who taking his sonne to pledge for his good abearing
in time to come, licenced him to go whither it should
please him: but the most part of his lands and li-
uings were confiscat to the kings vse. Whereupon
when he saw he might not mainteine his estate as
he had done before, he became a canon in Holie rood
house, and there ended his life (as it is reported.) It
was not long after the pacifying of this trouble, but
that a new rebellion was raised: for the Purrey
land men, by the prouocation of their capteine called
Gildo, wasted with fire and sword the countries of
Ross, Moragwall, Moragdale, Mar, Caroch,
Buchquhane, and the Bernes, in moze cruell sort
than anie forreine & most barbarous nation would
haue done, insomuch that when the king sent diuers
of his seruants vnto them to vnderstand the cause of
their rebellious doings, they slue those messengers,
contrarie to the law of nations.

To punish such inturious attempts, the aboue na-
med Gilchrist was sent with an armie into Purrey
land: but the rebels nothing discouraged with the
knowledge of his approued prowesse, met him in the
field, and put him to flight. Whereupon the king him-
selfe, supposing that his presence was needfull to in-
courage his people after this overthrow, came with
a farre greater power than he had sent forth before,
with displayed banner, ouer the river of Speite, nere
to the mouth whereof he fought with the enemies, and
in the end (after soze and long fight continued with
great slaughter and bloodshed) he gaue them the o-
uerthrow, and in reuenge of their cruelties sheld
in time of this their rebellion, and to giue example to
all other his subiects that should go about to attempt
the

Tholouse be-
sieged.
King Henries
meaning.

Ambassadors
sent to Rome.

Parlement
at Scone.
Malcolme
reprimed by
his nobles.
Malcolmes
excuse.

Malcolme
goeth to York

Fond dealing
and not likelie
to be true.

Sentence gi-
uen against Malcolme
at York.

Malcolme
is besieged.

Open warres
proclaimed
against the
Englishmen.

A conclusion
of agreement

Malcolme
hates of his
people.

Fear of out-
ward crueltie
causeth quiet-
nesse at home.

Angus the
thane of Gal-
loway raised
a commotion
vpon what oc-
casion he made
not any men-
tion.

Angus dis-
comfited by
Gilchrist.

Whiterne a
place of sanctu-
arie.

Angus be-
sieged in Whit-
terne.

Angus yield-
ed himselfe
to the king.

Angus be-
came a ca-
non.

A rebelli-
on raised by
the Purrey
land men.

Gildo capte-
ine of the rebels.

The crueltie
of the rebels.

Gilchrist dis-
comfited by
the Purrey
land men.

Angus not
fought for them
sakes.

Comment a-
bout the
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Malcolme
ought not to be
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The Pur-
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the like, he commanded that none of those of Murray land should be saved (women, children, and aged persons onelie excepted) but that all the residue of that generation should passe by the edge of the sword. Thus the Murray land men being destroyed according to his commandement thorough all parts of the realme, he appointed other people to inhabit their comes, that the countrie should not lie wast without habitation.

In this meane time, Somerleith the thane of Argyle, who (as ye haue heard) was fled ouer into Ireland, upon trust of the hatred into the which Malcolm was run, with the most part of all his nobles and commons, though this slaughter of his people, and namelie of them of Murray land, he thought to assaie fortunes chance once againe, and so thereupon returned with certeine kernes and naked men into Scotland. But this last enterprise of his came to a more vnluckie end than the first, for being vanquished in battell at Kenfrow, he lost the most part of all his men, and was taken prisoner himselfe, and after hanged on a gibbet, by commandement of the king, according to that he had iustlie merited. Malcolm hauing thus subdued his aduersaries, and being now in rest and quiet, he set his mind wholie to gouerne his realme in vpright iustice, and hauing two sisters mariable, he coupled the elder named Margaret with Conon duke of Britaine, and the younger called Adhama he married with Florens earle of Holland.

After this, there was a counsell holden at Scone of all the Scottish nobilitie, where then they were assembled together in the counsell-chamber, Arnold archbishop of saint Andrewes stood vp, and by a vertie piffie oration, toke vpon him to aduise the king to change his purpose touching his vowe, which (as appeared) he had made to liue chaste. He declared vnto him by manie weightie reasons, that it was not onlie necessarie for him and his realme, that he should take a wife (by whome he might raise vp seed to succeed him in the possession of the crowne) but also that he might not choise a more perfect state of life (considering the office wherein he was placed) than matrimonie, being instituted, not by this law-maker or that, but by God himselfe, who in no one of all his ordinances might erre or be deceiued. Againe for pleasure, he affirmed how nothing could be more delectable to him, than to haue a worthy ladie to his bedfellow, with whome he might conferre all the conceits of his hart, both of grieve and gladnesse, the being a comfort vnto him as well in weale as in woo, an helpe both in sicknesse & health, redie to assuage anger, and to aduance mirth, also to refresh the spirits being wearied or in anie wise faint through studious trauell and care of mind.

Then shewed he that an aid children were vnto their parents, namelie to kings, how in peace they might gouerne vnder them, to the great commoditie of the common-weale, and in warre supplie their comes as lieutenants in defense of their countries, to the no small terror of the enemies. Wherefore sith men are not bozne onelie for their owne weale, but also for the profit of their friends, and commoditie of their countrie; it could not be chosen, but that he ought to perswade with himselfe to alter his purposed intention, concerning the obseruance of chastitie, and to take a wife to the great ioy and comfort of his subjects, sith it was commendable both before God and man, and so necessarie withall and profitable, as nothing might be more. But these and manie other most weightie reasons could nothing moue his constant mind, hauing euen from his tender yeres affianced his virginittie vnto Christ, trusting that God would so prouide, that the realme should not be destitute of conuenient heires, when the time came that it should please his diuine maiestie to take him hence to his mercie from amongst his subjects. Thus brake vp that counsell without anie effect of the purpose for the which it was called.

Shortlie after it chanced that king Malcolm fell sicke, continuing so a long time, by reason whereof he sought meanes to conclude a peace with Henrie king of England; which being brought to passe, he set workemen in hand to laie the foundation of saint Kewles abbete, which afterwards bare the name of saint Andrewes. When he had finished this house, being a goodlie pcece of worke, and vertie collic, as may appere at this day by the view thereof, he assigned forth certeine rents for the sustentation of the canons, whome he placed there of the order of saint Augustine, not so largelie as serued for the maintenance of superfluous chere, but yet sufficient for their necessarie finding: by reason whereof, the canons of that abbete liued in those daies in most feruent deuotion, hauing no prouocations at all to inordinate lusts and sensuall pleasures; but onelie giuen to diuine contemplation, without respect to auarice, or enlarging the possessions and reuenues of their house. He founded also the abbete of Couper of the Cisterciens order, and indowed it with manie faire lands and wealthie possessions. Finalle, being vered with long infirmittie, he departed out of this life at Jedburgh the 12 yere of his reigne. A certeine comet or blasing starre appeared 14 daies together before his death, with long beames vertie terrible to behold. His bodie was buried at Dunfermling, after the incarnation 1185 yeres.

In the daies of this Malcolm, Roger archbishop of Dore, constituted the popes legat, could not be suffered to enter into Scotland, because he was a man highlie defamed for his couetous practising to enrich himselfe by vnlawfull meanes.

After Malcolm succeded his brother William, surnamed for his singular iustice, the Lion. Shortlie after his coronation, he sent ambassadozs vnto Henrie king of England, requering him, that according to iustice, he would restore vnto him the earledome of Northumberland, sith it appertained by good and lawfull interest vnto his inheritance. King Henrie answered the messengers, that if king William would come vnto London, and there do his homage for Cumberland and Huntingtoun, he should be assured to haue all things so ordered, as he reasonable could with or demand. Hereupon king William went into England, and so came to London, and after he had done his homage for Cumberland and Huntingtoun, he required the restitution of Northumberland. But king Henrie made answer as then, that forsomuch as the same was annexed to the crowne, he might not without the assent of all the estates of his realme make restitution thereof. Notwithstanding, in the next parlement, he promised to cause the matter to be proponed: and if it came to passe that his demand were found to stand with reason, he would do therein according to conscience, when time expedient should serue thereto.

About the same season, king Henrie passed ouer into Normandie with an armie, and caused king William, with manie other nobles of Scotland, to go with him in that iourne. For king William would not disobey his commandement at that present, in hope to attaine in quiet and peaceable manner his sute touching the restitution of Northumberland (as the Scottish writers do affirm) but in the end, after he had continued a long time with king Henrie, and perceiued no comfort to recover his lands, he got licence with much adoe to returne home: and so coming backe into England, passed through the realme with

A peace concluded with England. The Abbete of saint Andrewes builded.

Superfluous rents of abbetes, prouocations to inordinate lusts.

The abbete of Couper founded. The death of king Malcolm. A comet.

1185. Roger archbishop of Dore the popes legat.

William surnamed the Lion. Ambassadozs sent to the king of England.

King William is required to do homage.

King William request for the restitution of Northumberland. The answer of king Henrie.

King Henrie sailth into Normandie. King William with manie nobles of Scotland went with king Henrie ouer into France.

King William
scale of justice.

Scotland
more indama-
ged by dome-
sticall theues
than by fo-
reigne enemies.

Ambassadors
sent to king
Henrie.

See more
thereof in
England.

A portion of
Northumber-
land restored
to the Scots.
King William
received a
piece of North-
umberland
with his right
tailed to the re-
sidue.
King Henrie
repenting him
selfe of that
which he had
delivered to
the Scots
seeketh new
occasions of
warre
with
England.

King William
inuaeth
Cumberland.

with his nobles into Scotland, where he applied his whole indour to vnderstand the state of the com-
mon-wealth of his subiects, and speciallie he took order in most diligent wise, to punish cruelties done by theues and robbers, which vndoubtedlie was one of the most profitable acts that he could deuise to accomplish at that present, considering the state of his realme, as it then stood. For if the damages & skathes committed by theues and robbers were equalie pondered with the hurts and hinderances which daily grow by open warre against anie foren nation, it may well appeere, that more harme ariseth, & more heinous cruelties are exercised against the poore and miserable commons and innocent people, by such as liue by rapine & spoiling at home, than by anie outward enemies, be they neuer so fierce and strong in the field. And therefore the prudent consideration of this prince was no lesse to be commended, in that he sought to repress the licentious outrage of such arrand theues and priuie murderers, than if he had slaine manie thousands of foren enemies.

When he had once cleared the realme of those misgouerned persons, he sent emissaries his ambassadors to king Henrie, requiring (as before) to haue Northumberland restored vnto him, with notice giuen, that if he might not haue it with fauour, he would as saie to recouer it by force. King Henrie perceiving that he must either satisfie king Williams request, either else haue open warres with the Scots, by aduise of his nobles, restored to king William so much of Northumberland as his grandfather King Malcolm had in possession. King William accepted the offer, but so, as he protested that he received not that part in full recompense of the whole which was due vnto him (so saie the Scottish writers) but so as his entier right might alwaies be saued as well to the residue as to that which was then restored. Within few yeres after, king Henrie feeling that hinderance it was for him to forbear the commodities of those lands, which were thus deliuered vnto the Scottish kings vse, repented him of that bargain: and therefore to find some occasion to recouer the same again, he procured his subiects that dwelled vpon the borders, to make forreies into the lands pertaining to the Scots, so to prouoke them to battell.

Complaint of these iniuries being brought vnto the warden of the Scottish borders, by such Scots as had lost such goods as were taken awaie by the Englishmen, he sent to demand restitution; but for so much as he could haue no towardlie answer, he got together a great number of men, the which entering into the English ground, did much hurt on each side where they came. At the same time was king Henrie in France, and therefore the Englishmen thought it sufficient to defend themselves as well as they might without attempting anie notable enterpryse in reuenge of the displeasures done by the Scots. Haruest was also at hand, and thereupon they ceased on either part from further inuasions, till the winter season, which passed also without anie exploit achieved, worthie to be remembred; sauing certeine small rodes made by the Scots into the English borders, as they saw occasion to serue thereto.

But in the summer next following, king William raised a mightie armie, and came with the same into Cumberland, the right wing of the which armie was led by Glisciff, whose approved valancie often shewed in the time of king Malcolm, had advanced him to marie with the kings sister. The left wing was assigned vnto the conduct of one Rowland the kings cosen, who was also lieutenant of the horsemen. The middle ward or battell the king himselfe led. The Englishmen, to the intent they might haue time and leasure to assemble their power, sent vnto

king William, offering vnto him, not onlie large summes of monie, if he would retorne backe with his armie without further inuasion, but also redress of all manner of iniuries and wrongs, if anie such on their behalfe were to be proued. But king William for answer hereunto declared, that he had not begun the warre for anie desire he had to monie; neither had he first giuen the occasion, as one that was euer willing to liue vpon his owne: so that if they could be contented to restore Northumberland being his rightfull heritage, he was not so desirous of blood, but that he would gladlie cease from all further attempts.

The Englishmen hauing receiued this answer, to the end they might protract the time in sending still to and fro, till they might espie some occasion to worke such seates as they had imagined, addressed forth other ambassadors vnto king William, with diuerse faire offers and golden promises. In the meane time, to take the Scottishmen at some advantage, they conueie their whole power in the night season nere vnto the place where the same Scottishmen laie in campe, & diuiding themselves into two parts, the one was appointed to abide in the fields, till the sunne were vp, and then to shew themselves to the enemies, to traine them forth to battell: the other companie was laid close in a ballie not farre off, to take the advantage as they saw their time. In the morning about the rising of the sunne, those that were appointed to procure the skirmish, approached so nere to the enemies campe, till they came euen with in sight of them. The Scots amazed with the strangenesse of the thing, for that they had not heard before of anie assemblie of the Englishmen, at the first were somewhat afraid: but anon encouraging one another, they boldlie issued forth vpon their enemies, who of purpose (at the first) made but weake resistance, and at length fled amaine, to the intent to cause the Scottishmen to breake their arrate of battell in pursuing them, which they did so egerlie, that they left their king but slenderlie garded with a small companie about him. Then the ambushment lieng in the ballie, brake forth vpon him, according to the order before appointed, and in the meane time, the other that fled cast themselves about, and manlie abode their enemies, so earnestlie laing it to their charge, that in fine they droue them backe, and constrained them to flee in good earnest, which they themselves had but onlie counterfeited to do before.

King William perceiving his people thus distressed, and himselfe inclosed on each side amongst his enemies, after he had assaied to breake forth on some side from amongst them, when he saw his indour could by no meanes preuaile, and that the enemies made onlie at him, he yielded himselfe. There was not much blood spilled on either side at this beheading, for the one part in the beginning of the fraie (as ye haue heard) fleeing of set purpose to the place where their ambush late, escaped without much hurt; and the other, scared by the breaking forth of the ambush, abode the hunt but a small while, returning immediatlie towards the king; and then perceiving they could do no good, they made the best shift they could each man for himselfe, to escape the enemies hands. The king being thus taken of his enemies, was conueied to king Henrie ouer into Normandy, where he was as then remaining. The yere that king William was thus taken, was after the birth of our Saviour Christ 1174, and the ninth of king Williams reigne.

Other writers report the maner of his taking, not altogether agreeable with that which we haue here about remembred, who declare how King William, after he had wasted all Cumberland, came into Northumber-

The offers of the Englishmen.

The answer of king William.

The Englishmen taken by policie aduantage with the Scots.

The Englishmen returne purpose.

The king but slenderly garded.

The Scots constrained to flee.

King William yielded himselfe prisoner.

King William conueied into Normandy.

1174.

Discord of Supters.

William Parvus.

Captains of the Englishmen.

W. Parvus.

Glisciff and Rowland re- sit the Englishmen.

Northumberland under the Englishmen.

David earle of Huntington.

The king of Scots doth battle to the king of England for Scotland. Rog. Houed. March. West.

Northumberland, not ceasing till he came to An-
 wike, where he staid for a time to haue had battell:
 but in the meane while the Englishmen laie close to-
 gether without noise or appearance, in such wise that
 no Scottishman could haue vnderstanding where
 they were. At length king William wearied with
 long tarieng thus at Anwike, and seeing no enemies
 to appeere, determined to worke some exploit yet be-
 fore his returne, and thereupon sent forth the most
 part of all his armie abroad into the countrie, to for-
 reie the same, keeping no great companie about
 him, till the returne of the other thus sent forth.
 Whereupon incontinentlie a great ambushment of
 Englishmen came vpon him with counterfeited
 Scottish ensignes, and were not once suspected for
 Englishmen, till the king was compassed in by them
 on ech side, and so finally taken and led awaie per a-
 nie Scottishman with thereof, saue a few which were
 left (as is said) with him for the time. In deed Wil-
 helmus Paruus, a canon sometime in the abbey of
 Wyldington in Northshire, in that his booke which he
 writtes of the Norman kings of England, affirmes
 how there were not manie more than about three
 score horsemen with king William, while he was
 thus taken; and that the Englishmen were not past
 foure hundred horsemen, which took vpon them that
 enterprise; whose capteins (as he reciteth) were
 these: Robert de Stuteuill, Ranulfe de Glanvill,
 Bernard de Ballioll, and diuerse other.

The same author writeth, that after the taking of
 the king, there rose a mutinie amongst the Scots:
 for whereas the Irish Scots bare a naturall grudge
 against the English Scots, yet whilest the king was
 present amongst them, they durst not utter their
 malicious intentions: but now that he was thus ta-
 ken from them, so manie of the English Scots as
 fell into the hands of the Irish, paid dearelie for the
 bargain, being cruelly murdered and slaine: so
 that the residue were constrained to get them out of
 the waie into castles and towers, where they might
 be receiued. But now it is to be considered, that be-
 cause there was no great slaughter made at the ta-
 king of king William, the warres notwithstanding
 continued betwixt England and Scotland: for the
 two before specified chieftains Gilcriff and Rowland
 stoutlie withstood the Englishmen, and beat them
 backe as they enterprised to enter into Cumber-
 land. At length a peace was taken, during the time
 that king William remained in captiuitie; vnder
 these conditions, that Northumberland should conti-
 nue vnder the dominion of the Englishmen, and
 Cumberland (with the earldome of Huntington) to
 remaine (as before) vnder the gouernance of the
 Scottishmen.

Immediatlie vpon the taking of king William
 thus at Anwike, his brother David earle of Hun-
 tington, thorough licence of king Henrie came into
 Scotland, to haue the gouernement of the realme,
 till the king his brother might be redeemed. So soone
 therefore as he had once established the realme in
 good quiet and iustice, he sent Richard the bishop of
 Saint Andrews, with diuerse other noble men, ouer
 into Normandie, to take order there with H. Hen-
 rie for the ranome of the king his brother, which was
 agreed in this manner. First, it was accorded, that
 king William should become and acknowledge
 himselfe to be the king of Englands liege man, a-
 gainst all men for the realme of Scotland and his o-
 ther lands; and for the same should do fealtie to the
 said king of England, as to his liege soueraine lord,
 in like sort as other his liege people were accus-
 tomed to do. And further, he should also do fealtie vnto
 the lord Henrie, the king of Englands sonne, (sa-
 uing alwaies the faith which he owgth the king his

father.) And in like manner it was couenanted and
 agreed, that all the prelates of Scotland, and their suc-
 cessors, should recognise their wonted subiection to
 the church of England, and do fealtie to the king of
 England, so manie of them as he should appoint.
 And likewise the earle and barons of Scotland, and
 their heires for their part, should do their homage
 and fealties vnto the said king of England, and to
 the lord Henrie his sonne, so manie as therevnto
 should be required.

Moreover, the king of Scots should paie for his
 redemption one hundred thousand pounds sterling,
 the one halfe to be paid in hand: and for sure-
 pament of the other halfe, the earldomes of Cumber-
 land, Huntington, and Northumberland should be
 deliuered vnto king Henrie in pledge or mortgage,
 till the time that the same summe was paid. And
 for the more suretie of these couenants, and that the
 Scots should moue no warre against the English-
 men, foure of the strongest castles within Scotland,
 that is to saie, Berwike, Edinburgh, Forburgh, &
 Strueling, were deliuered into the Englishmens
 hands. These things being thus ordered the eight
 day of December 1175, the king resorted home,
 there followed a new stirre in Scotland, for Gilbert
 of Galloway, a right cruell and most mischievous
 person, purposing to conquer the crowne by force,
 made great slaughter of all them that withstood his
 desire. And because his brother reproued his do-
 ings, he put out his eyes, and cut off his hands. A-
 gainst this Gilbert was Gilcriff sent with an ar-
 mie by the king. There was fought a soie battell
 betwixt them, for the most part of those that followed
 Gilberts commandement, were desperat fellows,
 such commonlie as for murder and other heinous
 crimes by them committed were in danger of the
 lawes, and therefore vpon hope of pardon desired
 a change; but yet in the end, Gilcriff with multitude
 wan the field of them, and slue more in the chase
 than in the battell. Gilbert himselfe escaped and got
 ouer into the Ile of Man, and fled from thence into
 Ireland. Wilhelmus Paruus reporteth this matter
 somewhat otherwise, as thus: In the armie of king
 William (saith he) when he was taken nere vnto
 Anwike, were two brethren, Gilbert and Wared,
 that were lords of Galloway, hauing there with
 them a great retinue of their countrymen. These
 were the sonnes of Fergusius, sometime lord of that
 prouince; after whose decesse the king of Scots that
 is superiour lord thereof, diuided the countrie be-
 twixt these two brethren. But Gilbert the eldest bro-
 ther found himselfe much grieved to haue anie part
 of those lands (which were his fathers) giuen from
 him; yet doubting punishment at the kings hands,
 he durst not attempt anie thing against his brother,
 till it fortuned the king to be taken. And then deli-
 uered of the feare which had staid his mischievous
 purpose, he taketh his brother at vnwares, and cru-
 ellie murdered him, after no common maner; but
 rather martyred him in heastlie wise, so to satisfie
 the instinct of his diuelli nature. And immediatlie
 after inuading the vpper countries, he exerciseth
 great slaughter of men on each hand. But his bro-
 ther had a sonne called Rowland, which prouing a
 valiant yong gentleman, boldlie resisted his vncles
 rage, with the assistance and aid of his fathers
 friends. And thus was Scotland brought into trou-
 ble (as Wilhelmus Paruus recordeth) till by the fore-
 said Gilcriff the murderer was expelled, as before
 is expressed. In the yeare following came Hugo car-
 dinal of saint Angelo as legat from the pope into
 England, with authoritie to reforme the English
 churches, in such cases as were thought requisite;
 and after he had made an end there, to do the like in
 Scotland.

The prelates
of Scotland
do fealtie to
the king of
England.
The earles
and lords do
homage vnto
him.

King William
ransomed.

Foure castles
deliuered to
the English-
men in pledge.

1175.
Gilbert of
Galloway re-
belleth.

Gilbert of
Galloway
vanquished by
Gilcriff.

Wilhelmus
Paruus.

Hugh card-
inal of saint
Angelo the
popes legat.

make large
backe with
the redde
sue such on
William
had not be-
come; ne-
e that was
that if they
land being
desirous of
om all fur-

The offer of
the English-
men.

The answer
of king Wil-
liam.

answer, to
nding still
on occasion to
addressed
iam, with
s. In the
me aduan-
the night
the Scottish
s into two
n the fields,
hemselfes
fell: the o-
e not farre
it time. In
those that
approched so
even with
the strang-
eard before
at the first
aging one
enemies,
eake res-
e intent to
ate of bat-
terlie, that
ed with a
ambushment
according
eane time,
and manlie
it to their
, and con-
they them-
efore.

The English
men take by
policy so ban-
quish the
Scots.

Wilhelmus
Paruus.

Captains of
the English-
men.

W. Paruus.

The English
men retire of
purpose.

The king
but weakling
garden.

Gilcriff and
Rowland re-
sist the Eng-
lishmen.

Northumber-
land under the
Englishmen.

The Scots
constrained to
fle.

King William
yieldeth him-
selfe prisoner.

King William
conueied into
Normandie.

1174.

Discord of
Englishers.

The king of
Scots doth
fealtie to the
king of Eng-
land for Scot-
land.
Roy. Houed.
Mans. West.

his taking,
h he haue
B. Will-
came into
Northumber-

The bishops
of Scotland
summoned to
a conuocation
at Northampton.

Gilbert a
learned man
defended the
liberties of
Scotland.

Gilbert bishop
of Cathnes.

Wonders.

Hail.

The sun
darkened.

Thunder.

The founda-
tion of the
abbey of Ar-
broth, or Ab-
brothochoke.

1178.

The abbey of
Dunfermline
founded.

Ambassadors
to the pope.

A rose of gold.

Gilcriff mur-
dered his
wife upon su-
spicion and
adulterie.
The kings
indignation a-
gainst Gil-
criff.

Gilcriff pro-
claimed trait-
or.

Wredus the
brother of
Gilcriff.

Scotland. When he had therefore finished with Eng-
land, he cited all the bishops of Scotland to appeare
before him at a day prefixed at Northampton. They
came according to his appointment, and being as-
sembled there in conference, he went about in most
earnest wise to persuade them to receiue the archbi-
shop of York for their metropolitan. But one Gil-
bert a young man, holobest singularly well learned,
and for his holiness of life much commended (as
Hector Boetius writeth) being sent of purpose by
king William unto this conuocation, to foresee that
nothing were concluded in the same, prejudiciall to
the ancient liberties and franchises of the realme
of Scotland, did argue so stiffly to the contrarie,
that the cardinall left off the pursute of such manner
of matter, and brake vp that councell without deter-
mination of anie thing to the purpose in that behalfe.

This Gilbert that thus defended the cause and li-
berties of the Scottish clergie, was afterwards
made bishop of Cathnes, and finally after his de-
parture out of this transitory life, registred for his
supposed perfect holiness of life among the number
of saints. The chiefest cause that moued the Scot-
tish clergie to withdraue their obedience from the
primasie of York, was the dissention and conti-
nuall enmitie betwixt the two nations for superiorti-
tie in temporall causes. The same yeare that this
councell was holden at Northampton, sundrie un-
beseemly wonders were seene in Albion. On Midsum-
mer day being the feast day of the natiuitie of saint
John the Baptist, there fell such a storme of hail,
that it killed manie sheepe and small cattell: people
that were out of houses, and from vnder couert anie
where abroad, were beaten to the earth with vio-
lence of that storme. The sunne in September a-
bout nonetide was darkened for the space of two
houres together, without anie eclipse or cause na-
turall by interposition of clouds. In Northshire
was such terrible thunder with strange lightening,
that manie abbeies and churches were consumed
with the fire.

About this season, the abbey of Arbroth was built
in most magnificent wise, and indowed with lands
and revenues in such ample sort, that few houses
within the bounds of Albion might compare there-
with. The church was dedicated in the yeare of
Grace 1178, by king William, in honor of Thomas
Becket archbishop of Canturburie, with whome (as
is said) he had great familiaritie in time of his young
yeares. At the same time the abbey of Haddington
was founded by Adhama the mother of king Wil-
liam, and shortly after she had built it, she died. Not
long after, king William sent as ambassadors John
bishop of saint Andrews, and Reginald abbat of Ar-
broth unto pope Alexander the third, to present vnto
him his obeisance, according as he thought stood
with his duetie. The pope seeming to reioice there-
at, sent shortly after vnto the king a rose of gold,
filled with balme, and certeine new priuileges con-
cerning the libertie of the church of Scotland. At
the same time Gilcriff, hauing his wife in suspicion
of adulterie, droue hir out of doores, and afterwards
strangled hir in a village called Paris, not far
a mile from Dundee. The king (for that she was his
sister) took such indignation therewith, that he sei-
zed vpon all his lands and goods, purposing to haue
put him to death if he might haue got him into his
hands: but when he saw he could not be found, he
proclaimed him traitor, and rased his castell (where-
in he had dwelled) quite to the ground, in such wise
that vnneth remaineth anie token at this day where
it stood. This Gilcriff had a brother that hight Wre-
dus, who before this mischance had got the lands of
Dgillie: of whome the house of the Dgillies take

their beginning, that after came to great autori-
tie in the court, though at this time (through Gil-
criffs offense) his whole familie was nere hand de-
stroied. About this time also, the queene, king Wil-
liam his wife, deceased. A daughter which he had by
hir, named Adhama, he gaue in marriage vnto the
earle of Laon: but he himselfe after the deceasse of
this his first wife married Emengard, daughter to
Richard vicount of Beaumont that was sonne to
a daughter of king William the Conquerour. By
this marriage and alliance, the peace was newlie
confirmed betwixt England and Scotland, in such
wise, that neither part might receiue anie rebels to
the other, by means whereof Gilcriff, that before
was fled into England, was constrained to returne
into Scotland, disguised in poyr weed, with two of
his sonnes, and there passed forth his life a long time
in great miserie amongst the woods and in out pla-
ces, unknowne to anie man that he was, by rea-
son of his poyr and simple habit. Somewhat before
the aboue remembred marriage, Henrie king of
England at the motion of Hugh bishop of Durham
rendered vnto the castell of Edenburgh into R. Wil-
liam his hands.

About this time the Souldane named Saladine
prospered hugely against the christians in the holie
land, making such cruell slaughter of them, that to
heare thereof, all christian hearts were moued to
pitifull commiseration and dolorous teares: in so
much that Henrie king of England vowed to go
thither with an armie to relieue the common neces-
sities of the christian publike locale, and had gone in
deed, if he had not bene hindered by the confra-
rie of his sonne, whome latelie before he had caused
to be crowned king, that went about to vsurpe the
sole administration to himselfe now in his fathers
life time. About the same time William went with
an armie into Koffe, against Pakulzen and Pak-
bein, two capitains of the westerne Isles, which fled
vpon occasion to passe ouer into Koffe, Cathnes and
Murrey land, spoiling and waisting those countries;
when they heard of anie power comming against
them, they would straight returne to their ships,
and repasse againe into the Isles. But at this time,
the king had sent forth a naute to burne all those is-
lands, wherein the robbers had passed ouer and had
left at anchor, by reason whereof when they were
inclosed in on euerie side by the king, and taken pri-
soners, they after had suffered death on the wheele,
according to the maner of the ciuill law.

The king in his returne from his iourne, came
by the abbey of Abbrothochoke, to view the tower of
that house, how it went forwarde, commanding
them that were ouersers and maisters of the works
to spare for no costs, but to bring it vp to perfection,
and that with most magnificence. After his depar-
ture from thence, he took the way toward Bertha,
and by aduenture espied where Gilcriff was deli-
uing vp turfes, together with his two sonnes. And
though he knew not what they were, yet he mused
to see two such goodly young men, as by resemblance
they appeared to be, to be thus occupied in such tol-
ling and base labour. Incontinentlie herewith Gil-
criff with his bald head came afore him, and falling
downe on his knees at the kings feet, said: If there
be anie mercie in thee (most ruthfull prince) for them
that are brought through their offenses into extreme
miserie, hauing suffered condigne punishment for
the same; I beseech thee for the loue that Christ had to
all sinfull people, not sparing to shed his most pre-
cious blood for their redemption, to haue some pittie &
compassion on me, & these my poyr & miserable sons,
which with me haue suffered much griefe and penur-
rie, not hauing deserued the same by anie crime by
the m

The house of
the Dgillies

The earle of
Laon.

Emengard,
1186.

The peace
confirmed
with Eng-
land.

The misre-
dic state of
Gilcriff.

The castell of
Edenburgh
retoyed.

Saladine the
Souldane.

King Henrie
purpose to go
into the holie
land against
the Saracens
hindered by
rebellion of
his sonne.

Pakulzen
and Pakbein
captains
of pirates.

Gilcriffs gift
vnto the house
of Abbrothochoke.

Death on the
wheele.

Abbrothochoke
is builded.

Laws devised
by king Wil-
liam against
pirates.

Gilcriff deli-
uing clothes.

Gilcriff asked
pardon of the
king in his
known ha-
bit.

them committed.

At the last, when king William had inquired of him what he was, and how it chanced he fell into such kind of miserie, the teares came so fast trickling from his eyes, that of a long time he was not able to declare his owne name. At length being come to himselfe, he said: I am Gilcrist (noble prince) the most sorrowfull creature on earth, which (alas) put my hands in thy blood, and was therefore banished of all my lands, and banished with these my two sonnes out of thy realme, whereupon we remained in England for a while, till through proclamation made against outlawes, I was constrained to come hither againe with my said sonnes, where we have lived by roots all the summer season, and now in the winter are glad to get our living with travaill of hand thus in digging and deluing of clods. Therfore if anie ruth or pittie have place in thy heart, or that thine indignation be qualified, have mercie on our sorrowfull estate, and remit the offense, whereby thou maiest not onelie purchase great honor and fame by example of pittie, being highlie renowned for that vertue amongst all nations, but also win great merit afore God, for shewing thy selfe the follower of Christ, the giver of all mercie, grace, and peace.

The king moved by these words, and remembring the good service which Gilcrist had imploied so oftentimes afore in defense of the realme; and againe pitying his case, to consider from what degree of honor he was fallen into the deepest bottome of extreme miserie, he took him wholie to his fauour, and not onelie forgave him his former offenses, but also restored unto him, and to his sonnes, all such lands as sometimes appertained unto them, except so much as the king had already given unto the abbie of Abirbrothoke. Gilcrist euer after persevered in due obedience to his prince. And for so much as his eldest sonne deceased before him without heires, that his younger sonne, by reason of some impediment which he had, was vnmet for marriage, he gaue the most part of his lands after his owne deceasse unto the said house of Abirbrothoke. His younger sonne also, no lesse well affectionated towards the same house, gaue the residue of his lands thereunto. The father and both his sonnes are buried before the altar of S. Batharine within the church of this abbie, as the superscription of their tomes sheweth.

Though king William was earnestlie occupied in the aduancing forward of the building of Abirbrothoke, yet did he not forget his dutie in the administration of his lawes; but diligentlie caused iustice to be executed, to the punishing of the wicked, and the rewarding of them that well deserved. He made also sundrie new lawes for the restraining of thieues and oppressors of the people, so rigorous, that they might be in feare to heare him named. Furthermore, where as the church of Scotland was subiect to the church of Rome, he obtained of pope Clement the third of that name, letters of exemption for his clergie, whereby the church of Scotland (within the which were contained the bishops sees of saint Andrews, Glasco, Dunkeld, Dunblane, Wigborne, Aberdeen, Murray, Ross, and Cathness) was declared exempt from all other forrein iurisdiccions, except onelie from that of the see of Rome, so as it might not be lawfull from thenceforth for any that was not of the realme of Scotland, to pronounce sentence of interdiction or excommunication, or otherwise to deale in iudgement of ecclesiasticall causes, except such one as the apostolicall see of Rome should specially appoint, and send thither with legantine power. The date of the said bull or letters of exemption thus obtained was at the popes palace of Laterane, the

third Ides of March, and first parte of the said pope Clements government. Shortly after, to wit in the year 1198, died Henrie king of England, after whom succeeded his second sonne Richard: for Henrie his eldest sonne deceased before his father.

King Richard, after his coronation, prepared him selfe to passe with an armie into the holie land, and therefore made peace with all his neighbors, that no trouble should follow to his realme by reason of his absence: and hereupon to keepe the Scots in friendship, rather by beneuolence than by feare, he restored into their hands the castles of Roxburgh, Berwick, and Sterling: and moreover that part of Northumberland which his father had taken from king William when he took him prisoner. He also deliuered the earledomes of Huntington and Cumberland; but vnder condition, that all the castles and holds within them, should be in the keeping of his captains and souldiours, such as he should appoint. He released to king William also the residue of such summes of monie as were due for the foure castles laid to gage, ten thousand pounds onelie excepted, which he receiued in hand at that present towards the charges of his iourne. When king William had thus receiued his lands and castles by surrender, he made his brother David earle of Huntington, who thereupon doing his homage vnto king Richard, according to the old ordinance devised by king Malcolm the first, went with him also in that voyage with five hundred Scottishmen, or rather five thousand (as the translator of Hector Boetius saith) if no fault be in the printer.

As the christian armie late at siege before the citie of Acres, other wise called Acon, it chanced that one Oliuer a Scottishman borne, was within the towne retained in seruice among the Saracens; for being convict of felonie in his native countrie he was banished out of the same, and fled to the Saracens, remaining so long amongst them, that he had learned their tongue verie perfectlie, so that as then few knew what countreman he was. It fortuned that this Oliuer had one of the gates in keeping, on that side the towne where was but a single wall, without trenches, or anie other fortification. He happened by some good aduventure to espie amongst the watch of those that were of the retinue of David earle of Huntington, one of his owne kinsmen named John Durward, with whom of long time before he had bene most familiarlie acquainted; and incontinently he called to the same Durward, desiring vnder assurance to talke with him. After certaine communication, for that this Oliuer had not as yet bitterlie in his heart renounced the christian faith, he appointed with Durward to giue entrie at acerteine houre vnto earle David, and to all the christian armie, vpon condition that earle David would see him restored againe vnto his land and heritage in Scotland. The houre set, earle David came with a great power of men to the gate before reherced, where he was suffered to enter according to appointment, and incontinently with great noise and clamour brake into the midst of the citie.

In the morning betimes, king Richard perceiuing the citie thus wonne, entered the same, and shortly after wane a tower, which the Saracens for a while manfullie defended. Thus was the citie of Acres wonne from the Saracens, chieflie by means of the Scottishmen. But now touching their returne from this voyage (for sith in other places more large mention is made of such exploits as were atchiued therein, I passe ouer to make anie longer discourse thereof in this place) ye shall vnderstand, that in that terrible tempest, in the which king Richards nauie was dispersed in his coming homewards (as in the

The death of Henrie king of England.

R. Richard?

The castles of Roxburgh, Berwick, and Sterling restored to king William.

Earle of Huntington. Scots with king Richard in the holie land.

The siege of Acres. Oliuer a Scottishman.

John Durward.

Earle David entered the citie Acon.

the house of the Douglas
The castle of Lam.
Emengard.
1186.
The peace confirmed with England.
The miserieable state of Gilcrist.
The castle of Edinburgh restored.
Saladine the Souldane.
King Henrie purpose to go into the holie land against the Saracens hindered by rebellion of his sonne.
Ababuyen and Ababern captiues of pirates.
Death on the wharfe.
Abirbrothoke is builded.
Gilcrist deliuing clods.
Gilcrist aske pardon of the king in his knowne habit.

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Death on the wharfe.
Abirbrothoke is builded.
Gilcrist deliuing clods.
Gilcrist aske pardon of the king in his knowne habit.

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Earle David
taken prisoner
he is re-
deemed.

He went to
Scotland.

Arrived at
Dundee.

The name of
Dundee.

Procession
was holden.

A church
built.

Privileges
granted to the
towns of
Dundee.

The abbey of
Lundor.

Woods with-
out hurt.

R. Richards
returne into
England.

The gift of
king William
to king Ri-
chard.

A brute reled
that the king
was dead.

the historie of Eng'and is moze at large exprest) the ship also that earle David was in, chanced to be thowne on land on the coasts of Aegypt, where being taken prisoner, and led into Alexandria, at length he was redeemed by certeine merchants of Venice, and first conueied vnto Constantinople, and after vnto Venice, where he was bought out & redeemed by the English merchants, and in the end suffered to depart home. At his comming into Flanders, he hired a vessell at Sluis, thertwith to returne into Scotland; but being losed a little off from the shore, such a vehement tempest suddenly arose, that droue him, not without great danger of life, nere to the coasts of Fozwaie and Shetland.

Here in the midst of this extreame leoparchie (as hath bene reported) after he had made a vow to build a church in the honoz of the virgin Marie, if he might escape that danger of seas, he arrived at length in Taie water beside Dundee, not far from saint Nicholas chappell, without either rudder or tackle. The place where he arrived before that time hight Aledum, but he as then changed the name, and called it Dundee, which signifieth as though ye should say, The gift of God. When his brother the king heard that he was returned, supposing long time before, that he had bene dead, he came speedilie vnto Dundee to welcome him home, shewing him selfe most glad of his returne, inso much that he caused publike processions to be celebrate through the realme, to giue God thanks that had thus restored his brother home into his countrie. Earle David, according as he had vowed, builded a church in the field commonlie called the wheat field, and dedicating it in honoz of the virgin Marie, made it a parish church. At a parlement also holden after this at Dundee, licence was granted vnto him to build an abbey in what place it shuld please him within Scotland, and to indow it with lands and rents as he should thinke good. There were also manie privileges granted the same time vnto Dundee, which indure to this day.

Earle David not refusing the grant and beneuolence of the king his brother, builded an abbey called Lundor, for monks of the order of saint Benet. One thing there is much to be wondered at, as a strange singularitie. For whereas that house standeth in a vallie, inclosed on each side with wood and water, by reason whereof there is great abundance of adders; yet doth no man catch hurt by anie of them, inso much that ye shall see yong children play and run vp and downe amongst a great number of them, without anie skath or hurt following vnto them thereof. In this meane while, Richard king of England (who also in his returne out of the holie land was taken prisoner by the emperor of Almanie) was deliuered for a great summe of monie, and so returned into his countrie. King William hearing of king Richards returne into England, to congratulate the same, toke his brother earle David with him, and came vnto London, where, in token of ioy, that he had vnto him conceived for his safe comming home, after all troubles and dangers which he had passed, he gaue vnto him two thousand markes sterling, for that he knew at what great charges he had bene, aswell for furnishing of his baggage, as also for redeeming of his libertie.

By these friendlie points of humanitie shewed, there followed great amitie and loue betwixt these two kings. But king William fell sicke in England, and as it often happeneth, such as were vniquiet persons, desirous to be deliuered of all feare of lawes, were straight way put in an vntrue beliefe, that he was dead: and causing it to be bouted abroad, began to exercise all kind of misdeemeanors by inna-

ding the poore and simple people, with spoilings and slaughters in all parts. But after it was certeinlie knowne, that the king was not onelie alive, but also recovered of his infirmite, and comming homeward, those raskals and wicked rebels withouthinder the conduct of one Herald the thane of Cathnes, and erle of Orkenie, vnto the bittermost bounds of Scotland. Howbeit the king pursued them in such diligent and earnest maner, that he apprehended the most part of them in Cathnes, and commanded iustice to be done on them, in such wise, that mercie was not yet wanting: for such as were thought to be after a sort gilllesse, were pardoned, and the other punished, euerie one according to the measure of his offenses.

But the principall leader of them, that is to say, the forenamed Herald, for that time escaped into the westerne Isles, but shortly after, returning to Cathnes, he was taken and brought to the king, who caused his eies first to be put out, then gelded, and lastlie to be hanged on a paire of gallows. Also all those of his linage that were men, were likewise gelded, that no succession should follow of so wicked a seed. In the yere next ensuing was more dearely felt in Scotland, than euer was heard of before: for a measure of barlie, in Scottish called a boll, was sold for five crownes; and yet in the yere next following, accounting from the natiuitie of our Sauioz 1199, was moze plentiful abundance than euer had bene scene afore. The same yere king Williams wife Ermengard was deliuered of a yong sonne named Alexander. The same yere also died Richard king of England, & his brother John succeeded in his place. About thre yeres after this, was the foresaid Alexander the kings sonne created prince of Scotland. And the same yere came a legat from the pope sent to R. William, presenting vnto him a sword, with a sheath & hilts of gold set full of rich pretious stones. He presented vnto him also a hat or bonet, made in manner of a diadem of purple hue, in token (as it should meane) that he was defender of the church. Manie indulgences and priuileges were granted at the same time by the pope, for the libertie of the church of Scotland. It was ordeined also the same time, that saturdaye should be kept as holidaye from none forward, and great punishment appointed for them that transgressed this ordinance, in doing anie bodilie worke from saturdaye at none, vntill mondaye in the morning.

After this, king William returned againe into England to do his homage vnto king John, for the lands of Cumberland, Huntington, and Possum, berland. Immediatlie whereupon king John willed him to passe with him into France, to make warres against the Frenchmen. And because he refused so to do, king John made claime to all the foresaid lands as forfeited to the crowne of England, and caused a great bootie of goods to be fetched out of the same: so that open warres had immediatlie followed, if the English lords had not compelled R. John to make restitution of all the goods so taken; because they thought it not expedient in anie wise to haue wars with the Scots at the same time, being already in trouble with the Frenchmen. In the winter following, the frost was so behement, & continued so long, that till mid March, no plough might be put into the ground. Ale was frozen in such wise within houses, and cellars, that it was sold by weight. Such a great snow fell also therewith, that beasts died in manie places in great numbers. Moreover, from the Twelfth tide till Februarye, there was euerie day verie terrible earthquakes.

After the end of winter, king John having made an end of his warres with France, began to build a castell

Herald then
of Cathnes
successor of
rebels.

Judice was
delivered of
mercies.

He then
of Cathnes
taken.
Seuerer pun-
ishment.

Great want

1199

Alexander
prince of
Scotland.

A legat
from the pope

A hat.

Defender of
the church.

Saturdaye
was kept holidaye.

King William
did homage
king John
England.

John healed
R. William.

Archbishop
by king
William.

Tradition
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Earthquake

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acastell in Northumberland ouer against Berwikke, upon purpose to haue some quarell to fall out with the Scots: King William being aduertised thereof, sent his ambassadores vnto king John, requiring him to desist from such attempts, and not to seke any occasion of new trouble: but forsomuch as he received no towardlie answer againe from him, John, he assembled a power, & comming to the castell which king John had caused to be builded, he ouerthrew the same, and rased it to the earth. King John so offended herewith, raised a mightie armie, and came towards Scotland, but at his comming to the borders, he found his aduersarie king William ready to receiue him by battell, if he had come forward; howbeit through mediation of prudent men, the matter was taken vp betwixt them, so that on either side the armies were dissolved, & both the kings repairing to Porke, established a peace there, with these conditions, that Margaret and Isabell daughters to king William, after the tearme of 9 yeres then next ensuing were once expired, should be coupled in marriage with Henrie and Richard the sons of king John, vpon this paction and covenant, that if the one died, the other should succeed to the crowne. For the which it was covenanted, that king William should giue a right large dower. Also the castell which king John had builded, and king William rased, it was agreed that it should remaine so defaced, and neuer after againe to be repaired. For the sure performance of these articles thus betwixt the two kings concluded, nine noble men of Scotland were appointed to be deliuered as hostages vnto king John. In that assemblee there at Porke, king William also surrendered into the hands of king John, the lands of Cumberland, Huntington, and Northumberland; to the intent he should assigne those lands againe vnto his sonne prince Alexander, and he to doe homage for the same, according to the maner and custome in that case prouided, for a knowledge and recognition that those lands were holden of the kings of England, as superior lordes of the same. During the abode of these two kings at Porke, there was brought vnto them a child of singular beautie, sonne and heire to a gentleman of great possessions in those parties, being soe bered with diuerse and sundrie diseases; for one of his eyes was consumed & lost through an issue which it had of corrupt and filthie humors, the one of his hands was dried vp; the one of his feet was so taken, that he had no vse thereof; and his tong likewise that he could not speake. The physicians that saw him thus troubled with such contrarie infirmities, iudged him incurable. Hewerthelesse, king William making a crowle on him, refozed him immediatlie to health. By reason thereof, manie beleued that this was done by miracle, through the power of almightie God, that the vertue of so godlie a prince might be notified to the world.

After his returne from Porke into Scotland, he indowed the churches of Melbottell, Melros, Polirhod house, Dunfirmling, and Aberdeen, with manie faire possessions, as the letters patents made therof by him beare manifest testimonie. He also erected one new bishops see called Argile, giuing thereto sufficient lands towards the maintenance and sustentation thereof. After this, comming vnto the towne of Bertha, he had not remained there manie daies, but there chanced such a flood, by reason of the rising and inundation of the two riuers, Tait & Almond, that through violence of the streame the towne wals were borne downe, and much people in the towne drowned, yer they could make any thist to saue themselves, inso much that though the king with his wife, and the most part of his familie escaped out of

that great danger and leoparchie, his yongest sonne yet named John, with his nurse and twelue other women perished, and twentie other of his seruants beside. There was heard such clamor, noise, & lamentable cries, with bitter rolings and dreadfull thylkings, as is used in time when any towne is suddenly taken and surprized by the enemies: for as the comon prouerbe witnesseth; Fier & water haue no mercie; and yet of these two, water is moze terrible and dangerous: for there is no force or wit of man able to resist the violence of inundations, where they suddenlye breake in.

King William, after that the towne of Bertha was thus destroyed and ouerslowed with water; began the foundation of an other towne, which was after called Perth, by a man of that name that ougtht the ground where the same towne was builded. Furthermore, to aduance the dignitie and augmentation of this towne, the king granted sundrie benefittall priuileges and freedoms thereto, that it might the sooner rise in riches and wealth. The first foundation thereof was laid after the incarnation of our Saviour 1210 yeres, but the name was changed afterwards, and called saint Johns towne, which name it beareth even vnto this day. About the same time there rose efflones new trouble in Cathnes, for one Gothzed the sonne of Makulzen (of whose rebellion ye haue heard before) spoiled with often incursions and rode the countrie of Rosse, and other bounds thereabouts. His companie increased daillie moze and moze, by repaire of such number of rebels as came vnto him out of Lochquhaber, & the westerne Isles. King William, to repress these attempts, sent forth the carles of Fife and Atholl, with the thane of Buchquhane, hauing six thousand in their companie; the which incountring with the enemies in set battell, gaue them the ouerthrow, and taking Gothzed their chiefe captaine prisoner, brought him vnto the king, who caused both him and diuerse other which were likewise taken prisoners, to lose their heads. Gothzed himselfe was soe wounded, before he was taken; so that if his takers had not made the more speed in the conueieng of him to the king, he had died of his hurts before execution had thus bene done on him accordinglie as was appointed.

About this time arose the dissention and variance betwixt John king of England, and pope Innocent the third, for that the English cleargie refused to aid the said John with such summes of monie as he demanded of them. Shortlie after, William king of Scotland, woone with long age, departed out of this world at Striueling, in the 74 yere of his age, and in the 49 yere of his reigne, and after the incarnation of Christ 1214 yeres. He was buried in Aberbrothoke, before the high altar within the quier. The yere afore his death, two comets or blasing starres appeared in the moneth of March, verie terrible to behold; the one did shine before the rising of the sunne, and the other before the going downe thereof. The yere next following, there was a colt in Northumberland that calued a verie monstrous calfe; for the head and necke resembled a verie calfe in ded, but the residue of the bodie was like vnto a colt. In the winter after, there were seene also two mones in the firmament, the one being seuered from the other, and in shape naturallie horned, as ye see the moone in hir increasing or wanting. King William in his life time founded the abbeye of Balmernoch, but his wife queene Ermengard indowed it with lands and possessions after his deceasse. In the 46 yere of this king Williams reigne, two monks of the Trinitie order were sent into Scotland by pope Innocent, to whome king William gaue his palace roiall in Aberdeen, to conuert the same into an abbeye for them

John & kings son drowned.

The towne of Perth builded

Freedom granted to the towne of Perth

Saint Johns towne. Gothzed made a rebellion in Cathnes.

His companie increaseth.

The carles of Fife and Atholl sent against him. The rebels ouerthrowne. Gothzed taken and beheaded.

The dissention betweene the pope and king John. The cause.

The death of king William.

1214.

Two blasing starres.

A monstrous calfe.

Two mones.

The abbeye of Balmernoch founded.

to inhabit: and was in mind to haue giuen them manie other bountifull gifts, if he had liued anie longer time.

Alexander.

Alexander the second is crowned at Scone. A time of mourning.

A parlement at Edinburgh

Confirmation of officers.

The office of the constable.

The lands of Forfair given to the old queene. A princelie appointment.

Dissention betwixt king John and his nobles.

King Alexander passeth to London.

The league betwixt France and Scotland renewed.

The best appointed officers affirme that Lewes went not ouer into France, till after the death of king John. Lewes and king Alexander accursed. A counsell at Rome.

After the deceasse of king William, his sonne Alexander the second of that name succeeded, and was crowned at Scone with all due solemnitie, which being finished, he went vnto Ayrborthoke, where he remained 14 daies, in attending the fune-
rall obsequies of his father, and commanded that no publike plaies nor great feasts should be vsed or kept in all that yeere; to the intent the death of his father might be lamented throughe the whole realme. The king himselfe, and all his seruants also, were clothed in mourning weed, during the space of one whole yeere. The first parlement which he called, was holden at Edinburgh, in the which he confirmed all the acts and ordinaunces deuised by his father: and further appointed that all such as had bozne offices vnder him, should still introy the same. Namelie he commanded that William Wood bishop of Dunblaine should still continue lord chancellor, and Alane of Galloway high constable, which is an office of most honor & reputation next to the king, as he that hath power of life and death, if anie man draw bloud of an other by violence within two miles of the court.

When this parlement was ended, because the old queene his mother determined to remaine, during the residue of hir life, in the place where that holie woman queene Margaret sometime led hir life, he gaue vnto hir towards the maintenance of hir estate, the castles & townes of Forfair, with the lands and possessions to the same belonging. He also appointed certeine sage and most graue personages, to be chosen forth as iudges, which should be resident in euerie citie and god towne of his realme, for the hearing and due determining of all quarrels and matters in controuersie betwixt partie and partie. In this meane time great dissention rose betwixt John king of England, and his barons, by reason whereof great warres ensued, as in the English historie doth appere. The barons made sute both to the French king, & to the king of Scots for aid, so that at length Lewes the French kings sonne came ouer to support them, whereof wher king Alexander was aduertised, he likewise came with an armie through England vnto London, causing his souldiers by the waie to abstaine from doing anie kind of damage to the people. By his comming things were partlie quieted for a time, and shortly after that he had communed with Lewes touching sundrie affaires pertaining to both the realmes, they passed the seas with ten vessels ouer into France, leauing their powers behind them to assist the English lords.

The French king aduertised thereof, came downe to Bulhonne, where finding his son and king Alexander, he renewed the ancient bond of amitie betwixt France and Scotland, with the same Alexander, according to the coucnants of the old league, with this addition; that neither prince should receiue the enimies of the others realme, nor to marrie with anie stranger, the one not making the other priuie thereto. These things being ratified, king Alexander and Lewes returned into England: shortly whereupon, king John died, more through anguish of mind and melancholie, than by force of anie other naturall disease. His son Henrie, the third of that name, succeeded him. And in the meane time had the pope accursed both Lewes, and king Alexander, with all those that fauoured their cause against king John, which curse was pronounced in a generall counsell, which was holden at Rome by pope Innocent, there being present foure hundred and twelue bishops, and eight hundred abbats. King Alexander after the deceasse of king John, returning homewards with his

armie, thought he might haue passed quietlie without anie annoyance by the waie, through meanes whereof he lost a certeine number of his men, being suddenly inuaded by such Englishmen, as watched their time to take the Scots at some aduantage, in strating abroad out of order: with which iniurie king Alexander was so moued, that he spoiled and harried all the countries by the which he passed, till he was entered within the confines of his owne dominion.

Shortly after, Cardinall Gualo came into England furnished with the popes authoritie, to denounce the excommunication aboute remembered, against Lewes and Alexander, with all their sanctozs, whereupon he accursed not onelie the foresaid persons, but also interdicted all the places where they came, in so much that in the end Lewes was constrained to buy an absolution with no small summes of monie, of that auaricious cardinall Gualo: and after vpon agreement also made with king Henrie, he returned into France. Not long after came king Henrie with an armie into Scotland, to be indamaging the countrie: but so sone as he was aduertised that king Alexander had assembled all the power of his realme to giue him battell, he retired with all speed into England. The king of England had in his armie at the same time 1200 men of armes, verie perfectlie appointed and furnished with armor and weapon as was requisit, and the king of Scots but onelie five hundred. But of footmen there were in the Scottis armie 60000 able personages well appointed, with ares, speares, and bowes, readie to die and liue with their prince, constantlie beleuing, that to lose this present life here in his defense, was an assured waie to be saued in an other world.

After that king Henrie was gone backe into England, king Alexander followed after him into Northumberland, where he ouerthrew & beat downe manie castles and strengths, which the Englishmen held. Then marching through the countrie vnto Carlisle, he wan that citie, and garnished it with his people. After this, laing siege vnto Forham castell, when he had continued at the same a certeine time, and perceiued how he lost but his trauell, he left it, and returned home with great honor and triumph for his other atchieued enterprises in that iournie. King Henrie being once aduertised that king Alexander had broken by his campe, incontinentlie got his people togither, and coming to Berwik, wan both the towne and castell. After entring into Scotland, he burned and spoiled the countrie along by the sea coasts, till he came as farre as Haddington, putting all such to the sword as were found in the waie; women, priests, and children onelie excepted. He assaied to haue wone the castell of Dunbar, but missing his purpose there, he returned into England.

In the meane time, the auaritious prelat Gualo, vpon trust to purchase some large portcion of monie in Scotland, put the same vnder proccesse of interdicting, & namelie he accursed king Alexander most terrible, for that he had inuaded England, and (as he alleged) spoiled churches as well as prophane places. These curses so inflamed the hearts of the Scottis men with hatred against the Englishmen, that the same was not like to haue ended without the utter destruction and ruine of both their realmes. Neuerthelesse at length, by the diligent trauell of the bishops of Forke and Salisburie, which came vnto king Alexander to treate an agreement, a final peace was concluded, vnder these conditions. First it was agreed, that king Alexander should render the citie of Carlisle into the Englishmens hands, and king Henrie the towne of Berwik vnto the Scots. The whole dominion of Cumberland to remaine vnto king Alexander, with the one halfe

Cardinall Gualo.

Lewes returned into France. King Henrie inuadeth Scotland.

Ex codice t. quo S. Albanus, scriptum Mat. Paris. 3 take it.

The marriage of Cardinall Gualo.

King Alexander in Northumberland.

Cardinall Gualo comes to a somme of monie.

The Scottis bishops absolved.

David earle of Huntingdon deceased.

1219.

An interview betwixt the kings of England and Scotland.

Springes concluded.

Scotland subdued.

A legat sent from pope Innocent for a collection.

Bishops of Forke and Salisburie.

A peace concluded.

The conditions.

Another legat.

halfe of Northumberland, to the Kierosse. And further, that king Alexander should be absolved of the censures of the church, which Gualo the cardinall had denounced against him.

Thus the two kings being accorded, the two foresaid bishops comming into Berwick, absolved king Alexander, and delivered his realme of interdiction, by such authoritie as they had procured of the cardinall Gualo. But yet the same cardinall, not minding to depart with emptie hands, summoned all the prelates of Scotland to appeare before him at Antwerp, there to receive their full absolution, to the intent by such means to trouble them, till they had disbursed to his use some large portion of monie. Sundrie of them which loved quietnesse more than contention, satisfied his mind; but others refused utterly so to do, taking great indignation that spirituall causes were thus dispatched for monie, and ecclesiasticall preferments bought and sold, no other wise than secular possessions and prophane dignities. Incontinentlie thereupon Gualo cited them to Rome, supposing that rather than to take upon them so long a iourne, they would have compounded with him at his pleasure. Notwithstanding they being nothing in doubt thereof, went unto Rome, and at their comming thither, made unto the pope their complaint in most gréuous manner, of the insufferable injuries attempted in England and Scotland, by his most covetous legat the foresaid Gualo: by reason of which complaint, and of sundrie such letters & informations as daile came out of England and Scotland, from other bishops & abbats, containing right gréuous accusations, concerning the insatiable avarice of Gualo, the pope reuked him home to Rome, to make answer in his presence unto such matters as were laid to his charge.

At his returne thither, for so much as he was not able to discharge himselfe of such manifest crimes wherewith he was burdened, the pope condemned him in a great summe of monie, to be paid as a fine for his trespasses and transgressions. And those Scottish bishops, which were come for their absolution, were absolved by the pope, and suffered to depart in peace. In this meane time, David earle of Huntingdon, brother to William late king of Scots, (of whome ye have heard before how he went in the iourne made by the christian princes into the holic land) deceased, and was buried within an abbey in England. Henrie king of England, after he came to yeares of perfect discretion, shewed himselfe to be more desirous of peace than of warres. Whereupon at Berke there was a meeting appointed betwixt him and king Alexander, where mutuall alliance was accorded betwixt them on this wise. Jane the sister of king Henrie was promised to be given in marriage to king Alexander, and two sisters of king Alexanders were despoised unto two great princes of the English nobilitie. These marriages were thus concluded in the yeare of our Lord, 1220.

In the yeare next following, came a legat unto Scotland from pope Honorius, with bulls to gather a summe of monie towards the furnishing forth of an armie against the Turks or rather Saracens. This legat was a cardinall, and named Egidius, who having purchased no small quantitie of coine both of the cleargie and laitie of Scotland, spent the same in riot and outrageous insolencie, making his cruise at his returne to Rome, how it was taken from him by certaine Brigants and robbers. Whilke in short tyme after, was an other legat with semblable commission sent into Scotland from the foresaid pope. But king Alexander, being advertised of his coming, called a counsell, in the which one

of the bishops (as should serve) took great indignation, to see how covetousnesse reigned in most shamefull wise amongst the Romish legats, and spake in manner as followeth.

Albeit sundrie considerations there are which might stay me from deterring such things as be most prejudiciall to the common wealth, yet (most noble prince) when I consider thine humanitie, faith, and constancie, given to nothing more than to the defence and weale of thy true liege people, I cannot but (for the zeale I beare to common libertie) declare the truth. For sith all manner of tyrannie is intollerable, yea even that which is exercised by kings or princes descended by lineall succession to their rightfull heritage: much more is that tyrannie to be detested, which is exercised by men of vile and base linage. Therefore, if the sundrie and manifest wrongs done to us these manie yeares passed, had come by the popes the miselnes, the same might somewhat more sufferable have bene borne: but sith naughtie & vile persons, of base birth and obscure linage, promoted to benefices and ecclesiasticall dignities onelie for their wicked and horrible vices, have not onelie interdicted our realme, with our lawfull commission; but have also consumed in maintenance of their wanton and insolent vices, that monie which they gathered in our countrie by the popes authoritie, under colour of raising an armie to go against the Turks and Infidels, I am of this opinion that their cursed avarice ought to have no further place amongst faithful people, speciallie amongst us, whose simplicitie and humblenesse they have in contempt. In the yeares passed, ye complained of the injuries done by Gualo, when he had put your realme under the censure of interdicting, and the most part of your prelates under the curse; because they would not answer him with monie according to his covetous demands, wherewith he might mainteine his outrageous lusts. Which Gualo also (as should appeare) by most certeine coniesures, was of such a diuelish nature, that though he were sent to treat a concord betwixt the Englishmen and Scots; yet to satissie his avaritious desire, he manifested such occasion of warre betwixt them, that both the realmes (had not the matter bene the way taken up) were at a point to have entered so far into malicious hatred the one against the other, that it was not like that any peace should have taken place, till the one or both had bene utterlie destroyed. But since these heinous and terrible deeds are manifest enough; to what end should I here remember them, sith the same cannot be done without your great griefe and displeasure? Moreover, after we were delivered of this Gualo, shortly after cometh another, one shewing himselfe to come forth of the same shop; for in conversation of life he was to be indged no whit better, but rather worse: for after that he had got up amongst us of this realme large summes of monie, under pretense of redeeming the christian prisoners out of the Saracens hands, and waging of new armies against them; he wasted the same monie in riotous lust and insolencie, feining, when it was gone, that it was bereft him by Brigants. Therefore sith we have had experience, and are already sufficientlie taught by the doings of the two fore-remembered legats, to our heemie griefs and no small damages; we may be indubitablely reported to have and verie soles in deed, if we now admit the thirde. For it is not to be thought, that this new legat shall use the matter in any better sort, than his fellows have done before him. And verelie, if any man should demand of me, what I thinke ought to be done in this matter, I do for my part protest, that neither this legat, nor any other in times to come,

the with- King Alexander means n, being der returneth into his countrie. watched tage, in rie king and harri- l he was inion. to Eng- nounce against 3, where- sons, but ne, info, ed to buy onie, of r upon a returned rie with the coun- king Alexander's realme ped into armie at perfectlie eapon as nelie fine e Scottish ted, with line with o lose this ured waie

The cleargie of Scotland summoned by cardinall Gualo to come to Antwerp.

Ex codice an- tiquo S. Albanii, scriptum by Mat. Paris (I take it.)

The Scottish king cited to Rome.

The com- plaint of the Scottish cleargie to the pope.

The avarice of cardinall Gualo.

Cardinall Gualo con- demned in a summe of mo- nie.

The Scottish bishops absolved.

David earle of Huntingdon deceased.

1219.

David earle of Huntingdon deceased.

Marriages concluded.

A legat sent from pope Honorius by commission.

Legat sent from pope Honorius by commission.

Legat sent from pope Honorius by commission.

Legat sent from pope Honorius by commission.

In nation of a bishop.

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come, ought to be receiued within this realme, considering how the same hath bene wasted & robbed by their continuall exactions. If there be anie amongst you that hath more monie than he knoweth which way well to spend, he may (in the name of God) bestow it vpon the poore, rather than to the vse of such vicious legats, as order it in such sort, that all men haue cause to thinke that soener commeth into their hands, is but cast away and clearelye lost.

Legats cannot be received.

These words of this bishop (whatsoeuer he was) were liked so well of all the counsell, that the legat could not be receiued into the realme. After the breaking vp of this counsell, the marriage was consummat betwixt king Alexander and Ione, sister to Henrie king of England; also betwixt Hubert de Burgh high iustice of England, and Margaret sister to king Alexander, by reason of which mariages, the peace was confirmed with the Englishmen, and as it had bene sealed by for a more full and certaine assurance. Shortly after followed ciuill warres in Scotland, by the motion of one Gilespie Rosse, who hauing liued most licentiouslie in riotous outrage, at length arreared open warre against the king, and first sleaung diuerse such of his companions as had kept him companie aforesaid in his lewd misdemeanors, for that they refused now to sticke to him in this rebellious enterprize, he went with the residue that offered to take his part vnto the towne of Cnuernes, which he toke and burned, with diuerse other places being of the kings possessions, till at length John Cumin earle of Buchquhane coming against him with an armie deliuered to him by the king, pursued the said Gilespie in such earnest wise, that finally he toke him with two of his sons, and striking off all their three heads, sent the same to the king as a witness how he had sped.

Peace confirmed with the Englishmen. Gilespie Rosse a rebel.

Cnuernes burned by Gilespie Rosse. John Cumin earle of Buchquhane. Gilespie Rosse beheaded.

New trouble.

Adam bishop of Cathnes slaine by the people of that countrie.

Streight execution.

The stonie hill.

The earle of Cathnes lost his lands.

King Alexander commended of the pope.

The privileges of Aberdeen.

The archdeacon of Dunferm.

This businesse being thus quieted, an other ensued after this maner: The men of Cathnes soze offended with their bishop named Adam, for that vpon refusal to pay their tithes he had accursed them, fell vpon him within his owne house, and first scourging him with rods, at length set fire vpon him and burnt him within his owne kitchen. Which act being reported to the king, as then sojourning at Edinburgh, he hasted forth with all speed to punish the offenders, not ceasing till he had taken foure hundred of them, all the which number he caused to be hanged; and for that he would haue no succession to come of such a wicked seed, he appointed all their sons to lose their stonies. The place where they were so gelded, is called euen to this day the stonie hill. The earle of Cathnes, for that he neither succoured the bishop in time of need, nor yet sought to punish the offenders that did this cruell deed, was deprived of his earldome, and the lands belonging to the same. The pope highly commended king Alexander for this punishment taken of them, that had so cruellie murdered their bishop.

After this, king Alexander coming vnto Aberdeen, gaue manie large gifts and priuileges thereunto, although the same before this time inioined sundry notable commodities and endowments giuen and confirmed by other kings his predecessors. The lands which were granted by sundrie popes concerning the liberties of the churches in Scotland, were confirmed by the king to the custodie of one Gilbert archdeacon of Dunferm, who succeeded next after the deceased Adam in the see of Cathnes. In the third year after, as king Alexander with his mother Ermentrude were sitting at their banquet on the twelfth day of Christmas, another also called Adam, the earle of Cathnes, hauing good opportunity thereto, presented himselfe before the king, and besought him of grace and pardon for his passed offense. King

Alexander taking ruth & pittie of him, restored him (vpon his fine to be paid in maner as was agreed betwixt them) vnto all his former honors, lands and possessions. Neuertheless the offense that was pardoned by man, was afterward punished by the iust judgement (as some thought) of almighty God: for he was slaine as he lay in bed one night by his own meniall seruants, whome he had roughlie intreated, as the same went. The house also wherein he was thus slaine, was likewise set on fire and burnt ouer him, that no man should haue suspicion of his slaughter, but that it might seeme as though it had come by some sudden aduenture.

About this time, or somewhat before, there came into Scotland (sent by saint Dominicke) certeine blacke friers, of which order the same Dominicke was the first author. These men that were first sent by him, liued according to his institution, more perfectlie than such as followed: for as it often happeneth, althings commonlie from a good beginning fall into worse estate, so that the successors of those men declined from all good religion, into most insolent abuses and misorders, and so continuing in vicious liuing the space of three hundred yeares, at length were perfectlie reformed into a better rule, by a frier named John Adamson, that proceeded doctor in the profession of diuinitie in the vniuersitie of Aberdeen, at the same time that Hector Boetius the Scottish chronographer proceeded there in the same facultie. On the same maner, about the selfe same time, were sent into Scotland, as well as into all other parts of the christian world, friers minors, of saint Francis his order. Manie of them also after his deceasse fell to dissolute liuing, keeping no such strict rules, as both he prescribed, and also obserued.

But now to returne to the residue of the historie. The Scottish people inioied peace a long time after the appeasing of the trouble in Cathnes, till time that Alane lord of Galloway and constable of Scotland departed out of this life; and for that he had diuided his lands before his death amongst his three daughters, his bastard sonne gathered an armie of 10000 men, in hope to attaine the possession of Galloway by force of armes; but at length, after he had wrought much scath in the countrie by his violent inuasion, he was slaine with five thousand of those that toke his part, by the earle of March, and Walter Stewart of Dunwald, which was sent against him with a power. The eldest daughter of the aboue mentioned Alane of Galloway, was giuen in marriage vnto Roger Quincie earle of Winchester, who after his father in lawes deceasse, was made constable of Scotland, which office continued in the hands of his succession, till king Robert the second his daies; in whose time this Roger of Quincies posteritie was disinherited and extinguished, for certeine offenses committed against the kings maiestie, and then afterwards the office of the constable was giuen to the Haies of Arroll. The second daughter of the foresaid Alane was married vnto John Balliol; & the third to the earle of Albemarle. Thus was the lordship of Galloway diuided into three, by reason whereof the inhabitants of that countrie, taking displeasure therewith, cleaued vnto the aboue mentioned bastard, till he was vanquished and slaine, as before ye haue heard. This trouble being appeased thus within the realme, & Alexander was aduertised of great diuision rising betwixt king Henrie of England and his nobles, and therefore to helpe towards an agreement betwixt them, he went to London with his wife queene Iane, and Iabell his sister. Although his earnest diligence, all the debates and quarels were removed, and the parties thoroughlie accorded. Which being done, he married

The earle of Cathnes is pardoned and restored to his lands.

The earle of Cathnes is murdered by his seruants.

The first coming of blacke friers into Scotland.

John Adamson.

The first coming of friers minors.

The death of Alane lord of Galloway.

His bastard sonne raised a commotion.

The earle of March.

Roger Quincie earle of Winchester constable of Scotland.

The diuision of the lands of Galloway.

Embassadors sent to France.

Scottishmen that went with Alexander king of France into Egypt.

Iabell the sister of king Alexander married to the earle of Norfolk. Iane queene of Scotland beheaded.

King Alexander married the daughter of the lord of Conche. John Cumin earle of Buchquhane departed this life.

Patrick earle of Arroll murdered.

John Balliol suspected.

A commotion of the clergy at saint Johns towne.

Homerleids slaine of the rebels.

Homerleids humble submission.

A castle begun to be builded by king Henrie against Berwick. March Paris disagreeeth from the Scottish, touching the occasion of this warre, as in the English chronicles ye may read.

Embassadors sent to France.

Scottishmen that went with Alexander king of France into Egypt.

married Mabel his sister into the earle of Northfolke, and in the meane time his wife quene Jane deceas-
 sed, without leauing anie issue behind hir, which
 chance caused the king hir husband to returne with
 great griefe and lamentation into Scotland. In
 the yeare next following, which was after the incar-
 nation 1239, king Alexander (because he had no
 succession begot of his bodie) married at Rockburgh
 the daughter of Ingelram lord of Coucie, a virgine
 of excellent beautie named Marie, on whome he got
 a sonne named Alexander, which succeeded after his
 deceasse in the gouernement of the realme.
 About the same time, John Cumyn earle of An-
 gus, being sent in ambassage to Lewes the French
 king, died by the way. Also at Haddington was hol-
 den a roiall toynament, where knights and esquires
 aduanced themselues by valiant prowesse to win ho-
 nor: neuerthelesse the end of all that pleasure and
 pastime ended in sorow. For Patrike Cumyn earle
 of Atholl was slaine within his lodging in the night,
 and the house set on fire and burned ouer him, to the
 intent no suspicion should rise, but that it happened
 by some euill misfortune, and negligence of fire. But
 yet was John Bissart, with Walter Bissart his
 uncle thewoldie suspected for the matter, inasmuch
 that though no euident profe could be had against
 him, yet were they banished the realme, and lost all
 their goods by confiscation to the kings vse. After
 these things were thus passed, a conuocation was
 called of the cleargie at saint Johns towne. In the
 which were diuerse prouinciall ordinaunces and sta-
 tutes, made by consent of the king and nobles of
 the realme, which were obserued in the church of
 Scotland vnto these late daies. About the same time
 also, one Somerleith thane of Argile, the sonne of
 that Somerleith of whome ye haue heard before,
 following his fathers steps, rebelled against the
 king, soe indamaging by codes & forages the parts
 bordering vpon the confines of his countrie of Ar-
 gile, till at length the earle of March brought him to
 the bzinke of such extreme necessitie, that he was
 faine to yeld himselfe, with a cord about his necke
 in token of submission; and being so brought before
 the king, obtained pardon of his heinous offense.
 In the same season, Henrie king of England,
 prouoked by the setting on of such seditious per-
 sons remaining in his court, as trusted by wars to
 aduance their priuat gaine (during which time law
 and iustice haue no place) began to build a castell iust
 against Berwik, in the same place where the o-
 ther was begun afore by king Richard, which (as
 before is shewed) was rased and throwen downe by
 king William, by the articles of agreement with
 covenant that it should neuer be builded by againe.
 This attempt of the Englishmen had ministred
 sufficient occasion of warre, if the nobles of Eng-
 land (considering that the building vp of this castell
 was contrarie to their bond and promised faith) had
 not staid the worke, and so therevpon that begin-
 ning of new trouble betwixt the English and Sco-
 tish nations for that present ceased.
 In the yeare following came ambassadors forth
 of France into Scotland, declaring that Is. Lewes
 was readie to passe forward on that iournie, which he
 had taken in hand to make into Iewrie, and there-
 fore desired aid of king Alexander, to support him in
 those warres against Gods enemies. With these
 ambassadors were sent ouer into France, certaine
 chosen bands of men of warre vnder the leading of
 Patrike earle of March, David Lindseie of Glen-
 nesse, and Walter Steward of Dundonald, three
 captains of great wisdom, and perfect experience
 in feats of chivalrie. The most part of all those
 Scottishmen, that thus went forth in that iournie,
 perished in Egypt either on the sword or by sick-
 nesse, so that few or none of them returned home a-
 gaine. From henceforth, king Alexander liued not
 long: but falling into a sore and grieuous sicknesse
 within a certeine tle called Carnere, not far distant
 from the coast of Argile, deceassed in the same tle
 shortly after, in the 51 yeare of his age, the 35 of his
 reigne, and of our redemption 1249, his bodie (ac-
 cording as he had commanded in his life time) was
 buried in Helrosse.
 After that Alexander the second was thus dead
 and buried, his sonne Alexander the third of
 that name, not passing nine yeeres of age, was pro-
 claimed king. There was no small adu on the daie
 of his coronation amongst the nobles, for that by
 reason of the obseruation of starres, it was iudged
 to be an infortunate daie for him to receiue the dia-
 dem. And againe some held opinion, how he ought
 to be made knight first, before he were crowned; so
 that thus they were at strife together, in such ear-
 nest maner, that it was doubted, least this conten-
 tion would haue bred some great inconuenience,
 had not the earle of Arke prevented the same, in cau-
 sing vpon a sudden the crowne to be set vpon the
 kings head, being placed in the marble chaire, accor-
 ding to the custome, without regard to the striculous
 allegations of them that spake to the contrarie.
 When the solemnitie was ended, there came before
 him an Hillandman (for so they call such as inhabit
 the mounteine countries of Scotland) who in a
 kind of meter of the Irish language, saluted him
 as king, thus: Bennach de re Albin Alexander, mak
 Alar, mak William, mak Henrie, mak David, and
 so forth (reciting in maner of a genealogie or pede-
 gre, all the kings in order of whome he was descen-
 ded, till he came vp to Cathelus the first beginner
 of the Scotish name & nation.) The words in Eng-
 lish are as followeth: Haile king of Albine, Alexan-
 der the sonne of David, the sonne of Alex, the sonne
 of William, the sonne of Henrie, the sonne of Da-
 uid, and so forth as before. This Hilland Scot was
 highlie rewarded by the king for his labour, accor-
 ding as was thought requisite.
 In the second yeere of his reigne, king Alexan-
 der (or rather such as had the gouernement of the
 realme vnder him) assembled together all the pre-
 lates and barons of the realme at Dunfermling,
 and there ordeined to take vp the bones of his grand-
 mother quene Margaret, which being done, he cau-
 sed them to be put into a shrine of siluer, the 21 day
 of Iulie, and minding to place the same there it re-
 steth at this present, as it was borne forth toward
 that place, when the bearers came against the fe-
 pulchre of hir husband king Malcolme, they were
 not able to remoue the reliques anie further, till by
 the counsell (as is said) of an aged man that was
 then & there present, they toke vp the bones of the
 same Malcolme also, and bare them forth with hirs
 to the place aforesaid, where they after rested in great
 veneration of the people. Such as were appointed
 gouernours (during the minority of king Alexan-
 der) doubting least the tender yeeres of their soue-
 reigne might embolden the enemies of the relme to
 attempt some inuasion, sent ambassadors vnto Hen-
 rie king of England, requiring that the peace might
 be ratified anew with him and his people, and fur-
 ther to make a motion of marriage to be had betwixt
 king Alexander and a daughter of king Henries.
 Shortly after, vpon this motion, both the kings
 met at Porke with a great number of lords, as well
 spirituall as temporall of both the realmes, where
 king Alexander (according to the promise before that
 time made) married the ladie Margaret daughter to
 the forenamed king Henrie, on saint Stephens day
 in Iulie.

1250.

Complaint
made of the
Cumins.The Cumins
put to the
hozne.The king ta-
ken by the
Cumins.The great
power of the
Cumins.
Thirtie and
two knights
of one sur-
name.
The height of
great families
the cause of
their fall.The earle of
Henteith is
poisoned.The king set
at libertie.John Russell
an English-
man.The feast of
Corpus Chri-
sti instituted.
The first com-
ming of the
Carmelite
friars.A part of the
holie crosse
found.

in Christmasse, with all solemnite and ioyfull mirth that might be deuised. The charges wherof were bozne partly by king Henrie, & partly by the archbishop, who in feasting those princes spent right liberallie. At length, king Alexander after he had solaced himselfe in the companie of his father in law king Henrie a certeine time, returned into Scotland with his new married wife. During the minority of B. Alexander, the realme of Scotland was gouerned in great prosperitie by the nobles: but after his comming to ripe age, he was informed of certeine extorsions done by some of the pères of his realme against the poore people, and thereupon determined to see redresse therein. Amongst other there were accused of such transgression, the carles of Henteith, Atholl, and Buchquhane, with the lord of Strabogie, which were of one surname, that is to saie, of the Cumins. These being summoned to appeare before the iustices, with one Hugh Aberneth, and other of their complices, vpon their contempt so to do, were proclaimed traitors, and as the Scottish men tearme it, put to the hozne.

The foresaid lords moued with this displeasure, purposed to reuenge the same, and assembling their powers in secret wise, took the king at Kinrossie, and brought him vnto Striuelling, where they kept him as captiue in ward a long time after. Although which aduenture much harme ensued, by reason of misruled persons, that wrought manie oppressions against the people, in hope to escape the due punishment for their mischievous acts provided, with the king who should haue same iustice ministered, was holden in captiuitie by his presumptuous aduersaries. But of this matter ye maie see more in the English chronicles, about the 39 yere of Henrie the third. The house of the Cumins was in those daies of great power within the realme, both in multitude of offspring, riches, lands, possessions, and mainrent. There were at the same time to the number of 32 knights of that surname within the realme, all men of faire possessions and reuenues. But as it often happeneth, that men of great possessions and dominion are had in suspicion with the prince, whereby the same is for the more part the cause of their ruine and fall, speciallie when they presume too farre vpon their high power: so it chanced here. For within a short time after that the king was thus taken (as before is shewed) the chiefe author of the whole conspiracie, that is to saie, the lord Walter earle of Henteith, who was highest in authoritie among all those Cumins, was poisoned (as was thought) by his owne wife, through which mischance the residue of the Cumins were so exanimated, that obtaining their pardon, for all offenses passed of the king, they did set him againe at libertie.

This woman did thus make a swaie hir husband the erle of Henteith through instigation of an Englishman called John Russell, as by coniectures it was suspected; namelie, for that refusing to marrie with anie of the Scottish nobilitie, she took the said Russell to husband, though in estate to be compared with hers, he was iudged a match farre vnnmeet, and thereupon constrained to lie with him into England, he died there in great miserie. About this time pope Urban the fourth of that name instituted the feast of Corpus Christi, to be celebrated each yere on the thursday after Trinitie sundaie. The Carmelite friars came at this time into Scotland, and erected a chapell of our ladie without the walles of saint Johns towne, which the bishop of Donkeld appointed them, therein to celebrate their seruice. It was also said, that in this season a monke of Melrose was admonished in a dreame, where he should find a part of the holie crosse, not far from Deplis in Lou-

thian, inclosed in a case ingrauen with the title of S. Nicholas. And not farre from the same was likewise found a stone chest, right cunninglie wrought and ingrauen, wherein were found certeine bones wrapped in silke, but whose bones the same were it was not knowne. As sone as the case was opened, within the which the crosse was included, manie miracles were wrought (as it was then belieued) king Alexander for deuotion heresof, builded an abbey in honor of the holie crosse, in the same place where that peece of the crosse was so found. In this abbey after, wards there were monks inhabiting of the order of the Trinitie.

Not long after, the two kings of England and Scotland met together at Marke castell, accompanied with a great number of the nobles and gentlemen of both their realmes, for the redresse of certeine misorders committed betwixt the borderers. Such reformation also was here deuised, and recompense made on either side, that both the realmes continued afterwards in more perfect tranquillitie for a certeine space, than euer was sene in anie kings daies before that time. In this season was the church of Glasco finished in that perfection as it stands to be sene at this day, right sumptuously builded, for the most part at the charges of William bishop of that see, who liued not long after the finishing of the said worke. In the yere following, which was the yere after the birth of our Saviour 1263, there fell a great dearth through both the realmes of England and Scotland, by reason of the wet harvest preceding, so that the corne and graine was quite marred and corrupted before it could be got beside the ground.

Acho king of Norwaye, being informed how the Scots were thus oppressed with famine and other miseries, by report of them that made the same more than it was in deed, supposed to find time and occasion fit for his purpose, to subdue them whole to his dominion. Whereupon, preparing an armie and a fleet of ships conuenient for such an enterprisse, he landed with the same in the westerne Isles, on Lammas day otherwise called Petri ad Vincula. Those Isles continued vnder subiection of the Norwegians and Danes, from king Edgars time vnto the daies of this Acho. From thence the said Acho with a mightie power of his Danes and Norwegians came ouer into Aran and Bute, which are two Isles, and onelie at that time amongst all the residue were vnder the dominion of Scots. But Acho hauing quicklie subdued them at his pleasure, in hope of more prosperous successe, transported his whole armie ouer into Albion, and landed with the same on the next coasts, where after he had besieged the castell of Airc a certeine time, hee took the same, and began to waste and spoile all the countrie thereabouts.

King Alexander being soze afflicted with these newes, for that he was young, and not able (as it was doubted) to resist the force of his enemies, imboldered vpon such frequent victories as they had achieved, thought best to prolong the time by colour of some treatie for a peace, that wate to diminish the enemies force, by long sojourn in campe without trial of anie battell. Whereupon were ambassadors sent vnto Acho, of the which one amongst them appointed thereto, being well languaged and wise, at their first comming before him spake in this manner.

Where is not that our king & nobles of the realme (by an ancient custome obserued euen from the beginning) doe vse first to seeke redresse of all iniuries received; before they offer to be reuenged with the sword; ye should not now behold orators sent vnto you to talke of concord, but a mightie armie in ordi-

In nobles
built.An interme-
diate.The cause of
their misdeeds.

1262.

A great war.

Acho king of
Norwaye.The westerne
Isles vnder
subiection of
the Danes &
Norwegians.Acho landed
in Albion.The castell of
Airc besieged
and wonne.King Alexander
purpose to
inflict his
enemies byre.Ambassadors
sent to Acho.The oration
of one of the
ambassadors.The cause of
Acho's com-

nance of battell comming towards you to giue the
 onset. We are of that opinion, that we neuer get so
 much gaine by victorie of the enimies, no though
 they haue robbed and spoiled our confines, but that
 we account it much better to haue peace, if we may
 haue restitution of wrongs done to vs, by some man-
 ner of honest meanes. For what greater follie may
 be, than to seeke for that by fier and sword, which may
 be purchased with faire and quiet wordes: Neuerthe-
 lesse, when our iust desires and reasonable motions
 are refused of the enimies, when we find them not
 willing to haue peace (for the obtaining whereof all
 warres ought to be taken in hand) but rather that
 their onelie seeking is to haue warres, not respecting
 the quarrell: we are ready to rise whole together in
 reuenge of such contempts with all possible speed and
 violence against our aduersaries. We are sent there-
 fore from our king and soueraigne, to inquire what
 occasion you haue thus to invade his realme and sub-
 iects, in violating that peace and league, which hath
 bene obserued and kept betwixt vs and your nation,
 the space of this hundred yeres, and not onelie to
 take from him his two fles of Bute and Aran, but
 also to invade the maine land of his dominions,
 with such crueltie, as neither consideration of age or
 person seemeth to be had; but that women, children,
 and feeble old persons haue passed by the sword, as
 well as those that haue stood at resistance with wea-
 pon in hand against you. What heinous offense haue
 the Scottishmen at anie time committed either a-
 gainst you or anie other (whose reuengers ye may
 seeme to be) that they should deserue to haue such cru-
 eltie shewed against them? What furious ire hath
 moued you to burne the churches of God and his
 saints, with the murder of his people that flee into
 the same for safegard of their liues? But if you dread
 not God that governeth all things (by his diuine pro-
 uidence) which here in this world we see; if ye dread
 not the saints nor vengeance to come on you by the
 punishment of the righteous God: ye ought yet to
 dread the two most puissant kings of Albion, alied
 together in bond of amitie and marriage, which shall
 come against you with such puissance, that ye shall
 not be able to resist the same. Therefore sith ye may
 depart with honoz, we on the behalfe of him from
 whome we are sent, do admonish you, that better it
 is for you to redresse such iniuries as ye haue already
 done, and therewith to repaire home, than to aduen-
 ture to be brought vnto such desperate ends, that
 when ye shall be constrained to seeke for mercie, the
 same in no wise will be granted vnto you. These
 wordes were spoken by the ambassadoys, vpon pur-
 pose to put some terroz into the hart of this hardie
 king Acho.
 Neuertheles he was abashed so little therewith, that
 he answered them in this manner. Your beliefe is
 (I perceiue) ye ambassadoys, to abash vs with your
 fierce and awfull wordes, supposing vs so weake har-
 ted, that we should leaue off our enterprize through
 your menacing threats: but ye are farre deceived
 suerlie if your imagination be such. And where ye ex-
 aggerate our iniuries done to you in taking from
 you certayne fles, we perceiue you are not met nor
 indifferent persons to be chosen for iudges in that
 cause, neither do we mind to learne of you, what we
 ought to esteeme right or wrong in such behalfe. If ye
 desire further to know and vnderstand the cause why
 we haue invaded Aran and Bute, we saie and as-
 firme, that not onelie those two fles pertaine to vs
 and our people by good title and ancient right of inhe-
 rittance, but also all the other fles of Scotland, as
 we are able by firme euidences sufficiently to proue.
 And therefore are we now come to take presentlie so
 much in value out of Scotland, as ye haue taken in

issues and profits out of those fles in times past from
 vs. Shew then to your king, that we feare neither
 his menacing wordes, nor yet anie other violence
 that he can shew against vs. notwithstanding, if
 he be more desirous of peace than of battell, and lus-
 teth to auoid the spoiling and burning of his townes,
 and slaughter of his people; or if he desired not to see
 the bitter extermination of his realme afore his eyes,
 command him to send vnto vs forthwith ten thou-
 sand marks sterling for the fruits of our lands taken
 by and receiued by him and his elders in times past,
 and further that he make a cleare resignation of all
 claime or title that he may seeme to pretend vnto
 the said fles, in such sort that the same may passe vnder
 our dominion in perpetuall without anie con-
 tradiction.

When king Alexander had heard that the answer
 of his enimie was, he was therewith soe moued,
 & perceiuing no waie to eschue the battell, but that
 he should be constrained to trie fortunes chance, he
 assembled together an armie of fortie thousand men,
 that though he were not able to match his enimies
 in prouesse, he might yet passe them in number. He
 diuided his host into three battels. In the right wing
 was Alexander Steward, a very valiant knight, ne-
 phue to that Alexander which indowed the abbeie of
 Dabie. He had with him all the men that came south
 of Argile, Leuenor, Atholl, and Galloway. In the left
 wing was Datrike Dunbar, hauing with him the
 men of Louthian, Fife, Pers, Berwike, and Stri-
 ueling shire. In the middle ward was the king him-
 selfe, with all the remnant people of the other parts
 of Scotland, to succour the wings when danger ap-
 peered. These battels were ordered in such arraie,
 that euerie band had a capteine assigned to them of
 their owne language, to exhort them to manhod,
 thereby to win praisse and honoz.

At his entring into the confines of Conningham,
 where he came first within sight of his enimies, he
 called his people together, and exhorted them to do
 their dutifull indouors like harbe and valiant men,
 against those enimies that invaded their countrie
 without anie iust cause or title of warre, and to put
 their trust in almighty God, desiring him to grant
 victorie vnto that part, which had most right and ius-
 tesse cause of battell. He further shewed how neces-
 sarie it was for them to behaue themselves valiant-
 lie, and how much it stood them in hand to fight with
 manlie courages, in defense of their wiues, children,
 libertie, and lands, hauing no hope of suertie of life
 but in the valiant vsing of their able hands, so that
 their whole safegard rested in this point, either to
 vanquish their enimies with manhod, or else to liue
 in seruile bondage as their slaues and miserable
 thralls, and to suffer their wiues and daughters to be
 abused at their lust and pleasure. He willed them
 therefore to consider, that not onelie he, but all Scot-
 land should see them fight that day, noting both their
 manhod & cowardise. But sith their cause was iust,
 and moued onlie in defense of their native countrie
 and ancient libertie, he trusted they would shew the
 more hardinesse and courage, namelie against them
 that sought onelie bloud and spoile. These words with
 the like wordes king Alexander uttered with bold
 spirit, to incourage his people. And on the other part
 king Acho likewise thought it expedient to vse some
 exhortation vnto his armie, that they should not be
 afraid of the great number and huge multitude of
 the Scots.

The chiefest point to incourage them to do val-
 antlie, he supposed was the hope of spoile, and there-
 fore he put them in remembrance, how by victorie
 not onelie all such riches as the Scots had brought
 thither with them (which could not be small) but also

ming into
 Scotland.

His demand.

King Alexan-
 der assemblieth
 his power.

The ordering
 of the Scottish
 host.
 Alexander
 Steward lea-
 der of the
 right wing.
 Datrike
 Dunbar cap-
 teine of the left
 wing.
 The king in
 the middle
 ward.

King Alexan-
 der exhorteth
 his people to
 do valiantlie.

Hope of suer-
 tie in what
 point it rested.

The necessitie
 of the cause.

Sakers of
 bloud & spoile.

Achos exhorta-
 tion to his
 people.

Hope of spoile
 incourageeth
 men of warre.

High enter-
prises atchi-
ued with ex-
treme perill.

all the whole substance and treasure of the realme to be at their commandement, yea and the realme it selfe, if they minded to inioy it: so that this was the day which they had so much desired, wherein sufficient opportunitie was offered to shew what reward should follow to ech man for his good and valiant service. But for that high enterprizes and famous exploits might never be atchiued without extreme jeopardy, it behoued them to attaine to these so great commodities by persing thorough, and ouerthrowing by dint of sword the arraied battells of their enemies, which how easie a matter it should be for them to bring to passe, such as well considered the circumstances, might some coniecture. For thorough dearth and famine which so long hath reigned amongst the Scottish people, their bodies and forces (saith he) are so wonderfullie infebled, that they appere to represent rather shadowes than full personages of men able to make resistance.

Againe, in consideration how necessarie it was for euerie man to fight without fainting, sith they were inuironed on ech part without meane to escape, he desired them, that if it so fell out, that they should chance to be overcome (which as he trusted should not come to passe) that in such misadventure they would yet sell their liues deere, and not to die vnreueged. Thus hauing opened vnto them what prosperous hap followed by victorie, and what danger by the ouerthrow, he thought to haue sufficientlie instructed them to put all feare aside, and to doe what lay in their vttermost forces to vanquish the enemies. The kings on either side, hauing thus exhorted their people to doe their indeuours, they arraie their battells. Acho disposed all his best souldiers and whole force of his armie in the middle ward, for that he had knowledge how the Scottish king was placed in the middle battell of his people: therefore he supposed, that if he might ouerthrow and vanquish that part where the king stood, he should easilie then put the residue to flight. His wings (because he had not number sufficient to furnish them fullie) were arraied more weakelie in slender and thin ranks: but yet at the first encounter there was a terrible fight betwixt them, especiallie where the two kings fought: for they pressed still with great violence on that part where they saw any danger, not ceasing to exhort & encourage their men to stand to the bargain with manlie stomachs, so that on either side these two kings played the parts of verie valiant capitaines.

Acho with a band of verie hardie souldiers assailed sundrie times to perse and disorder the battell where king Alexander fought: notwithstanding he had so great number of people there with him, that he stuffed even the ranks with fresh men where he saw it needfull. Also betwixt the wings, there was no lesse cracktie shewed on either side in the beginning of the battell, till at length the Norwegians, perceiving themselves overpressed with multitude, and compassed in on euerie side, did somewhat begin to shrink, and first those in the left wing, constrained to breake their order, fell to running aboate. Alexander Steward therefore, that had the leading of the right wing of the Scots, hauing pursued the enemies a certaine space, and slaine Achos nephue, a man of high reputation and authoritie amongst the Norwegians, caused the retreat to be sounded, and gathering his men againe into arate, brought them against the enemies of the middle ward, where was hard hold betwixt the two kings, the battell continuing with great slaughter on both parts, and vncertaine a long while to whether part the victorie would incline: but the Norwegians being now assailed on the backs by a new power of their enemies, at length they began to flee amaine.

The ordering
of the battells.

The battells
soine.

The baliance
of the kings.

The great
number of
Scottishmen.

The left wing
of the Norwe-
gians are put
to flight.

Achos nephue
is slaine.

The maine
battell of the
Norwegians
fleth.

In the meane time, the left wing of the Scots, whereof one Patrike had the leading, was in great danger, by reason the capteine himselte was sore wounded, and thereby all the companies in the same wing sore discomfited: but after they once beheld how the middle ward of their enemies was put to flight, they recovered new courages, and with great force caused their aduersaries, with whom they were matched, to giue backe also: and so were the Danes and Norwegians chased by the Scots, with verie cruell slaughter through all Cunningham, not ceasing from the pursute of the enemies, till night made an end of that daies worke. King Acho with a few other escaped out of danger, and comming to the castell of Aire, which (as ye haue heard) he had twome before, he was there informed of an other losse which he had sustained: for his fleet containing the number of an hundred and fiftie ships, were so beaten with an outrageous tempest, that there were not past foure of all that number saued, the residue being drownded and broken against the rocks and cliffes. The mariners also, being constrained to come on land for safe-
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gard of their liues, were slaine by the people of the countrie, so that few of them or none at all escaped. Acho being thus abashed with these two infortunate mishances, aswell for the losse and discomfiture of his armie by land, as for the perishing of his nauie on the seas, got him vnto those foure ships that were saued, and sailed with them about the coast, till he arrived in Dykneie. In this battell, which was fought at Largs on the third day of August, in the yere 1263, there were slaine of Danes and Norwegians 24 thousand, and of Scots about five thousand. Thus saith Hector Boetius. But Fourdon saith not to agree altogether herewith, who writing of this inuasion made by the Norwegians into Scotland, saith, that they were but twentie thousand men of warre in all, imbarcked in foure score ships, which comming to the new castell of Aran, besieged as well the said castell of Aran, as the castell of Bute, and toke them both, spoiling also the churches along the sea coast, and after arriving at Largs in Cunningham, on the feast of the natiuite of our ladie, lost the most part of their vessels, which were drownded together with thousands of men in the same. The residue that got to land, incountering with the Scots led by Alexander Steward of Dononald, were discomfited, put to flight, chased & drownded in the sea, into the which they were driuen. Amongst other that were slaine, a nephue of king Acho was one, a yong gentleman of great baliance, and sore lamented of his vnckle. Acho had much ado to escape himselte, he was so egerlie pursued of his enemies.

Thus haue I thought good to shew the diuersitie of writers in this behalfe, that it may appere how things are sometimes amplified by Boetius, to aduance the glorie of his countriemen, further perhaps than by the simple veritie of those that did write before him, may in some points be well auerred. But now to proceed. King Acho at his coming into Dykneie, sent into Norwaie and Denmarke for a new armie, prouiding ships & all other things necessarie, to haue made a new inuasion into Scotland against the next spring: but for that he himselte departed out of this life in the beginning of the yere next following, all that purueiance and great preparation was dashed, and came to none effect. The same day that Acho deceased, that is to saie, the 21 day of Januarie, Alexander prince of Scotland, the eldest son of king Alexander, whom he begot on his firste queene Margaret, the sister of Henric king of England, was borne, to the great reioicing of the people. For the people conceiued double ioy & glorie

The left wing
of the Scots
in danger.

The Danes
and Norwe-
gians chased
by the Scots

The losse of
Achos ships
by tempest.

The losse of
the mariners

Acho fleth
to Dykneie.

1263.

John Fourdon

Embassadors
sent from
Magnus R.
of Norwaie to
king Alexan-
der.

In time of the
trouble be-
tweene the sons
of Malcolm
Cannmore and
their vnckle
Donald Bane
Magnus R.
of Norwaie
the son of D-
laine subdued
these Isles.
Richard South
well.

Cuthbert king
of Ham.
Reginald.
1228.

Blane, or D-
laine.

1230.

Hubac.
while Sodo-
renies.
Blanus and
Gorpedus.
Pore.
Hubac slaine.

Blanus and
Gorpedus di-
uide the king-
dome of the
Pore betwixt
themselves.

1237.

Blanus
Gorpedus
Hubac.

1247.

Hubac
Gorpedus
Blanus.

1247.

Hubac
Gorpedus
Blanus.

1247.

Hubac
Gorpedus
Blanus.

1247.

Hubac
Gorpedus
Blanus.

1247.

ne to hereof, because that both a new prince was borne, and that cruellie dead which sought the destruction of the whole realme. After the deceasse of king Aho, his sonne Magnus succeeded him, a verie faithfull prince, and one that had the feare of God before his eyes.

In the second yere of his reigne, he sent his ambassadors (of whom the chiefe was the chancellor of Norwaie) vnto king Alexander, whome they found at saint Johns towne, and there signified vnto him, that king Magnus their maister would willingly giue ouer all his title, right, and claime vnto Aran and Bute, so that the residue of the Isles might remaine in quiet possession of him and his successors in time comming. Herevnto was answer made by king Alexander, that the Isles by right of old inheritances pertained vnto him and his progenitors kings of Scotland, and therefore he might not make anie agreement with the Danes or Norwegians, till he had recovered the full possession of the same Isles. The ambassadors being dispatched and sent awaie with this answer, incontinentlie Alexander Steward of Passie, and John Cummin were sent with an armie ouer into Aran, which Ile they then recovered (though not without blood) into the hands of the Danes and Norwegians, who had kept the same in possession now for the space of 167 yeres passed, but not without some alteration and trouble, as may appere by the annales of Richard Southwell, a writer (as should seme) well instructed in matters as well touching Scotland, and the north parts, as also concerning the state of the out Isles. And therefore that the same may the better appere to the readers, I haue thought it not impertinent to set downe what I haue read in the same Southwell, touching the kings, or rather viceroies of Aran, and those Isles which for a season (as should seme in deed) were subduted by the kings of Norwaie, though it may also appere, that sometime there was a certaine succession in them, as from the father to the sonne, & from the brother to the brother, &c: in manner as if it had bene by waie of inheritance.

In the daies of king John therefore (as saith the foresaid Southwell) one Godfred reigned as king in Aran. And in the yere 1228, one Reginald being king of those Isles, was murdered by wicked persons, & then his brother Olave reigned in his place. In the yere 1230, the king of Norwaie appointed one Husbar, the sonne of Olmund (surnamed Hareon) to gouerne the said Isles called Sodorshles, that is to say, the Ile of Aran, & the other Isles there abouts the coasts of Scotland; the which Husbar, together with two other captains Olave and Godred, surnamed Don, came by sea, and arrived at Bute, where they wan the castell: but Husbar was slaine with a stone that was throwne downe vpon him. And then after this, the foresaid Olave and Godred came vnto the Ile of Aran, where they diuided the kingdome of the Isles betwixt them, so as Olave had Aran allotted to him for his part, and Godred the other Isles. But after that Godred was also slaine, Olave gouerned both in Aran, and in all the other Isles (those excepted which the sonnes of Somersleld held in possession.) In the yere 1237, in the moneth of Maye, Olave king of Aran, the sonne of Godred, & brother to Reginald, departed this life, after whose deceasse his sonne Harold succeeded him, and reigned 12 yeres, being but 14 yeres of age when he began his reigne.

In the yere 1247, Haco king of Norwaie sent for Harold king of Aran to come vnto his coronation, who comming thither, was honorablie receiued, and obtained king Hacos daughter in marriage: but as he returned from thence, in the yere 1249,

together with his wife, they perished in the seas by a tempest on the coasts of Ireland. Then succeeded his brother Reginald, who reigned but 27 daies, for he was slaine the first of June the same yere, by the seruants of a knight called Puarus. Then Harold the sonne of Godred gouerned Aran one yere, being remoued by the king of Norwaie: & after him Magnus the sonne of Olave began his reigne ouer Aran & the other Isles, by consent of the Hanskemen themselves. But in the yere 1254, one Puarus was ordeined king, or rather viceroie of those Isles, & gouerned the same, till the foresaid Magnus king of Norwaie resigned his title to all the said Isles vnto king Alexander (as ye haue heard) who placed his lieutenants there, of whom the first was called Godred mac Hares, the second Alane. And after him Maurice Harfaire succeeded, and then followed one that was the kings chaplaine.

For the time of the resignation made, I followe Hector Boetius, by reason of some contrarietie which appeareth in Southwell in the account of the yeres assigned to the reignes of those Island kings, if you confer the same with the time of the foresaid resignation. But now to the matter. The lieutenant appointed to haue the rule of those Isles, now that they were thus come into the hands of the Scots, was bound by his office to be readie with thirteene ships, and five hundred mariners to come to the aid of the Scots, at all times when he should thereto be required. After this, were the earles of Atholl, Carrike, and March, Alexander Steward, with the thanes of Argyle, and Lennox, sent with a puissant armie vnto the other of the westerne Isles, the which those that were greatest, they brought with much ado vnder the obseisance of the crowne of Scotland, the residue submitted themselves.

Magnus king of Norwaie informed hereof, sent thither his chancellor in ambassage vnto king Alexander, to trie if he might by treatie recover againe those Isles: and if he might not bring that to passe, yet to compend with him for a puerelle tribute. The first motion of the chancellor would in no wise be heard, therefore surceasing to spend anie longer time about it, they fell in communication touching the second, which took effect at length in this wise. King Magnus by his letters vnder his great seale, renounced and gaue ouer his right or claime that he had or might haue, both for him and his successors to all the Isles of Scotland. And king Alexander for this resignation was agreed to paie the said king of Norwaie, foure thousand marks sterling, together with a pension or tribute of an hundred marks by yere. And for the more confirmation of loue and amitie betwixt the two kings and their people, Margaret the daughter of king Alexander, being not past one yeres of age, was promised in marriage vnto Hanigo, the sonne of king Magnus, the same marriage to be consummat when she came to yeres mariable. Further, in place where the greatest slaughter of Danes and Norwegians had bene made, it was couenanted that an hospitall should be erected & founded there, for the sustentation of pore folks.

About this season, there were great warres in England betwixt king Henrie and his barons, of whom the chiefe was Simon Mountfort earle of Leicester, and diuerse other. King Henrie being not well able to withstand his aduersaries attempts, requested King Alexander to send him some aid of Scots to subdue the rebels of his realme, that had arreared warres against him. Herevnto shortly after, was Alexander Comin, with five thousand chosen men, sent by king Alexander into England, who right balliantlie bare themselves in that war which

1249.

Reginald.
He began to
reigne the first
of June.
Puarus.
Harold.

Magnus.

1254.

Puarus.

Lieutenant or
baillie of the
Ile of Aran
vnder the
Scots.

The westerne
Isles recovered
out of the
hands of the
Norwegians

The chancellor
of Norwaie
sent to King
Alexander.

The release of
Magnus
king of Norwaie
to the
Scottish Isles.

A puerelle
pension.

Margaret
Alexander's
daughter.

Warre in
England.

King Henrie
required aide
of the Scots.

Alexander
Comin sent
into Eng-
land.

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The left wing
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in danger.
The Danes
and Norwe
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by the Scots

The loss of
Acho ships
by tempest.

The loss of
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Robin Hood
and little
John his
companion.

A legat from
pope Clement

The legats
demand.

The answer
of king Alex-
ander to the
legats mes-
sage.

The more pre-
cepts the more
offendours.

King Alex-
anders wife-
dome praised
by king Hen-
rie.

A thousand
marks sent to
the pope.

Scottish cap-
tains sent in-
to Affrike.

1270.
Thomas
earle of Car-
rike.

Martha
daughter to
the earle of
Carrike.

Robert
Bruce.

Robert
Bruce married
to Martha
daughter to
the earle of
Carrike.

king Henrie held against his barons, thereof in the English chronicle ye may read more at large. In these daies (as the translator of Hector Boetius hath written) that notable and most famous outlaw Robin Hood lived, with his fellow little John, of whome are many fables and merie tests deuised and song amongst the vulgar people. But John Maior writeth that they lived (as he doth gesse) in the daies of king Richard the first king of England, 1198.

In the yeare next and immediatlie following, after that Henrie king of England had subdued his domestical enemies, there came a legat from pope Clement the fourth, requiring him to haue a collection of monie in Scotland towards the charges of leuieng an armie against the Saracens. But this legat was not receiued into the realme, but commanded to shew his message vpon the borders. He demanded therfore of euerie parish-church in Scotland foure marks sterling, and of euerie abbey foure score marks. And to the end he might the sooner purchase sauour to the furtherance of his purpose, he deuised by the way certeine statutes and ordinances right profitable to be vsed in the realme of Scotland, as he iudged. But king Alexander for answer hereunto alledged, that the Scots minded not to receiue anie statutes or decrees, other than such as were ordeined by the pope, or some generall counsell: for by a generall rule; The more precepts, the more offendours are alwaies found. And as touching the request made for the collection of so great summes of monie, it was not thought necessarie, that so much coine should go forth of the realme: neuertheless if it were thought expedient, he would be contented to send forth at his owne proper costs and charges, a number of armed men to go with the christian armie against the Turks: but for monie otherwise forth, the realme would not depart with anie, least it should be wastfullie spent, or taken by the way of theues, as it had bene aforesaid.

Henrie king of England praised much the wisdom of king Alexander for this his answer, as he declared shortly after by his sonne prince Edward, who came to visit his sister the queene, and his brother in law king Alexander at Roxburgh, where they met him; for ye must vnderstand that king Henrie had also learned by experience to be wise in that behalfe, as well as others. King Alexander yet after this sent vnto the pope a thousand marks in silver: and vnto Helmes the French king, that required his aid in that iourne which he made into Affrike against the Saracens there, a thousand souldiers, vnder the leading of the earles of Carrike & Atholl, John Stewart brother of Alexander Stewart, Alexander Cummin, Robert Beth, George Durward, John Quince, & William Gordon. All these going ouer with him. Helmes into Affrike, died there, either vpon the enemies sword, or by the intemperat heat of that countrie (whereto they had not bene accustomed) in the yeare after the incarnation 1270. The earle of Carrike, whose name was Thomas, perishing thus amongst the residue in Affrike, left no inheritor behind him to inioy his lands, sauing a daughter named Martha, being then about fifteene yeares of age. This yong ladie, chancing to ride on hunting in the woods for pastime and solace, as she vse is, fortunely by aduenture to meet with a noble yong man one Robert Bruce the sonne and heire to Robert Bruce the lord of Anandale in Scotland, and Cleueland in England, begot of Isabel the second daughter of Dauid earle of Huntingdon. The ladie immediatlie became so enamored of this yong gentleman, that she led him with her home vnto Carrike, where (without making hir friends priue to the matter) she married him in all hast, least any

man should be about to hinder hir determined purpose. Of this marriage was borne that Robert Bruce which afterwards (through want of heires of the linage of king Alexander) attained the crowne of Scotland. As soone as Alexander was aduertised hereof, he took such indignation that he should bestow hir selfe so lightlie vpon one whom he neuer saw before, that he seized hir cassell of Turneburgh into his hands, with all hir other lands and possessions, as it were by escheat, for that she had married without his consent. Notwithstanding, within short while after he took pitie on hir case, and for an easie composition of monie which she paid for hir marriage, restored to hir againe all hir lands and liuings, suffering hir to inioy hir husband without anie more trouble or vexation. In the third yeare after, the said ladie was deliuered of the afore-remembered Robert Bruce that was after king of Scotland. And the same yeare, which was the yeare after the birth of our Sauour 1274, Dauid the second son of king Alexander deceased; and the third yeare after, the brethren of Edward king of England came into Scotland to visit the queene their sister, & their brother in law the k. & after did attend them in their iourne to London, whither they went to be present at the coronation of the foresaid Edward, as then returned forth of Affrike after the deceasse of his father king Henrie, to take vpon him the gouernement of the kingdome descended vnto him by right of inheritance. He was crowned the same yeare on the day of the assumption of our ladie in August, with great solemnitie and triumph.

At the same time there was a Norman in king Edwards court, of such passing strength of bodie, that he ouerthrew all men with whom he wrestled, till at length one Ferquhard a Scottishman borne, of the countrie of Rolles, descended of noble parentage, vanquished him to his great praise & advancement in hono: for king Alexander in guerdon of so worthie a deed there done in the presence of so honorable an assemblie, gaue vnto him the earldome of Rolles for euermore. Of this Ferquhard succeeded five earles all of his surname, but the first earle was named William Rolles, otherwile Leslie, in whose sonne the seventh earle failed the dignitie of that house for fault of succession. At the same time prince Alexander king Alexanders sonne did homage vnto king Edward for the earldome of Huntingdon, as the Scottish writers do testifie. Shortly after that king Alexander was returned forth of England at that time into Scotland, his wife queene Margaret deceased, and was buried in Dunfermling. She bare by him two sonnes, Alexander and Dauid, and one daughter named Margaret, the which (according to the assurance before made) was married about thre yeares after hir mothers deceasse, vnto Hainigo, or rather Aquine king of Portugal, and deceased in the second yeare after the solemnization of the marriage, leaving behind hir a daughter named also Margaret.

But before this hap fell so out, euen immediatlie after the death of queene Margaret the mother, hir yonger sonne Dauid deceased: by reason wherof, king Alexander being carefull of his succession, procured a marriage for his elder sonne prince Alexander, with the earle of Flanders his daughter, the which being brought into Scotland, was married vnto the said prince in Jedburgh, on the sunday after the feast of saint Martine in winter, in the yeare of our Lord 1279. The feast of this marriage was holden with great triumph and solemnitie continuallie for the space of fifteene daies together. & This yeare a number of the Scottish nobilitie, which had attended the ladie Margaret into Portugal, were lost

King Alexander
der displeased
with the king
said daughter.

Robert
Bruce that
was after
king of Scot-
land is borne
1274

King Alexander
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queene came
to London.

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queene came
to London.

King Alexander
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queene came
to London.

King Alexander
der with his
wife the
queene came
to London.

The death of
Alexander
king of
Scotland.

The death of
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lost by shipwacke, as they would haue returned backe againe to Scotland after the consummation of hir marriage there with king Harigo or Aquine. Whilie after, by the force of deaths dreadfull dint, two greivous losses chanced vnto king Alexander, the one following in the necke of another. For first his eldest sonne prince Alexander, being not past twentie yeares of age, departed out of this world, without leaving anie issue behind him; and not long after, his daughter Margaret queene of Forwaite deceased also, leaving behind hir one onelie daughter (as befoze is mentioned) being as yet but an infant.

In the same yere was a generall counsell holden at Lions, the pope and a great multitude of the prelates of christendome being there assembled. To this counsell were summoned to appeare all the provincials, wardens, and ministers of the begging friers. And for that there were so manie sundrie orders of the same, each man desiring of his owne braine some new alteration; all those orders were reduced into the foure orders, which after by the church of Rome were approued and allowed. A generall commandement was also giuen, that no man should go about to begin anie new forme of such vaine superstitious orders, which appoint themselves to eschue labor, to the end they may liue in pleasure, lust & idleness, vpon the trauell of other mens browes. In this mean time, after that the christian armie was returned home out of Affrike, by reason of a truce concluded with the Soldan, the same Soldan (that truce notwithstanding) ceased not to make great slaughters and inuasions vpon those christian men that remained behind. The christian princes soze moued herewith, made their appells for a new expedition into the holie land. The Scots gaue the tenth parte of all their lands, or rather (as some booke say) the tenth part of all tithes belonging to churches, to the furtherance of this iornie: notwithstanding through such enuie and contentions as rose amongst the said princes, that iornie brake, to the great damage and preiudice of the christian faith.

King Alexander hauing lost his wife and children in manner as is befoze exprested, not onelie he himselfe, but also all Scotland was in great penuriance and sorow, each man by a certaine foreboding and misgiuing in mind, doubting the mishap that might thereof insue. But yet did king Alexander, by the aduise of his nobles, in hope of new issue, marie the daughter of the earle of Champagne in France, named Yolant. The marriage was celebrated at Jedburgh with great feasting and triumph: but that ioy and blisshesse indured not long after. For the same yere on the 18 day of Aprill, as he was galloping vpon a fierce horse at Kingorne, forcing him in his race somewhat rashlie, he was throlone ouer the west cliffe towards the sea by a wonderfull misfortune, so rubelie, that he brake his necke, and so therewith instantlie died in the 42 yere of his reigne. He was buried at Dunfermling, in the yere after the incarnation 1290. It is said, that the daie before the kings death, the earle of March a little before night, demanded of one Thomas Leirmont, otherwise named Thomas the rimer, or (as the translator of Hector Boetius saith) Thomas Crilston (who in those daies was reputed for a noble prophet) or (as we may call him) a soothsayer, what weather they should haue on the morrow: to whome the said Thomas answered, that on the morrow [before none] should blow the worst wind and tempest that euer was heard of in Scotland at anie time befoze.

On the morrow when the skis appeared cleare and bright, without cloud or anie other signe of foule

weather, and that it dreyne nere vnto the midst of the daie, and no wind heard from anie side, but all calme and quiet, the earle of March sent for the forenamed Thomas, and told him that he had mistaken his marks, in prophesying of anie such notable tempest as he had spoken of the night befoze, considering it proued so lithe a daie, without appearance of anie tempest to insue. This Thomas said little thereto, sauing that he said it was not yet past none. And incontinentlie herevpon came a post to the castell gate of Dunbar, where this earle of March as then laie, bringing word of the kings sudden death, as befoze is recited. Then said the prophet: That is the scathfull wind and dreadfull tempest, which shall blow such calamitie and trouble to the whole state of the whole realme of Scotland. This Thomas was a man in great admiration of the people, shewing sundrie things, as they afterward chanced: howbeit they were euer hid and inuolued vnder the veile of darke and obscure speeches.

Manie strange wonders and unkeith sights were seene in the daies of this Alexander the thirde. In the 17 yere of his reigne, there was such an infinit number of wormes through all the parties of Albion, that not onelie the leanes and fruits of trees, but also flowers & herbs in gardens were eaten by and consumed with them. And in the same yere, the waters of Forth and Tay rose with such high tides in flowing ouer the banks, that manie towne and villages were drowned, to the great destruction both of men and beastes. In the 20 yere of his reigne, there was a comet or blasing starre seene of a marvellous quantitie, shining euerie day toward the south, euen about none daies. On the Epiphanie day next after, rose so great winds, with stormes of such immeasurable great hailestones, that manie towne were throlone downe by violence thereof. In the meane time, rose through the vehement rage of winds, a sudden fire, in manie bounds within the realme of Scotland, that did much hurt to buildings and edifices, burning by steeples with such force of fire, that the belles were in diuerse places melted, as though it had bene in a furnace. Amongest other, those of the abbeye of Abirbrothoke were most pretious, which were as then consumed together with the steple wherein they hung. The towne of Aberdeen and Perth were burned the same time: also part of Lainrike, with the temple, and all the towne and villages in Clow, a part of Angus: and likewise manie towne and other buildings in Louthian, and in diuers other parts of the realme, so long here to rehearse.

In the 21 yere of his reigne, was the first coming of the pestilence into Scotland, with great mortalitie of the people, where it had not bene heard that euer this sickness had come within that realme before that time. In the solemnization of the second marriage of king Alexander, as the bridegroom (according to the manner) led the bride in a danse, a great number of lords and ladies following them in the same danse, there appeared to their sight as it were closing vp the hindermost of the danlers, a creature resembling death, all naked of fleshy & lire, with bare bones right dreadfull to behold. Through which spectacle, the king and the residue of all the companie were so affonied, and put in such fright & feare, that they had quicklie made an end of their danse for that time. In the daies of this Alexander the thirde, liued sundrie great clearkes. Amongst other, Michaell Scot was reputed for an excellent physician, and for his singular practise & knowledge in that profession was no lesse esteemed and had in high fauour with Edward king of England, than with king Alexander, during his life time.

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The death of
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The death of
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Bruce that
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king of Scot-
land is borne
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King Alexan-
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to London.

The foure or-
ders of friers.

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The soldan
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The Scots
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The earle
dome of Ross
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liam Ross
alias Leslie.

The death of
Margaret
queene of
Scotland.

The marriage
of Margaret
king Alexan-
ders daughter.

The death of
David sonne
to king Alex-
ander.
The marriage
of Alexander
prince of
Scotland.

1279.

H.B.

1290.

1285. H.B.

1286. Io. Ma.

Thomas of
Erilton or
the rimer.

A prophetic
of
tempest.

Unkeith
sights and
wonders.

High tides.

A blasing
starre.

Great winds.

Fire caused
through wind.

Bells melted

The first com-
ing of the
pestilence into
Scotland.

A strange
sight in dan-
sing.

Learned men.

Michaell
Scot a phy-
sician.

Francis Thins
addition, to
this marke.)

The lawes of
Alexander the
third.

This Alexander made manie healthfull and good lawes, whereof most by the negligence of men, and longnesse of time are worne away; so that things so profitablie by him deuised, seme rather by report to haue bene ordeined, than that they are by cōsome practised. He diuided the kingdome into foure parts, throug which he made his progresse almost euerie yere, remaining about thre moneths in euerie place, there to sit in iudgement, and to heare the complaints of the poze, at what time the meanest person might haue free acceſſe vnto him. As often as he went into anie prouince to giue sentence of law, he commanded the gouernor of that place to receiue him with a chosen companie; and when he departed thence, to bring him to the borders of his iurisdiction, where he was honorablie receiued of the next gouernors. The which traueilling about his realme he vsed, to the end that he might know all his nobilitie, and that he might also be knowne of all others. During which tyme of his progresse, no great traine or multitude of courtiers did follow him; because he would not charge his people in receiuing of them; and for that cause also abated and restrained the troope of horsemen which followed the nobilitie, and brought them into a certeine & meane number, because he supposed that the multitude of horses (whereof in warre there was no vse) were needlesse deuourers of meat. Further, he forbade his people to trauell by sea for gaine or merchandize, when he considered that through the unskillfulness of sailing, the rashnesse that men vsed in committing themselves to the seas, and the rapine of pirats, manie men were lost, and their goods spoiled: whereby the merchants were driuen to extream povertie. Which precept when it had continued almost a whole yere, and by manie mens speeches was reprehended as dangerous and hurtfull to the weale publike, at the length there arrived such plentie of strange merchandize in Scotland, that the abundance and cheapenesse thereof did exceed the memorie of anie former age. But yet to take order with and for the benefit of the merchants, he forbade his people to buie anie thing brought in by strangers, but such as were merchants of his land, and that all the other people should buie of them such things as they needed.)

Scotland
without a k.
and gouernor.

Mischiefes
insuing for
lacke of a
king.

Six gouer-
nors chosen to
haue the rule
of Scotland.

King Alexander the third, being in such miserable wise deceased, as before is specified, the realme remained in great discomfort, by reason he had neither left anie issue behind him to succede in the gouernment thereof, neither taken order in his life time by testament, or otherwise, for anie other to supplie the rōme of a gouernor, so that hereof insued such infinite misorders, by the presumption of wicked and ungracious persons, the which vpon hope to escape unpunished (because iustice was like to want due process) ceased not to attempt manie vnlawfull acts, to the gricuous oppression of the people: which misruled demeanors and disordered enterprises of those outrageous persons, when such as had anie zeale to the wealth of their countrie vnderstood daillie to multiplie and increase, they thought it appertained to their duties to prouide some remedie in due time, and therefore called a counsell together, wherein after sundrie consultations had, and manie matters debated touching the rule of the realme, it was finally agreed, that six gouernors should be elected and chosen, of the which thre should haue the administration and rule of the north parts, and these were William Fraser bishop of saint Andrews, Duncane earle of Fife, & John Cumine earle of Buchquane. The other thre were appointed to the gouernance of the south countreies, that is to say, Robert bishop of Glasgow, sir John Cumine (a man of high estima-

tion for his wisdom and experience as well in matters concerning peace as warre) and James high steward of Scotland.

But in the meane time Edward king of England, surnamed Longshanks, cast in his mind, how he might make some conquest of Scotland, now the same was thus destitute of an head to gouerne it. And for that he well vnderstood that the daughter of Forwaie (of whom before ye haue heard) was right inheritor to the crowne of Scotland, though she were but verie young in yeres, & not able for marriage: yet to compass his purpose that waies forth, he sent his ambassadoys vnto the lords of Scotland, requiring to haue hir to wife, and the realme with all, as due vnto hir by good title and right of inheritance. The lords, after long deliberation herein had, consented to his desire, vnder these conditions, that the realme should remaine in all freedoms and liberties, without anie kind of seruite subiection, in the same maner and state as it was vsed in the daies of king Alexander last deceased, and other his noble progenitors: and if it chanced, that no issue came of this marriage to succede them, then shuld the crowne returne by remainder ouer to the next heirs of king Alexander, without anie claime or pretext of title to be made by king Edward, or anie of his successors in time to come.

Immediatlie herewith, two noble knights, sir John Scot of Albatore, and sir James Menis, were sent into Forwaie to fetch the bride ouer into Scotland: but before their coming thither, she was deceased, & so they returned backe into Scotland againe without effect of their errand. And thus by means of hir death, all amitie betwixt Englishmen and Scots ceased. Then began to insue great trouble and businesse in Scotland, by reason of the contention which sprang betwixt the kinsmen of king Alexander, for the title and claime which they severallie made and pretended to the crowne. Where were thre chiefe that seemed by nearnesse of blood to haue most right, and therefore made most earnest sute in their claime: John Balioll, Robert Bruce, and John Hastings. This Robert Bruce was sonne to the son of that Robert Bruce, which married Isabel the yongest daughter to David earle of Huntingdon, on whom he got a son named also Robert, that married the inheritor of Carrike, as we haue shewed before, whose sonne this Robert Bruce was, that now claimed the crowne. John Balioll came of Margaret, eldest daughter to the foresaid David earle of Huntingdon: for Alane lord of Galloway, which married the said Margaret, begot on hir two daughters, of the which the eldest named Deruogill, was giuen in marriage vnto sir John Balioll, father vnto this John Balioll, that thus made claime to the crowne: alledging that forsomuch that he was come of the eldest daughter of earle David, the brother of king William, he ought by reason to be reputed as next heire to the same king William, with none other person alius approached so nere vnto him in blood.

* Here I thinke it convenient before any more be spoken of this historie, to interlace somewhat (besides that which is alreadie spoken, being here in part repeated) of the descent of this Deruogill, the daughter of Alane lord of Galloway, beginning the same somewhat higher, in this sort. In the reigne of William k. of Scots, which began in the yere of Christ 1160, as saith Lesleus, lib. 6. pag. 226, Fergusius gouernor of Galloway left two sons, Gilbert, and Ethred, who after the death of their father, fell at variance for the lands of Galloway, to be diuided betwixt them in equall portions. This ball coming to the eares of king William, he was desirous to quench

How can we
be true, for
Edward
had a wife at
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The daughter
of Forwaie
deceased.

The conten-
tion betwixt
the kinsmen
of k. Alexander
for the crowne.
See more of
this matter in
the English
histories.

The ancedo-
t of Robert
Bruce.

The time of
the Balioll
with his title
to the crowne.

Of this mat-
ter though not
whille is
mentioned in
before, e.
pag. 275.
The crueltie
done brother
another.

Gilpatrick
after spoile
Scotland.

Gilpatrick
after spoile
Scotland.

Gilpatrick
after spoile
Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan.

Wil. Parus
nameth him
Edward.

quench those flames of unkindnesse betwene the said brethren, and for thit cause with indifferencie (as he supposed) he ment to pacifie and satisfie each part, by diuiding the inheritance equallie betwene them. But Gilbert highlie taking this partition in gradge (because he was eldest, & that the whole inheritance belonged to him) did with like hatred pursue both the king and his brother, the one as enuious against him, and the other as an onequall iudgc, in giuing his right from him. Wherefore when king William was taken prisoner of the Englishmen, this Gilbert being of bold spirit (and now by the kings mishap out of all danger, being deliuered from the feare of anie law) began to utter his conceiued hatred till this time couertlie concealed. For vpon the sudden, he toke his brother prisoner, put out his eyes, cut out his tonge, and not contented with a simple death (to be giuen vnto him at one instant) did most miserable a long time together put him to paine, by dismembryng the seuerall parts of his bodie, before he should die. After which wretched fact against his owne brother, he ioined himselfe to the English nation, and taking prizes on the borders, he did unnaturalie and traitorouslie (as it were an utter enemye to his countrie) rage against his owne citizens, with all kind of murder and slaughter of battell. In which he did such harme, and so great oppression, as if he had not bene resisted by his nephew Rowland (gatheringe a strong power to him of such common people as remained stedfast in dutifull obedience to the imprisoned king) he had utterlie spoiled all the countreies adioining to England, or else would wholie haue brought them into his subiection. For this Rowland a lustie yong gentleman, bold of spirit, indued with noble strength of mind and bodie, did not onelie beat downe the force of his vncke, but did manie times (and that sometimes most happilie) fight with the English, when they spoiled his native soile, or that he made anie inuasion into their borders.

At length when king William was deliuered of restraint, and returned into Scotland, this Gilbert (notwithstanding all his former euils) by the mediation of his friends, found fauour in the king, and was pardoned of all his offenses, but yet so as he promised to make recompense of all such damages as he had committed; for the sure performance whereof, he found sufficient pledges to the king. But Gilbert shortly after departing this life, they which had serued vnder him, giuen by continuall vse vnto theft and blood, did yield themselues to the fauourable protection of the king of England, either for inconstancie of mind, or feare of punishment, being touched with remorse of conscience for the euill which they had before committed. These men thus shadowed vnder the wings of England, did againe take armes against their countrie, vnder the conduct of Gilpatricke, Henrie Kennedie, and Samuell, who before had bene authoys and executors to Gilbert, of all such euils as were by him performed. Against whom was Rowland sent with an armie, who in a set battell slue the capteine, and a multitude of both kinds of the common people. They which escaped the confusid, did flic to the refuge of one Gilcombe, capteine of such persons as liued vpon spoile and pilfering, who by continuance of followers, & increase of people, were now growne to some number, & did wander ouer all Louthian, robbing & spoiling in euerie place where they set foot: and not so content, did from thence passe into Galloway, where this Gilcombe toke in hand the defense of Gilberts cause (now vnterlie forsaken of all men) vnder colour whereof, he not onelie challenged the inheritance belonging to Gilbert, but also behaued himselfe as chiefe lord of all Galloway. At length incounteringe with this

Rowland in the kalends of October (the third moneth after the companie of this Gilbert was before dispersed) this Gilcombe was valiantlie slaine, with the greatest number of his followers, by the said Rowland, on whose part there was verie few slaine.

The king of England highlie offended therewith (because the yere before they had swozine themselues to serue faithfullie vnder him against their owne blood) came in haste with a maine armie to Carleill to seeke reuenge thereof. Which when William king of Scots vnderstood, he laboured by all the meanes he could, to appease the king of Englands displeasure, and to reconcile this Rowland vnto him. In the end the king of Scots wrought so with the English, that Rowland was admitted to come to Carleill to the presence of the king of England; the which Rowland did accordingly. At what time before the king of England, refelling the slanderous accusations of his aduersaries (and further declaring that he had done nothing either rashlie, or vniustlie against his and the common wealths enemye) he was honorablie by the English king suffered to depart from Carleill. These things thus done, & king William returned into Scotland, he called to remembrance the continuall constancie and good seruice, which Carleill the father of Rowland had manie times done to him and to the realme; therewithall not forgetting the woorthie exploits which this Rowland had of late performed for the common wealth: for which considerations he woorthilie recompensed the said Rowland, in bestowing on him the whole countreie of Galloway. And further (although he did not merit the same by reason of his fathers euils) yet the king mildlie considering, that the sonne was not to beare the offense of the father (but hoping by this vnderferued liberalitie, to bind him faithfullie to serue him) did giue the lands of Carrike vnto the sonne of the said Gilbert. All which William Parvus reporteth to haue happened in the yere of Christ 1183.

Rowland being thus made lord of Galloway, married the sister of William Fitzwill constable of Scotland, who dieng without issue, obtained the same office by inheritance in right of his wife, from whom he did issue Alane lord of Galloway, and constable of Scotland, by inheritance from his mother, a valiant gentleman, and such a person as for his notable seruice (imploied in Ireland on the behalfe of John king of England) was rewarded by the said king with honorable and rich reuenues: for which by the permission of William king of Scotland, he possessed himselfe the liege man of John king of England, and sware fealtie vnto him. This Alane (as is before said) married Margarete the elder daughter of David earle of Huntington, of whom he raised thre daughters, whereof the eldest being Dornagill, was married to Balioll, the second to Bruce: in right of which Dornagill, the sonne of this Balioll challenged the crowne of Scotland, as descended from the elder sister. On the other side Robert Bruce, albeit he was descended of the yongest daughter to earle David, yet was he come of the first issue male, for his father was first borne, and therefore if king William had deceased without issue, the crowne had descended to him: for which consideration he mainteined that he ought now to be preferred. Hastings also for his part, because he was come of the yongest daughter of king David, married to his father Henrie Hastings, wanted not allegations to propound, why he ought to be admitted. Beside these, there were other also, that made claime to the crowne of Scotland, and had matter sufficient to mainteine their sute. This controuersie being brought before the gouernours, was at sundrie times argued with much contention,

Rowland restored to the fauour of the king of England.

Rowland made lord of Galloway.

Carrike giuen to the sonne of Gilbert.

Rowland constable of Scotland.

Alane lord of Galloway, & constable of Scotland.

The title of Robert Bruce.

Hastings.

S. J.

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they write in
the defamat
of R. Edward

The daughter
of Mary de
deceased.

The conten
tion betwix
the kinsmen
of R. Alexander
for the crown.
See more of
this matter in
the English
histories.

The ancestoys
of Robert
Bruce.

The line of
the Balioll
with his title
to the crowne.

Gilpatricke
was spoile
Scotland.

Gilcombe
was lord of
Galloway.

Gilbert him
was lord of
Galloway.

Fr. This.

Buchanan.

Wil. Parvus
nameth him
third.

The doubt of
the gouernours

tention, not without the assistance of the nobles favouring the parties, as occasion of friendship or kindred moued them, namelie Balioll and Bruce had no small number that leaned vnto their parts; by reason whereof, the gouernours were in doubt to proceed to anie definite sentence in the matter, least if they declared one of them king, another would attempt to usurpe the crowne by force.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.

Hereupon they iudged it best to referre the decision of all this whole matter to some mightie king, which was of puissance able to constrain the parties repugnant to obey his sentence. Herevnto was none thought so meet as Edward king of England, and therefore they chose him. [Whose faith and loue towards them, they did not anie whit mistrust, because Alexander the last king of Scots had found the father of this Edward, both a louing father in law to himselfe, and byright tutor to his realme. Wherevnto also they ioined this cause of hope in king Edward, for that the said Edward had of late before tried the fauor of the Scots towards him, by a singular testimonie, in that they so easilie consented to ioine the heire of Scotland with the son of the said Edward.] Whereupon king Edward toke this charge vpon him, as competent iudge, & promised by a certain day to come vnto Berwik, willing that their counsell might be assembled there against that time. At his coming thither, at the day assigned, and hauing heard what could be said on each part, and thoroughlie considering at length their allegations, he perceived the same doubtfull, and required a longer time to discuss the truth by good aduise of counsell: and therefore required to haue twelue Scottishmen, the best learned and most skilfull lawiers of all the realme to be associat with twelue Englishmen, which he promised to chose forth of the most perfect and wisest clerks that might be found within all his dominions, to the intent that by their ripe and aduised debating of the matter, the truth might appere, according to the which he minded to giue sentence, without fauor either of one part or other. [Before which he toke a solemne oth of the ambassadoers of Scotland, and such nobles as were there to stand to his definitive sentence, further thereupon requiring a writing to be made, sealed with the seales of the same nobles.] After when all such matters and proses as were proposed by the parties, alledged by them for furtherance of their titles were put in writing, as matter of record, he returned backe againe into England.

The title
doubtfull.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.
The nobles
swore to
stand to the order
of king
Edward.

This report
of the Scottish
writers smel-
eth altogether
of malice con-
ceiued against
him, for that
he scourged
them so sore
for their
vntuths.

Respect of
persons in de-
ciding contro-
uersies is not
to be conside-
red.

¶ Here the Scottish writers report, that king Edward vsed himselfe nothing byrightlie in this matter, but accordinglie (as it often happeneth) had the eyes of his conscience blinded, vpon hope to gaine somewhat by this credit thus to him committed. But how vniuillie he is slandered in this behalfe, I leaue to the indifferent readers to consider, by conferring that which the Scots doe write thereof, with that which is to be found in our English historie. But to proceed as we find it in the Scottish writers. King Edward to be satisfiied in knowledge of the truth, sent into France for men learned and of great experience in the lawes, that he might haue their opinions in the demands of the parties for their doubtfull rights. But (saith Hector Boetius) he first commanded them in no wise to agree vpon anie resolute point, but rather to varie in opinions, that when the pleé should seeme doubtfull by reason of their contrarieie in deciding thereof, he might the better vnder that colour, giue iudgement with which partie he thought most expedient to serue his purpose.

Whiche it the most part of the lawiers iudged with Robert Bruce, both for the worthines of his person, and also for that he was come of the first issue male. But some there were that gaue sentence with John

Balioll, for that he was descended of the eldest sister. King Edward supposing this to be the time most conuenient for his purposed intention to conquer the realme of Scotland, returned to Berwik, where he had appointed the 24 learned men before specified, to be present, that final sentence might be giuen, according as he had before promised. When he was come thus vnto Berwik, and the foresaid 24 learned lawiers assembled as assistants with him, and the parties appering before him in a chamber provided for the purpose, he caused the doores to be herelie kept, and the entries stronglie warded, that no man might come in or out, but by his appointment and licence. His purpose was to make him king, that would be sworne to hold the crowne of Scotland of him, as superior lord thereof. And because he knew that Robert Bruce was a man of singular manhood and wisdom, he thought best to assaie him first, and if he found him not conformable to his purpose, then he intended to trie what the Balioll would do.

When Robert Bruce had thoroughlie heard king Edwards motion, he answered that he loued the libertie of his countrie, more than his priuate preferment, and therefore minded not to deliuer his countrie (which euen to that day had bene free) into the bondage and seruitude of the Englishmen. King Edward perceiuing his stoutnesse of stomach, brake off with him, and fell in talke with the Balioll, who had such blind desire to attaine the crowne, that he passed not whether he intioied the same in libertie or seruitude, so he might haue it. Hereupon when this Balioll had giuen his faith by assured oth vnto king Edward, that he would do homage vnto him for the realme of Scotland, and acknowledge to hold the same of him as superior lord, king Edward gaue sentence with him, to haue most right to the crowne and realme of Scotland, now thus in controuersie.

It is said, that the earle of Gloucester, a man of great prudence and authoritie in England (seeing the Balioll thus made king, and Robert Bruce without reason put backe) spake in this sort to king Edward: Oh king, remember what is done by thee this day, sparing to giue righteous sentence in this matter; for though the same be now couered and hid, it shall be reuealed, when the great iudge that searcheth consciences, and the secrets of euerie mans mind, shall cause thee to answer for it at the dreadfull day of that vniuersall iudgement: thou hast now giuen sentence on a king, but then shall iudgement be giuen on thee. Shortly after, John Balioll went in great arrate vnto Scone, where he was crowned king of Scotland on saint Andrewes day, in the yere from the incarnation 1292. In the yere next ensuing, on saint Stephens day in Christmasse, he came to Newcastle vpon Tyne, and there did homage vnto king Edward for the realme of Scotland, contrarie to the mind and consent of all his nobles, for that by this meanes, he seemed to submit his realme (which had remained in freedom vnto those daies) into the seruitude of the Englishmen: but small felicitie succeeded thereof. And here it appeareth by Buchanan, that the nobilitie of Scotland, which held with Balioll, did also their homage: for being farre from home, they durst not contend against the power of two kings. Whereof some taking it greivouslie in their hart, dissembled with the present time, and couered their anger vnder the cincts of a faire countenance, which yet in the end burst out, notwithstanding this painted shew. For the declaration and profe thereof, there was shortly after occasion offered to Hakdusse, by the death of the earle of Jfife, being (in the time when there was no king) made one of the six gouernours of the realme: for this earle was not anelie killed by these of Abirneithie

R. Edward
commeth to
Berwik.

The purpose
of king Ed-
ward, as the
Scots do
vnto this re-
port.

The answer
of Robert
Bruce.

The Balioll
promiseth to
do homage to
king Edward.

The saying
of the earle
of Gloucester
to king Ed-
ward, but
like to be
true.

Fr. Thin.

John Balioll
crowned king
of Scotland.

1292.
John Balioll
doth homage
to king Ed-
ward.

So say the
Scottish writers,
but how true,
reth more hard
in England.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan li.

The league
warred be-
tweene Fran-
ce and Scot-
land.

John Balioll
warred be-
tweene Fran-
ce and Scot-
land.

John Balioll
warred be-
tweene Fran-
ce and Scot-
land.

(which familie did then greaſtie flouriſh in riches and
aropriate within Scotland) but the brother alſo of
the ſaid earle was called into late by the Abirneſſe
ans, for whom the king in aſſembly of the ſtates did
give ſentence againſt the other. This ſentence after
the laſt thereof the contention grew was to abide
god, ſuppoſing therein the king to be more truſt a-
gainſt him than his cauſe, and that the king was
not ſo ſevere a revenger of his brothers death, as he
hoped that he would be, forſake the Balliol, and ap-
peared to the king of England, before whom he com-
mitted his ſute againſt Balliol. The deciding there-
of was appointed to be holden at London, where was
an aſſembly of parliament of the nobilitie, after the
Engliſh manner, amongſt whom this Balliol had
his place alſo.

The parliament begun and Balliol there ſumme-
ned or cited, would have anſwered by his proceſs; as
attorney: but this (not being allowed) Balliol was
compelled to riſe out of his ſeat, and to defend his
cauſe himſelfe in an inferior place. Which contumelie
when he ſaw not at any time redreſſe, ſecretly he
ſet himſelfe in ſea, with ſix ſhips, and ſought to
ſeeke the revenge thereof. But when he was ſeene,
then could not deliver himſelfe of ſuch diſgrace; he
returned home with a mind of deablie anger, re-
turning mountains of choler therein, who ſill bending
himſelfe on every ſide to ſatiffie his anger, ſtuck
on this point: how he might reconcile the hearts of
his ſubjects: and offend the ſtate of the Engliſh.
Which Balliol with this meditation was ſeeking
his hot ſtomach, a ſit means was now offered to
perſuade his deſire, by reaſon of the wars betwixt
groven betwixt England and France, as after
ſhall appeare. For upon this occaſion of wars, king
Edward of England commanded this Balliol by
tenure of his land, & tenure of his homage, to come
with all the power he could prepare to aid him in his
warres againſt the king of France.)

King John Balliol incontinently hereto be-
came repentant, in that he had endangered himſelfe
ſtes by doing his homage; and thereupon ſent his
ambassadors to king Edward, as then ſjourning
at London, to renounce his aid touching the ſame
homage, alledging that ſo ſoon as it was done
without the aſſent of the three eſtates of Scotland, it
was of no ſtrength in it ſelfe, and not meete to be
obſerved being done by force; ſo which cauſe he
would renounce his frienſhip and alliance, alſo
for many other injuries done unto him and his; as
for that he would ſeeke to reſtore his countrie to his
former libertie. Which meſſage when none of the
better ſort durſt take in hand to execute, a certaine
monke (or as other have the abbat of Alherburye)
carried theſe letters into England, upon the next
thereof, king Edward anſwered the ambassadors
(whom he treated with innumerable contumelies)
that ſince he perceived (ſaith he) your king will not
come unto us, we intend ſpeedie to come unto him,
whereunto the ambassadors departed. Foras (ſaith
Buchanan) could ſcarcelie returne home in ſafetie:
being at his returne into Scotland rather had in
contempt of his own people than anie not reſpect-
ed ſo ſuch an ambassage.

After this, king Edward the better to accompliſh
his purpoſe againſt the Scots, ſent means to con-
clude a peace with the king of France, and ſo the
warre continueth of the ſame peace: the French
kings daughter was given in marriage unto king
Edward his ſonne. Wherefore (as ſaith the Engliſh
chronicle) he purpoſed (when he had ſent his
will unto againſt the Scots) to have ſent him
ſpeedie as before, notwithſtanding that he had
ſent him to ſtand by his contract. After this he

procured the frienſhip of Robert Bruce, and upon
promiſe (as it is to be thought) to make him king,
the ſame Robert delivered unto king Edward his
honors all ſuch caſtles as he held in Scotland. John
Balliol the Scottiſh king, underſtanding that king
Edward minded to make a compariſon upon him, ſent
William biſhop of Saint Andrews, and Spalden
biſhop of Dunblod, with ſir John Selkirk, and ſir
Frogram Unſtraide into France, to renew the an-
cient league betwixt him and Philip the fourth, as
then king of France; which accordingly was done:
and ſo the more cooperation thereof, the choiſt
daughter of Charles earle of Vallois and Arion,
brother to king Philip, was promiſed in mari-
age unto Edward Balliol, the ſonne of king John,
which Edward ſhould enjoy lands of peaceable rents
& revenues to the ſumme of ſixtye hundred pounds
ſterling, in places not of the demerſons belonging to
the crown, as Balliſſelle, Dampiere, Harcourt,
and Barre, which his father held in France with
Lanarch, Hildon, Spalden, Cuninghame, and the
caſtell of Dunbar, with the appertinances in Scot-
land: and hereto was annexed a promiſe, that if thoſe
feigneries and places exceeded the value of ſixtye
hundred pounds of peaceable revenues, then ſhould
the ſurplusage remaine to the ſon of Scotland: but if
the ſame amounted not to that ſumme, then ſhould
the ſaid king make them good, and ſupplie the ſame
with other rents in Scotland, or otherwiſe, as ſhould
be thought meet. And further, the ſaid ſumme of
ſixtye hundred pounds in yearly rent was assigned
as it were the dower of the ſaid lady, to enjoy to
her ſelfe during her life after her husbands deceaſe, if
her hap were to ſurvive him.

In conſideration whereof, king Philip contray-
ned to content and pay unto king John in name of
the marriage meate, the ſumme of 40000 crownes,
or (as other ſay) 25000 pounds of ſterling. The charter
containing the articles, covenants, and agree-
ments of this marriage and league above menti-
oned, beareth date at Paris, the 23 day of October,
in the yeare of our Lord 1295. And the letters po-
curatorie made by king John to the ſaid biſhop of
ſaint Andrews, & the other his aſſociats, bear date
at Strirling, the third day of Julie the ſame
yeare. Shortly hereupon, king John was adverti-
ſed that king Edward purpoſed to come and be-
ſiege Berwick; therefore by adviſe of his nobles
he ſent the moſt part of all the lordes and gentlemen
of ſtreit and Lothian unto Berwick, to defend the
towne againſt the enemy, if he came to beſiege it.
The Engliſhmen came not ſoone with a mightie
power by land, but alſo with a great navie by ſea to
wards the ſaid towne of Berwick. Of which com-
ing the Scots being advertiſed, came ſpeedie to
gainſt thoſe that approached by ſea, ſlaue 14 of their
ſhips, and chaſed ſtoute the reſidue.

King Edward rather promiſed than feared with
this malcontent, came with a farre greater pow-
er ſince than before, to ſiege the ſiege: but when he
perceived his purpoſe to be ſo ſpeedie effect as he
hoped it ſhould have bene, he ſent ſpeedie to take
this towne by ſome ſlightfull policie. Whereupon he
ſent ſome of his ſouldiers ſtealing a
barrell of ſhot ſubſtances about on their backs,
after the manner of the Engliſhmen. There were al-
ſo ſent before unto the towne, certaine Scots that
knew the king of England, which gave knowledge
to the captain of the towne that they were king
John

Ex chron. A-1
London, as J
take it.

Heſtor Eoc-
cun.
Abendon.

1295.

The gentle-
man of ſtreit,
and Lothian
ſent to Ber-
wick to be-
ſiege it againſt
the Engliſh
men.

Engliſh ſhips
taken at Ber-
wick.

Barre &
Berwick.

The policie of
king Edward
to ſiege Ber-
wick.

deſtiffer.
time moſt
conquer
the, where
ſpecified,
given, ac-
n he was
24 leat,
him, and
ber proui-
be fierlie
it no man
ent and li-
ing, that
cotland of
e he knew
r manhood
n firſt, and
poſe, then
co.
heard king
ied the li-
ate prefer-
his coun-
into the
en. King
ach, make
lioll, who
e, that he
libertie of
when this
unto king
him for the
o hold the
ward gave
he crowne
rouerſie.
a man of
and (ſeing
Bruce with
king Ed-
p theſe this
n this mat-
and hid, i
t ſearcheth
ans mind,
adfull day
now given
ment be gi-
oll went in
s crowne
ay, in the
yeare next
maſſe, he
ere did ho-
e of Scot-
all his no-
ubmit his
unto thoſe
ymen: but
ere it appe-
Scotland,
Fr. Thin.
Buchanan. li. 8.
(which

Edwards
commiſſion to
Berwick.

The purpoſe
of king Ed-
ward, as the
Scots do
untruſtly re-
port.

The Balliol
promiſed to
do homage to
king Edward.

John Balliol
crowned king
of Scotland.

John Balliol
crowned king
of Scotland.

John Balliol
crowned king
of Scotland.

John Balliol
crowned king
of Scotland.

John Balliol
crowned king
of Scotland.

The Scots
decided and
intrapped.

The crueltie
of the Eng-
lishmen.

Berwike is
swone.

The 29 of
March being
good friday,
1295. H.B.

The abun-
dant of blood
spilled.
Streames
augmented
with blood.

The Scots
discomfited at
Dunbar.

The castell of
Dunbar ren-
dered to king
Edward.

Robert Bruce
occasion of the
otherness of
Scots at
Dunbar.

Robert Bruce
submitted
himself to
Edward.

The answer
of king Ed-
ward to Ro-
bert Bruce.

The castles
of Den-
burgh and
Strirling
swone.

King John
princen into

John was comming with his armie to their suc-
cors. The Scots that were within the towne, hel-
ping it had bene most true; set open the gates, and
came forth against their king (as they supposed) to
haue receiued him with all ioy and gladnesse.

But when they came nere vnto the Englishmen,
they perceiued both by their language and habit what
they were: but this was not before the Englishmen
were hard at the gates, so that when the Scottishmen
would haue fled backe to haue got into the towne a-
gaine, the Englishmen pursued them so fast at the
heelles, that they entered the gates with them, and so
toke the towne with great slaughter, as well of the
souldiers and men of warre, as also of women, chil-
dren, and aged persons, without all ruth or compassi-
on, so that they left not one creature aliue of the
Scottish blood within all that towne. Thus was
Berwike swone the 30 day of March, in the yere
1296. Such abundance of blood was spilled thro-
rough all parts of the towne (as the Scottish chroni-
cles testifie) that where at the falling tide the water
was not able to driue about the mills, some of the
same mills yet were now at a low water set on gate,
by reason the streames were so hugelie augmented
with blood. There were slaine about seven thousand
persons that day, with the greatest part of all the no-
bles and gentlemen of life and Louthian.

King John hearing of this slaughter of his people
at Berwike, in great desire to be auenged, gathered
his power, and sent the same forth against king Ed-
ward, with whome they met not farre from Dunbar,
and there incountring with him in battell, the Sco-
tish host was discomfited, the most part of the Scots
being either slaine or taken. The earles of March and
Menteth, with 70 knights, fled to the castell of Dun-
bar, but they were besieged so streialie by the Eng-
lish power, inuironing the castell on eche side, that in
the end they were constrained for lacke of vittells to
yeld themselves to king Edward, on condition to
haue their liues saued, which covenant was not ob-
serued; as the Scottish writers affirme: for king
Edward hauing got them into his hands, caused
them forthwith to be put to death. It was reported
that Robert Bruce vpon secret conference had with
king Edward before this battell at Dunbar, solli-
cited all his friends in the Scottish armie, to flee vpon
the first iourning, which the residue perceiuing, were so
discomfited, that incontinentlie they threw a waie
both armes and weapon, and so were vanquished
without resistance.

Truth it is, that after this victorie, Robert Bruce
submitted himselfe vnto king Edward, requiring
him to performe his promise touching the right which
he had to the crowne of Scotland: howbeit he recei-
ued no answer to his liking touching that request:
for king Edward had no lesse desire to inuade the king-
dome of Scotland, than Robert Bruce, as the Scottish
writers affirme. Therefore to cast off Robert Bruce
concerning his demand, he answered thus, as is
said: Belieue thou that we haue nothing else to do
but to conquer realmes, and to deliuer them ouer
againe vnto thee. Robert Bruce hereby perceiuing
the hidden meaning of king Edward, returned right
sorrowfull vnto his land in England, hauing great
indignation in his mind, that he had obeyed king
Edward, yet not considered with him-
selfe that he must suffer for the time, till occasion
serued to reuenge the injuries receiued, which he
thought he would auoid. King Edward after he
had thus swone the castell of Dunbar, got himselfe
into the castles of Denburgh and Strirling, and
there he had a conference with king John, and so
came to his refuge the castell of Strirling, where he

John Cummin lord of Strabogie came to king Ed-
ward, and was sworne his liege man.

Shortlie after, by a politike practise of the same
John Cummin, king John with his sonne Edward
came to Mounros, where perceiuing himselfe vi-
tuelie to be fallen into the hands of king Edward,
through feare of death which he doubted by reason of
the menacing words of king Edward, he suffered
himselfe to be spoiled of all his kinglie habiliments,
and with a white wand in his hand (as the maner is)
presented himselfe before king Edward, resigning
there vnto him all his right and title which he had to
the crowne of Scotland, utterlie renouncing the
same both for him and his heires for ever. Hereof
was a charter made in most sufficient wise, confir-
med with the hand and seale of king John, and other
the nobles of Scotland substantiallie as might
be deuised, bearing date the fourth yere of his
reigne. After this, king Edward assembled all the
lords and barons of Scotland at Berwike, where he
caused them to be sworne his liege men, and to do
homage vnto him as to their soueraine lord and
supreme gouernor. Which William Douglas (a
man of noble birth and famous for his deeds) re-
fused to do, and for his obstinacie was cast into prison,
where after a few yeres he ended his life. And for
the more suertie of their allegiance, he constrained
them to surrender into his hands all the strengths &
holds of the realme, both as well those that stood on
the sea coasts, as also such other as were situat in the
inner parts of the countrie.

These things done, and order taken in each be-
halfe as was thought requisite for the quiet keeping
of the countrie, he sent king John and his sonne
Edward Balliol vnto London, where they were
kept in strong ward; till at length he suffered the
said king John to returne into Scotland: but lea-
uing still his sonne in pledge behind him, least he
should attempt anie new rebellion after his depar-
ture; which after was deliuered at the request of the
pope. King John vpon his returne into Scotland,
perceiuing that he was in the hatred both of his
lords and commons, he withdrew againe of his
owne accord into England, forsaking wholie the
administration of the Scottish dominion, and final-
lie went ouer into Normandie to his ancient inhe-
ritance and lands there, where at length falling
blind, and wasting away by long age, he departed
out of this world in the castell Galliard, leaving
those lands which he possessed on that side the sea, by
to his sonne Edward Balliol, who being released
out of captiuitie, was come ouer to his father be-
fore his deceasse.

In the meane time, king Edward hauing well in
remembrance the warres which he had intended to
make against France, had he not bin staid through
the businesse of Scotland, purposed now to pursue
the same with all diligence; & therefore garnishing
all the strengths & forces in Scotland to withstand
the Scots, if they attempted anie rebellion against
him in his absence, he appointed Hugh Cressingham
regent there, whilst he should be occupied in
France, which Cressingham before was treasurer.
Then hauing provided a great number of ships, he
passed ouer into France, trusting that the Scots
would not stir, till they had of late suffered so ma-
nye overthrowes and sore losses, and after an other
the last wars; but tyrannie is of such a nature, that
being kind of oppression it may any long time be
easily defended. For those people that are oppressed
by any tyrannical feruitude, will not take to heart
to deliuer themselves from the yoke of that tyrant
till they haue some better opportunity of time and
occasion serued. Therefore the lords of Scotland

the castell of
Foslaire.

John Cummin
king of Scot-
land resigneth
all his right
to king Ed-
ward.

A charter.

Homage of the
barons of
Scotland to
king Edward.

Fr. Thin.

The habits of
Scotland de-
liuered into
king Edward
his hands.

John Balliol
all kept as
prisoner in
England.

He returneth
into Scot-
land.

He renoun-
ceth the ad-
ministration of
Scotland.

He returneth
into France,
and deceaseth
in castell Gal-
liard.

King Ed-
ward his
purpose to in-
uade France.

Hugh Cressingham
regent of Scot-
land.

King Ed-
ward before
by the
Scottish
re. of tyran-
nie.

The Scottish
lords assemble
at Strabogie.

Edward go-
uernour elec-
ted in Scot-
land.

John Cummin

William Wal-
pole beginneth
to wayle.

Mr Andrew
Wallace
might father
of William
Wallace.

Bibbles of
Scotland in
Englishmens
hands.

Castles won
by William
Wallace.

Dunbar won
by William
Wallace.

king Edward the first of
the castle of
Fozfair.

the same
Edward
himselfe
Edward,
reason of
he suffered
instruments,
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all his rights
to king Ed-
ward.

A charter.
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king Edward

Fr. Thin.
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Scotland
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king Edward
his hands.

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having knowledge that king Edward was passed
over the seas, they got them all together straight-
waies, and assembled in counsell at Striueling,
where by generall agreement, twelve noble men
were chosen to be gouernors of Scotland, euerie
one in their limits appointed, that they might the
better prouide to resist the enimie. Amongest these
gouernors, John Cumin earle of Buchquhan was
principall, a man of great wisdom and singular
knowledge in all affaires, as well of peace as of war.
This earle of Buchquhan raised a mightie armie,
and with the same entered into Forthumberland,
where he wasted with fier and sword all that coun-
trie. After this, he laid siege to Carleill, but he wan
nothing there, the towne was so well defended. In
that season also, the fame of William Wallace be-
gan to spring, a young gentleman of so huge stature
and notable strength of bodie, with such skill and
knowledge in warlike enterprises, and hereto of
such hardinesse of stomack in attempting all maner
of dangerous exploits, that his match was not ante-
where lightlie to be found. He was sonne to one
sir Andrew Wallace of Craigie, knight, and from
his youth bare enen an inward hatred against the
English nation. Sundrie notable feats also he
wrought against the Englishmen in defense of the
Scots, and was of such incredible force at his com-
ming to perfect age, that of himselfe alone, without
all helpe, he would not feare to set vpon three or
four Englishmen at once, and vanquish them.

When the fame therefore of his worthie acts was
notified throughout the realme, manie were put in
good hope, that by his means the realme should be
delivered from the seruitude of the Englishmen
within short time after. And hereupon a great num-
ber of the Scottish nation as well of the nobilitie as
other, were readie to assist him in all his enterprises.
By reason whereof he might not easilie be intraped
nor taken of the Englishmen, that went about to
haue got him into their hands. At length, when oc-
casion serued to vse the helpe of such a notable chief-
teine, he was chosen by generall consent of the Sco-
tishmen as gouernour vnder John Balliol, to deli-
uer his countrie from bondage of the English na-
tion. At the same time manie abbeies & spirituall be-
nefices in Scotland were in Englishmens hands.
Pouerthelesse, this William Wallace by commis-
sion had of William Frazer bishop of saint An-
drews, auoided and put them forth of all parts
of Scotland, leaving neither temporall nor spiri-
tuall person of their blood within that realme. For
shortlie after, by publike authoritie, he received the
armie that John Cumin earle of Buchquhan had
led before, and constrained those Scots that fauored
king Edward, to obey his commandements, in
renouncing all such faith and promise as they had
giuen or made vnto him.

This done, he passed forth with great puissance
against the Englishmen, that held sundrie castles
within Scotland, and with great hardinesse & man-
hod he wan the castles of Fozfair, Dundee, Brechen
and Bountros, slaying all such souldiers as he found
within them. Wallace now full of this his prospe-
rous successe, and hearing that certeine of the chie-
fest captaine and officers of those Englishmen that
kept the castell of Dunfer, were gone forth to con-
sult with other Englishmen of the forts next to them
adjoining, came suddenly to the said castell, & took it,
not leaving a man aliue of all those whome he found
as then within it. Then after he had furnished that
hold with his owne soldiers in most defensible wise,
he went to Aberdeen. The towne he found in maner
void of all the inhabitants, but the castell was so
stronglie garnished with men and munition, that

considering it might not be wone without great
murder, he raised from thence, and returned into
Angus. King Edward as then being in France,
hearing of these exploits atchiued by this Wallace
his aduersarie, sent diuerse noble captaine vnto his
lieutenant Hugh Cressingham, with an armie into
Scotland to redresse the matter.

Wallace in the meane time had laid siege vnto
the castell of Couper, but now being aduertised of
the coming of this armie against him, he raised
his siege, & went to Striueling to defend the bridge
there, that Hugh Cressingham with his armie should
not passe the same, according as the report went
his intent was to doe. Here encountering with the
enimies, the third Ides of September, he obtained a
verie worthie victorie, for he slue not onlie the fore-
said Cressingham with a great part of his armie be-
ing passed the riuer, but also forced the residue to flee,
in such sort, that a great number of them were drow-
ned, and few escaped awaie with life. Thus hauing
gotten the vpper hand of his enimies here at Stri-
ueling, he returned againe to the siege of Couper,
which shortlie after vpon his returne thither, was
rendred vnto him by those that were within in gar-
rison. There were manie of the Scottish nobilitie the
same time, that sent vnto him, offering to leaue the
king of Englands part, and to aid him with monie
and vittels, if he would onlie receiue them into fa-
uour, wherevnto he granted. By which means, sun-
drie other castles were yelded vnto him, the which af-
ter he had garnished with men, munition, and vit-
tels (according as was thought requisite) he brake vp
his campe, and went with sundrie of his most faith-
full friends vnto the castell of Striueling.

Afterwards perceiving that through fearfullie of
coyne, great deatch arose on each side within the
realme of Scotland, he deuised which way he might
best relieue the peoples necessitie and lacke in that
behalf, and hereupon he determined to passe with a
mightie armie into England, and to sojourne there
the most part of the winter, in sustaining the whole
number of his men of warre on such prouision as
they might find within the bounds of their enimies
countrie. He commanded therefore that all the
Scots, appointed to go with him in that iournee,
should be readie at a certeine day and place perfired.
But diuers of the northerne Scots (as they of Aber-
den and other) for that they disobeyed his comman-
dements set forth by letters and proclamations,
were hanged as rebels and traitors to their coun-
trie. By whose example, other being put in feare, his
commandements were the better obeyed, so that ha-
uing got together an huge host of men, he entered
with the same into Forthumberland, wasting and
spoiling the countrie euen vnto Newcastle. Thus
putting the enimies in great feare and terror of his
awfull name, he brought his armie backe againe in-
to Scotland, loden with spoile and glorie of their
prosperous atchiued iournee. They entered into Eng-
land (as Io. Maior writeth) about the feast of All
saints, and remained there till Candlemas after, li-
uing still vpon the spoile of the Englishmens goods.

Edward king of England, being informed of the
great slaughter of his people, and what damage the
Scots had done in Forthumberland, returned in
great displeasure out of France into England, and
sent his ambassadors vnto Wallace, fore menacing
him, for that he had invaded his realme in such cru-
ell wise in his absence, which he durst (as he sent him
word) full little haue done, if he had bene at home
himselfe. Wallace herevnto answered, that he had
taken the advantage for the atchiuing of his inter-
prise, touching the inuasion of England, in like sort
as king Edward had done for the conquest of Scot-
land,

Hugh Cressingham sent
into Scotland

Hugh Cressingham slaine
at Striueling
and his armie
discomfited by
William Wallace.

The castell of
Couper ren-
dred to Wal-
lace.

Deatch in
Scotland.
The policie
of Wallace to
relieve the
peoples lacke
in time of
deatch.

Disobedience
punished.

Wallace inua-
ded Forth-
umberland.

Fr. Thin.

Edwards
message vnto
Wallace.

The answer
of Wallace to
Edwards
message as
the Scots
dowrite.

S.iii.

land, at such time as he was chosen by the nobles of the realme as indifferent iudge in decision of the right and lawfull title of the parties that stroue and were at contention for the crowne. And further, to the end it might appeare vnto king Edward, that he inuaded England in defense of his owne native countrie, and that he was fullie bent to imploie his whole induer to deliuer the same from all maner of subiection to any forreine power, and to reuenge the injuries done to them by the Englishmen in times past; he willed the English ambassadoers to declare from him vnto king Edward, that he purposed to hold his Casser in England (if God afforded him life) and that in despite of king Edward, and all such as would beare armoz against him.

Wallase entered England with an armie of 30000 men.

And vndoubtedlie according to his promise he kept his day: for assembling together an armie of 30000 men, he entred into England at the time before appointed, where king Edward was ready with an armie vpon Stanesmore, double in number to the Scots, to giue them battell: but when the time came that both parties were ready to haue ioined, the Englishmen withdrew, hauing no lust (as should seme) to fight with the Scots at that time) who perceiving them to giue backe, incontinentlie would haue rushed forth of their rankes to haue pursued in chase after them: but Wallase (doubting lest the Englishmen had ment some policie, and saing (as writeth Io. Ma. lib. 4. cap. 14.) that it was honor enough for him that he had inforced so mightie a prince in his owne countrie to forsake the field) caused the Scots to keepe together in order of battell, and so preferring them from the deceitfull malice of their enemies, brought them backe into Scotland with liues and honours saved, besides the infinit spoiles and booties which they got in this fornie.

But as in the beginning all men were glad to support Wallase in all exploits and enterprises which he toke in hand, so afterward when his fame began to wax great, to the derogation of other mens renownes, such as were farre his superiours in birth and linage, that fauor which mantle bare him at the first, was now turned into enuie, hauing no small indignation, that a man of so base parentage should so surmount them in all honor and dignitie. Those that enuied him most, were of the Cumins blood, and Robert Bruce. King Edward being aduertised of this enuious grudge, and new sedition amongst the nobles of Scotland, had secret conference by his agents with the chieftest amongst those that thus enuied the high glozie of Wallase, and vpon trust of such practise as was concluded by reason of the same conference, he came with a mightie armie into Scotland, and at Falkirke met with this Wallase, who mistrusting no guile, had raised a power to resist him: but now being come in sight of the Englishmen, there rose a right odious contention betwixt the head capteins, who should haue the leading of the vanguard, which is reputed a most high honor amongst the Scottishmen. And among other, John Stewart, and John Cumins, thought scoone, that Wallase a man of so low beginning, should be preferred before them in that honour: but on the other part, Wallase considering that the charge of the whole was giuen vnto him by agreement and consent of the three estates, thought it no reason that he should giue place to anie of them, though vnto his face, as saith John Maior, the lord Stewart had before vpbraid him with his pride, comparing him to an otter, which from his originall had begged a feather of euery bird, and being now enriched with abundance of feathers, did aduance himselfe aboue all other birds.

In the meane time came the Englishmen vpon

them right fiercelie, before the Scottish chieftains (hauing their breasts filled with more malice one against another, than with desire to defend their countrie against their enemies) could bring their men into anie perfect arais. Herewith at the coming to the point of ioining, the Cumins with their retinues fled out of the field, and left the residue of the Scots in all the danger. Robert Bruce seruing that day among the Englishmen, fetched a compasse about an hill, and came on the backs of the Scots, so that they were in maner compassed in, and beaten downe on each side: yet Wallase left nothing vndone that might pertaine to the dutie of a valiant capteine. But at length, all his induers notwithstanding, the Scots (ouerlet with multitude of enemies, as the Scottish writers affirme) were slaine in such huge numbers, that he was constrained to draw out of the field, which such small remnants as were left alive. The Englishmen pursued fiercelie after him, namely one valiant capteine named Frere Brian Jaie, a templer, whom Wallase perceiving to be within his danger, stepped forth vnto him, and stue him there in sight (as it is said) of all the English armie. Which valiant act of Wallase caused the Englishmen somewhat to staie, for doubt of further perill by their vnwise pursue likelie to befall them. In this unfortunate battell, were slaine on the Scottish side, John Stewart of Bute, with his Wyandans (for so they name them that are taken vp to serue in the warres forth of the Stewards lands) Spakdulle earle of Fife, with sir John Graham, whose death was much lamented by Wallase, as one whom he highly esteemed for his great experience in warlike knowledge. Many other noble and valiant men died in this conflict, whose names would be too long to rehearse. This battell was stricken on Marie Magdalens daie, in the yere of our Lord 1298, and therefore the Englishmen haue holden it euer since an happie day for to fight against the Scots.

* When William Wallase was passed the river Carran, where he might defend himselfe, and gather his dispersed people, Bruce desired to speake vnto him, which Wallase did not denie. Wherevpon each of them drawing alone by themselves without any arbiters to the bankes of the river, in such place as it was narrowest, and they might without anie compaite best heare one another; Bruce began to say as followeth. I do much muse, thou most valiant of all men, what came into thy mind to be caried away by the vncertaine fauor of the common people, and to stand against the mightiest king of our age, supported with the greatest forces of the Scots: and daile to offer thy selfe to euery danger, and that for no reward assured to thee for all thy labors. For if thou shouldst ouercome king Edward, the Scots will neuer aduance thee to the kingdom, and if thou be overcome, there resteth no refuge for thee, but onelie the mercie of thine enemie. And dost thou not see the Cumins, and me, and the most of the nobilitie, to follow the English faction? Neither dost thou consider the malice of the princes conceiued against thee? Loke vnto thy selfe, and thou hast but a few of the nobles thy partakers, and a small number of the commons (which are more vncertaine than the wind) to follow thee, whose fortune is now almost ouerthrowne. All these words John Maior supposed that Robert Bruce did speake, to serch the mind of Wallase, whether he ment to aspire to the crowne or no: being in deed rather contented that Wallase had left the field, than otherwise to reduce him to the part of king Edward.

To whom Wallase answered in this sort. The end of all my trauell was not to attaine the kings

The Cumins fled.

The Scots discomfited at Falkirke.

Frere Brian Jaie slaine by the hands of William Wallase.

Nobles of Scotland slaine at the battell of Falkirke.

Marie Magdalens day prosperous to the Englishmen to fight against the Scots.

Fr. Thin. John Maior lib. 4. cap. 14. Buchan. lib. 8. Lessus epil. Ross. li. 6. p. 3. Conference betwixt Wallase & Bruce.

come; for my birth and fortune neither doo or could deserue it, and my mind did neuer desire it: but the negligent slouth of the (to whom the right of that diademe doth apperteyne, and who doth greedilie hunt thereafter) made my citizens (perceiuing themselves destitute of faithfull gouernours) to follow me, and caused me (when I saw them in that miserie, rather butcherlie tozme, than in honest seruitude to be oppressed) to seeke for libertie. Which suerlie I had obtained for them and you, if the nobilitie had not so euillie strived against me, restrained themselves for comming into the field, and had but sent their hinds (which till their land south to the battell, at which time I had scarce 10000 men, & those of common sort. Trulie if the princes had not bene impediment thereto, I could haue brought forth to fight a hundred thousand bold and cherefull souldiers. But now in truth I perceiue the hatred of the nobles against me this day. Wherefore if thou pretend to possesse the kingdome, I giue thee faithfull warning, especiallie to beware of the Cumins: who if they had more regarded the glorie of their countrie, than of secret malice to others, would not so wickedlie haue forsaken the field, what hate soeuer they had conceiued against me. If they haue giuen their faith to the king of England, they are not bound to keepe it: in a wicked promise no oth is to be performed. I am now wearie of my life, and rather desire to die, than to liue in this sort, to see the miserie of my beloued countrie. Wherefore embrace you this thraldome (which is so much esteemed of you) to whom althie seruitude with ease seemeth more pleasant, than honest libertie with danger: for I had rather chuse willing death with freedom (in which I meane to spend my blood) than to do as you haue done, because the loue of my countrie shall not depart from my hart, before the life of my bodie depart from his office. Which being said, Bruce burst forth in teares, considering the nobilitie of the mind of Wallace, although perhaps he nothing mistook the misfortune of the man, as doubting the end of all his pretense to be, to attaine to the crowne. This being thus done, they both depart to their companies. By which conference (saith Leslee bishop of Ross) this good was wrought to Scotland (to recompense the ouerthrow of Falkirke) that Wallace partlie by the bitterness of his words, and partlie for the loue of his countrie, did now draw Bruce from the English, to take part with the Scots.)

But notwithstanding all these valiant speeches of Wallace, when he considered the infortunat discomfiture by him so treacherouslie receiued, he came to Perth, and there uttering by complaint the inuoluntarie enuie of the nobles against him, he renounced and discharged himselfe of all the authoritie which had bene committed to his hands, touching the gouernance of the realme, and went into France, as saith Leslee. But Iohannes Maior saith, that he neuer came there, although he will not flatlie denie it. The same time, Philip king of France, the fourth of that name, and surnamed le Beau, hauing great ruth in his hart for the miserable calamities thus chanced to his ancient confederat friends the Scots, and that chiefie for the quarrell of France, sent his ambassadours vnto Edward king of England, who had latelie before married his daughter, requiring that there might be some peace or abstinence of warre granted. At his request therefore a truce was taken betwixt the Scots and Englishmen, to indure from the feast of All Saints, till the feast of Pentecost next following.

The Scots in the meane time soze oppressed by reason of long warres, sent ambassadours to pope Boniface, in presenting a verie gracious complaint vnto

him, for the great affliction done to them by king Edward, who was fullie bent by inuoluntarie meanes (as they alledged) to conquer their realme, and therefore they belought him to constrain king Edward by vertue of his prerogative, which he pretended to haue ouer the realme of England, to stand to his order in deciding the right concerning the liberties of Scotland, which might no other waies be determined, but by intollerable damage falling to the people through blind desire and conetous ambition of the nobles, contending for the crowne. The pope (as is said) after he had by god and deliberat aduise heard the matter, gaue sentence with the Scots, that they had iust cause of warres in defense of the liberties of their countrie, against k. Edward and his fautors. But for this matter, loke in the English chronicles, where it shall well appere, that the pope by these letters of king Edward, was fullie satisfied of his superiortie ouer Scotland.

The Scots somewhat recomforted herewith, shortly hereupon chose John Cummin to their gouernor, in purpose to trie with the Englishmen for their liberties. Whereof king Edward being aduertised, sent forth with an armie into Scotland, which passed through the countrie to saint Johns towne, with great damage of those that were adiudged rebels to king Edwards empire. All the countrie in manner vnto Forthie, at this season was subiect to the Englishmen, sauing such few of the inhabitants, as liued within the woods, hauing more regard to the ancient liberties of their countrie, than to aie desire of preserving their goods or liues. John Cummin therefore, desirous to redresse this heauie miserie and lamentable case of his countrie, admitted Simon Fraser fellow with him in the administration of the warres against the Englishmen, and therewith gathering an armie of eight thousand hardie men of warre, settesth in hand to reuenge the inuoluntarie wrongs of the enimies, chasing out of the realme all such officers with their seruants, as king Edward had placed in aie comes within the bounds of Scotland; and such as resisted, he pursued in most cruell wise, not sparing to put them vnto the sword in all places, where he might find them.

King Edward soze kindled in displeasure with these attempts of such desperat persons, raised an armie of thirtie thousand men, and sent the same into Scotland, vnder the leading of a verie stout and valiant capteine, named Radulph or Rafe Confrate. This Radulph at his comming into Scotland, toke small regard to the ordering of his field, but diuided his armie into three parts, euerie part containing ten thousand men, and appointed them to passe south to forate the countrie, and to meet altogether at Rosslyn, in such sort and time as he prescribed. John Cummin and Simon Fraser being aduertised hereof, gathered their powers together, to the number of seven or eight thousand men, and determined to trie the chance of battell with one part of the English armie first, trusting that if they happened to haue the upper hand of one of the three parts, the other two would be the more easie to deale with. The Scottish capteins resolued thus vpon that point, exhorted their people to remember how they were to fight in defense of their wiues, their children, their gods, and liberties of their countrie, against such as sought to bring them into thraldome and vile seruitude.

With which words the Scots were so imboldered, that minding either to die or to win the victorie, they gaue the onset so fiercelie on their enimies, that the first battell of the Englishmen was quicklie ouerthrowen and vanquished. But scarcelie had they gathered the spoile, when an other part of the Englishmen came vpon them with more fiercenesse than the other

The opinion of the pope.

John Cummin the younger elected gouernor of Scotland. An armie of Englishmen sent into Scotland.

King Edwards officers chased out of Scotland.

Scotland againe invaded

Radulph Confrate. I remember not that aie of the English nobilitie bare this surname in those daies, wherefore I thinke it was the lord John Stgraue. John Cummin and Simon Fraser.

The first battell of the Englishmen ouerthrowen.

The second
battell over-
come.

other before: neuertheless, the Scots encouraged with their fresh towne victorie, got themselves spoiled into arraie, & receiued their enemies with such incredible manhood, that they had quickly got the upper hand of these also. But scarce had they made an end with this second battell, when the third part was at hand readie to charge them, being now soze infir- 10 bled, that thorough wearinesse and wounds receiued in the two former encounters, besides the want of such of their numbers as were slaine: yet by exhortation of their capitaines, and the balliant presence of the officers of bands beside, they rushed forth on their enemies with such earnest forwardnesse to receive them, that after a verie sharpe bickering, they put the whole number of them to flight. Few of the Englishmen had escaped the Scottishmens hands, had they not bene so wearied with continuall fight, that they were not able to follow anie great waie in the chase.

The third
battell of the
Englishmen
vanquished at
Roslin.

1302.
The matter
is amplified
by the Scots
to the victors
most.

The great
preparation of
king Edward
to invade the
Scots.

The Scots
withdrew to
their holds.
The English
armie paceth
through Scot-
land from the
south parts to
the north.

As Edward
sendeth vnto
Wallase.

Wallase refuseth
the offers
of R. Edward

The castell of
Sterling ren-
dered.

This Althred
the Scottish
bookes name
Dilkes.

The castell of
Arquhard ta-
ken by force.

This victorie fell to the Scots in manner as is be- 20 fore rehearsed, vpon saint Matthewes day, in the yere after the birth of our Saviour 1302. The glorie of this victorie was great, considering that thirtie thousand Englishmen well furnished, & though-ly appointed for warre, should be thus in one day vanquished with an handfull of Scottishmen. For as their histories make mention, they passed not eight thousand at the most: and therefore all men supposed that it came to passe by the singular fauour and grace of almightie God. But yet the Scots did not long intoy the benefits of so notable a victorie. For king Edward hearing of this discomfiture of his people at Roslin, gathered a mightie armie of Englishmen, Gascoigns, Irishmen, and such Scots as toke his part, and hauing all his furniture and puruei- 30 ance readie both by sea and land, he set forward with the same to invade the Scots on ech side. The Scots perceiuing they were not of puissance able to resist his inuasion, withdrew to their strengths: by means whereof the English armie passed through all Scotland, euen from the south parts to the north, & found few or none to make resistance, except Wallase, and such as followed his opinion, which were fled to the mounteins and woods, to eschue the malice of the Englishmen.

It is said, that king Edward required by a mes- senger sent vnto this Wallase, that if he would come in and be sworne his liege man and true subiect, he should haue at his hands great lordships and posses- sions within England, to mainteine his port as 50 was requisit to a man of vertie honorable estate. But Wallase refused these offers, saieing that he preferred libertie with small revenues in Scotland, before anie possession of lands in England, were the same neuer so great; considering he might not intoy them, but vnder the yoke of bondage. The casting of Sterling at the same time was in the keeping of one sir William Althred knight, who would not render it to king Edward by anie summons or other meanes, till after thre moneths siege he 60 was constrained to giue it ouer vnder these conditions; That all persons being within the castell, should depart by safe conduct with bagge and baggage at their pleasure. Neuertheless king Edward caused the said sir William Althred to be conueied to London, where he remained as prisoner manie yeres after.

Sundrie other castels were taken by force the same time by king Edward, and all such as resisted, being found within anie of them, slaine without mercie or ranome. Amongest other, the castell of Arquhard in Marrey land was taken by force, and not one left alieue that was found in the same (one gentlewoman onelie excepted) who being great with

child, was in that respect preferred. She was the wife of Alexander Boyis, lord of that house, though by reason she was got into poore apparell, the Englishmen toke hir but for some other woman of meaner estate. She therefore with hir life saued, being suffered to depart, got hir ouer into Ireland, where the was deliuered of a son; that was named at the font-stone Alexander, who when Scotland was recovered out of the Englishmens hands, came to king Robert le Buse, requiring him to be restored vnto his fathers heritage, being as then in the occupation of other possessors. King Robert doubtfull what to do hereint, for he thought it neither conuenient that a prince should take lands or possessions from noble men, which had bene giuen to them in reward of their manhood, thewed in defense of the realme; neither iudged he it reason to keepe him from his rightfull inheritance that had lost his father, his friends, and all his whole substance in the like cause and quarrell by iniurie of the common enemies.

Wherefore to qualifie the matter, he denised this meane: he gaue vnto this Alexander Boyis certeine other lands in Spar, nothing lesse in value (considering the largenesse and fertillitie) than the other of Arquhard were: and willed him to content himselfe with those, in recompense of such as belonged to his father: to the intent that all parties might be satisfi- ed, and no man should seme to haue wrong in being deprived of his rightfull possessions. This Alexander Boyis had afterwards his name changed, and was called Forbesse, for that he slue a beare in those parties, by great and singular manhood. And so the sur- name of the Forbesses had beginning, as descended from him. Scotland being subdued by the mightie puissance of king Edward, he went about to abolish all the old statutes and ancient constitutions of the realme, trusting by that meanes, that Scots living together with Englishmen, vnder one vniforme manner of lawes, they should finallye sort themselves to be of one mind and opinion, as well touching the su- 40 preme gouernement of their publike weale, as also in all other things, touching the friendlie societie of life.

He burnt all the chronicles of the Scottish nation, with all manner of bookes, as well those contain- ing diuine seruice, as anie other treatises of profane matters, to the end that the memorie of the Scots should perish: and thereto appointed grie- uous punishments for them that should disobey his commandements hereint, in keeping anie of the said bookes vndeaced. And he ordeined also, that the Scots should occupie church bookes after the vse of Sarum, and none other. Whereouer he compelled all such Scottishmen as were of anie singular know- ledge in learning or literature, to be resident in Ox- ford, doubting least the Scottish nobilitie increasing in politike prudence by their instructions, should seeke to throw off the yoke of bondage. Thus king Edward going about (as the Scottish writers doe re- port) to extinguishe the name of Scots, together with their rule and empire, passed through the most part of all the bounds of Scotland. And vpon verie hate which he had to the Scottish antiquities, at his com- ming to Camelon, he commanded the round temple standing ouer against the same, to be thrown downe, which was builded (as before is shewed) in the hono- 60 of Claudius the emperoz, and the goddesse Victoria. But for that his commandement was not immedi- atly put in execution, he changed his purpose, and appointed onelie that the monuments of Claudius, with the superscription of his name, should be taken auaie; and in place thereof, the armes of king Arthur, with his name to be set vp; commanding the place to be called Arthurs hois (as ye would say) Ar- thurs

The marble
chaine is con-
ued into
England, and
placed in West
minster.
The nobilitie
of Scotland
sworne to R.
Edward.

Wallase ef-
furch to re-
grate with the
Englishmen.

Domare of
Romer de Es-
linter gover-
nor of Scot-
land vnder
king Edward

Conference
between
Camin and
Buse.

The begin-
ning of the
name of the
Forbesses.

Indutures
agreement
between Ca-
min & Buse,
touching the
conspiracie.

Chronicles
and other
bookes burnt

John Cam-
min doubt.

Scottishmen
learned, com-
manded to be
resident in
Oxford.

Camin discus-
sion the con-
spiracie.

The temple
of Claudius
was at Col-
chester, and
not in Scot-
land, whither
Hector Boetius
of other deca-
thered.

Robert Bp
of Exeter
was
in
the
year
1302

he be richly
writing.

thurs court.

For marble
sculpture con-
sisted into
England, and
sculpture in
Scotland
sculpture in
England.

While ef-
fect to ac-
quire with the
Englishmen.

Domare or
domare de Ma-
rence gover-
nor of Scot-
land under
king Edward

Conference
between
Cummin and
Buse.

The begin-
ning of the
name of the
Fozbelle.

Simulacra
agreement
between Cum-
min and Buse,
concerning the
dispute.

Chronicles
and other
bookes burne

John Cummin
and Buse.

Cummin's de-
claration con-
cerning the
dispute.

Scottishmen
learned, com-
manded to be
resident in
Dunfermline.

The temple
of Claudius
was at Col-
chester, and
not in Scot-
land, what
Hector Boetius
of there dreamt
thereof.
Arthurs bo

Whereupon king Edward at his returning into England, took the chaire of marble with him, and causing it to be conveyed up to London, did place it at Westminster, where it remaineth yet unto this day. Furthermore, before his departure out of Scotland, he appointed all the Scottish lords to assemble at Scone, where he caused them to take a new oath, that from thenceforth they should take him for their soueraine lord, and to obeye him in all things as loiall subjects. All the nobilitie of Scotland was sworn to him that day (Wallase onelie excepted) who eschewed more than the companie of a serpent, to haue anie thing to do with the Englishmen, touching anie agreement to be made with them, agreeable to their desires. Whereupon, to keepe the Scots from rebellion, king Edward ordeined Adam de Wallace to be gouernour there, as his generall lieutenant ouer the whole realme of Scotland in his absence. And having thus set all things in good and quiet order (as he supposed) he returned into England with great ioy and triumph.

In the meane time, John Cummin surnamed the red, and Robert Buse having conference together, complained the one to the other of the miserable seruitude wherein the realme of Scotland as then stood by the oppression of king Edward. And at length by offers made betwixt them, it was agreed, that if by anie means they might deliuer the realme out of the Englishmens hands, the one of them should be king, that is to say, the Buse, and the other, that is to say, the Cummin, should enjoy all the Buses lands and possessions, with manie other preferments of honours and dignities, as next unto him in all authoritie touching the gouernement of the realme. There were indentures made betwixt them, subscribed with their names, and sealed with their seals interchangeable, for the full ratifying of covenants agreed in this confederacie betwixt them. Shortly after, vpon deliuerie of those writings, Buse went into England, for he might not remaine long in Scotland, for doubt of suspicion which king Edward had in him, because of the title which he had to the crowne of Scotland (as before is specified) so that (as was thought) king Edward would haue put both him and his brethren unto death long before, if he might haue once got them all into his hands.

John Cummin (after that he and Buse were thus agreed vpon articles, and departed the one from the other) began to doubt, least this conspiracie devised betwixt them, would not last to anie luckie conclusion for his purpose, either for that he feared the great puissance of king Edward, either else for that his authoritie and power (as he mistrusted) would not be great, if the Buse once attained the crowne: and hereupon he sent one of his seruants to king Edward, with his counterpane of the indenture, containing the covenants of the confederacie, signed and sealed with Buses owne hand and seals. The messenger deliuered this writing in secret unto king Edward, declaring vnto him the whole matter as it was passed and concluded betwixt the Buse and his maister, according to instructions giuen him in that behalfe. Vpon which king Edward at the first gave him credit either to the writings, or words of the Cummin, supposing that the same were done onelie through anie which he bare towards the Buse, considering lest he should beare no rule in Scotland, if the Buse once attained anie authoritie within the same. Yet at length king Edward pondering with himselfe the whole circumstance, and being in some doubt of the matter, he desired the counterpane of the indenture vnto Buse himselfe, questioning with him: if he knew his owne hand, and Buse answered that he

was prouide to anie such deuise or writing, and there-fore desired of king Edward to haue the same for one night, to peruse and scan ouer at leasure, & then if he were not able to proue that it was forged, and maliciouslie deuised vpon an enuious purpose, to put him in danger of life, he would forfait all his lands and liuings that he held either within the realme of England, or else where. King Edward, because he conieured at the first how this accusation of Cummin was nothing like to be true, granted his request, wherein manie iudged he did unwise: but such was the ordinance of almighty God, that Buse should escape that danger, to accomplish that whereunto he was appointed. The earle of Gloucester immediatlie after that Robert Buse was departed from the kings presence, sent vnto him twelue sterling pence, with two sharpe spurs, whereby he conieured his meaning to be, that the best shift for him was to auoid out of the wale in most speedie wise, whereupon he causing a smith to shoo three horses for him, contrarilie with the calkins forward, that it should not be perceiued which wale he had taken by the tract of the horses, for that the ground at that time (being in the winter season) was couered with snow: he departed out of London about midnight, accompanied onelie with two trustie seruants.

Robert Buse
with his.

It chanced also, that there fell on the same night more snow aloft vpon the other snow that was fallen before, by reason whereof it could not easilie be iudged in the morning which way he was gone, though king Edward vpon knowledge had that he was fled, sent out a great manie of horsemen after, to haue brought him againe, if they might anie where haue found him. But Buse halted forth with such speed in his iourne, that the tenth day of his departure from London, he came to Louchmaben in Armandale, and there found David, or (as some books haue) Edward his brother, with Robert Fleming, a worthy yong gentleman, vnto whom (they musing what he meant by his sudden coming) he declared into what perill of life he had fallen by means of Cummin, and how narrowlie he had escaped out of king Edwards hands. His brother hearing the matter, consented to go with him, and to be partaker of all haps that might fortune to fall out in his sight; and by the way they chanced to light vpon one of Cummins seruants, that was going with letters vnto king Edward from his maister the said Cummin, signifying by the same, that if Buse were not the soner put to death, there would insue shortly such trouble and ruffling in Scotland against king Edward, that it would be much adoe to appease it.

He cometh
to Louchmaben.

Robert Fleming.

A seruant of
Cummin tak-
en with let-
ters on him.

These letters being found about Cummins seruant, through means of yong Fleming, the Buse after he had appoynted the bearer thereof in each behalfe, and learned of him that his maister the said Cummin was in the friers at Dunfermline, he first due this fellow that was thus sent with the letters, & after in all hast possible came to Dunfermline, by the guiding of the said Fleming, where he the quier of the friers church there he found Cummin. And reasoning the matter there with him, so that he had vled him to euill, and withall shewing him the indenture which king Edward had deliuered to him, as before is mentioned, in the end (after some multipling of words together) Robert Buse plucked forth his sword, and broke the door said Cummin a sore blow in the head, and thereupon fleeing out of the church, met with two of his dearest friends, James Lindsay, and Roger Blackthorne, who beholding his countenance altered, and comming forth of the church both hast, deniued of him what was the matter. I trow (said he) that Cummin is slain. Where (say they againe) had thou attempted so high an

Cummin was
at the friers in
Dunfermline.

an enterpryse, and lest it doubtfull? And immediatlie herewith they went to the place where Cummin lay wounded (as before is mentioned) and asked of him whether he thought he had anie death's wound, or hoped to recouer if he might haue a good surgian. And for that he answered how he trusted to do well inough if he might haue a good surgian in time; they gaue him three or foure other wounds so grievous and deadlie, that forthwith vpon the same he yielded vpon the ghost. This chanced in the yeare of our Lord 1305, the fourth Ides of Februarie. About the same time was William Wallace taken at Glasgow by the means of sir John Spenteth and others, in whome he had euer put a most speciall trust; but they being corrupted with the offers of large rewards promised by king Edward to such as could helpe to take him, wrought such fetches that he was apprehended at length by Domare de Valence earle of Penbroke, who with a great power of men brought him to London, where he was put to death, and his quarters sent into Scotland, and set vp in sundrie great towne there for a spectacle, as it were to giue example to other. This was the end of that puissant champion William Wallace, praised amongst the Scottismen aboue all other in that age, for so much as he would neuer yield or consent to acknowledge anie superiouritie in the Englishmen or uer his countrie, no not when all other had submitted themselves to king Edward as his liege subjects and most obedient vassals. It is said, that when he was young and went to schole, he learned by heart two verses of his scholemaister, which euer after he bare in mind, and usually would rehearse them, (when a top toke him in the head) as followeth.

*Dico tibi verum, libertas optima rerum,
Nunquam serui, sub nexu viuito fli.
My sonne I say, freedom is best,
Then neuer yeeld to thralls arrest.*

Of this William Wallace one Henrie, who was blind from his birth, in the time of my natiuitie (saith John Maior) composed a whole booke in vulgar berse, in which he intred all those things vulgarlie spoken of this Wallace. But I do not in all points saith the same author, giue credit to the writings of such as he was, who onelie get their food and clothing (whereof this man was most worthy) by reciting of histories before the nobilitie of Scotland.

But now touching Bruce; after he had slain Cummin (as before is mentioned) he purchased an abolition from Rome for that act: and to the end he might then through authoritie obtaine some aid to resist the puissance of his aduersarie king Edward, he went by support of friends into Scone, where caused himselfe to be crowned king, on the 27 day of March, though he had no great number that toke his part in the beginning; as shortly after well appeared. For when he should assemble an armie against a power of Englishmen that were sent against him by king Edward, immediatlie vpon knowledge had of his attempts, he was not able to get together anie sufficient number to resist his aduersaries, though with those few which came vnto him, he thought to trie the chance of battell, and so incountring with Domare de Valence lieutenant of the English armie at Speffen the 9 day of June 1306, he was there put to flight; and though the slaughter was not greatly yet for that it was iudged to be an evil signe to haue such infortunat lucke vpon his entering into the estate, the peoples faith and thanks grew at the from him.

Domare de Valence after he had obtained this victorie against king Robert, banished the date of all those that supported the same Robert, and

whereof, manie ladies and gentlewomen were constrained to flee into woods, and other desert places, to escape the crueltie of their aduersaries. King Robert also after this ouerthrow, fled into Atholl, and from thence to Streill, where the third Ides of August at a place called Dalreie, he fought againe with the Cummins and other such Scots & Englishmen as were assembled in those parties ready to pursue him, and had the like lucke here that had chanced to him before at Speffen; for he was put to flight after the same maner, though he lost here but few of his men, neither in the fight nor chase. This place Dalreie is as much to say, as the kings field: Buchanan lib. 8, which is also called Watokie by I. Maior. lib. 4. cap. 19, who supposeth that Bruce had so hard a beginning for a punishment of the death of Cummin, slaine in the church by him and his friends. Whereupon finding fortune thus contrarie vnto him in these two seuerall battels, he was left so desolat and vnprovidid of all friendship, that he was constrained for his refuge to withdraw into the woods and mounteins, with a few other in his company, and there liued on herbs and roots oftentimes for want of other food.

Whilste he remained in this estate of aduersie fortune, there were two that shewed themselves right trustie and faithfull seruants vnto him aboue all the rest, the earle of Leuenor, and Gilbert Haie: for though either inforced by persecution of enemies, or constrained through some other necessitie, they departed sometimes from his presence; yet did they euer acknowledge him for their soueraigne lord and onelie king, ready at all seasons to serue and obey him in each behalfe. The most part of all other his friends yea and seruants, in that present miserie, did cleaue for sake him; so that sometimes he was left with onelie one or two in his companie, & glad to keepe himselfe secret in desert places, where no person lightlie vsed to resort. His wife & quene fled to saint Dunno, and chanced to be taken by William Cummin earle of Ross, who deliuered hir to king Edward; by whose commandement she was committed to safe keeping at London, where she remained till after the battell of Bannockshorne. His brother Nigel was also taken, and so afterwards were his two other brethren, Thomas and Alexander, with manie other nobles and gentlemen of Scotland, of whome some were executed at Carleill, and some at Berwick. Nigel was taken at the castell of Kildbrake whither he fled, and came to Berwick. Thomas and Alexander were taken at Loores, and carried to Carleill, and so beheaded. I. Maior. lib. 4. cap. 19. Finally the most part of all such as had aided him before, and were now shonke from him, were within one yeare after, either slaine or kept his prisoners in England.

Perthoughe he was thus left desolat of all aid and succour, having his brethren and other of his friends murdered and slaine to his bitter discomfort and ruine (as was to be supposed) he neuertheless liued vntil hope of some better fortune, whereby in time to come he might recouer the realme out of the enemies hands, and restore the ancient libertie thereof to the former estate. As for the paines which he toke in liuing barelie for the most part by water & roots, eating of berries on the bare earth, without house or other habitation; he was so accustomed thereto by his long time of wandering in his youth, that the same grieuous thing little troubled him at all. But to conclude, such was his valiantie and most excellent fortitude of mind and courage, that no inuincible mischance or violent aduersitie could abate his inuincible heart and manlike courage. At length, after he had withdrawn from place to place in sundrie parts of Scotland,

Cummin is slaine.

1305.

Wallace is taken.

Wallace is brought to London.

He is put to death.

John Fourdon.
John Maior.

Fr. Thin.

Abolition from Rome.

Robert Bruce is crowned king of Scotland, the first of that name.

John Maior.
King Robert is discomfited at Speffen.

King Robert is taken at Atholl.

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King Robert is taken at Atholl.

Scotland, the better to avoid the sleights of them that lay in wait to apprehend him, he got over into one of the Fies, where comming unto one of his speciall friends, a man of high nobilitie and welbelovied of the people in those parts, he was most hartlie welcome, and gladlie of him receiued, to his great ease and comfort.

Here when he had remained a certeine space, he got support of men, armour and weapons, by meanes whereof taking new courage, he passed over unto Carrike, & winning the castell there that belonged to his fathers inheritance, he due all the Englishmen, which he found within it, and bestowed all the spoile of monie and goods gotten there amongst his soldiers and men of warre. His friends that late hid in covert and secret corners, hearing of these his doings, began from each side to resort unto him, by whose assistance shortly after he won the castell of Inverness, and due all them that were within it in garrison. With the like felicitie he got the most part of all the castles in the north, rasing & burning by the same till he came to Glenneke, where being advertised that John Cummin with sundrie Englishmen and Scots were gathered against him, because he was upon a strong ground, he determined there to abide them: but they being thereof informed, and wondering at his manlie courage, durst not approach to give him battell, but sent ambassadors unto him to have truce for a time, under colour of some communication for a peace, till they might increase their power more strongly against him: which being done, they pursued him more fiercely than before. Whereupon the king Robert received them at all times in such warlike order, that they might neuer take him at anie advantage, but were still driven backe with slaughter and losse, though the same was of no great importance to make account of, but such like as happeneth oftentimes in skirmishes & light encounters, where the battels come not to ioine puissance against puissance. The same whereof yet procured him the favour of sundrie great barons in Scotland.

* About this time, Simon Fraser, and Walter Logan (most valiant knights, and greatlie favouring their countrie) were taken (by such as followed the faction of Cummin) deliuered to the English, sent to London, and there executed. Almost about which time, James Dowglassie joined himselfe to the part of king Robert. This James being the sonne of William Dowglassie, was a yong gentleman very active and forward in all chiefe exercises and arts. When he gaue himselfe to studie at Paris (hearing that his father was by the king of England cast in prison, in which he shortly after died, as is before noted) returned home to dispose the rest of his life after the advise of his friends. But being without living, & all his other friends by misfortune dispersed: he committed himselfe to the service of W. Lambert bishop of saint Andrews, of whose house he was gentlie receiued into his familie, and well interteined: untill king Edward comming to Sterling (after that he had almost pacified all the rest of Scotland) to besiege Striueling: at what time Lambert going to Sterling to salute the king, caried Dowglassie to attend upon him, to the end to prefer him to his living and inheritance. Whereupon the bishop finding the king at convenient leisure, besought him to be favourable to this Dowglassie; to restore him unto his fathers patrimonie: and that (receiuing the yong man into his fealtie and defence) it would please him to imploye him in his faithfull and warlike service: adding further such commendations in the behalfe of James, as for that time he thought most convenient. But the king was

derst.inding his name and kinred, spake bitterlie of the disobedience and stubborneesse of his father William Dowglassie; further answering, that he would neither use the same James, nor his travel in anie thing, neither that he could (if so he would) restore him to his patrimonie, because he had with the same gratified other that well deserved it. For which cause being by the king so repelled, he remained still in the bishops service, untill Wm. came into Berne, at what time (least he might lose the opportunity to offend king Edward, whom he secretly in heart disdained) this Dowglassie departed from Lambert his master, taking with him all the bishops gold, and certeine of his best horses, with the which, having in his companie diverse other hardie yong gentlemen, priue to his doings, he fled with all speed unto king Robert, offering him his service, and to spend his life in his quarell and defense. The bishop was priue to his counsels going awaie, yea and counselled him thereunto, though he would by no means it should outwardlie so appeare, for doubt least if things had not come to passe as he wished, he might have run in danger for his cloaked dissimulation. The Dowglassie was iustlie receiued of king Robert, in whose service he faithfully continued both in peace and warre to his liues end.

Though the surname and familie of the Dowglassies was in some estimation of nobilitie before those daies, yet the rising thereof to honor chanced through this James Dowglassie: for by meanes of his advancement, other of the same linage took occasion by their singular manhood and noble prowes shewed at sundrie times in defense of the realme, to grow to such height in authoritie & estimation, that their mightie puissance in mainteint, lands, & great possessions, at length was (through suspicion conceived by the kings that succeeded) the cause in part of their ruinous decay. Edward king of England hearing of the doings of his aduersarie king Robert, doubted (if some redresse were not found in time) lest the Scots reioicing in the prosperous successe of his said aduersarie, would revolt wholie from the English obedience: and hereupon purposing with all speed to subdue the whole realme of Scotland from end to end, he came (with a far greater armie than ever he had raised before) to the borders; but before his entring into Scotland, he fell sicke of a right fore and grievous maladie, whereof he died shortly after at Burgh upon sands, as in the English historie more plainlie doth appeare, though Buchanan say he died at Lancaster.

The Scottish writers make mention, that a litle before he departed out of this world, there were brought unto him 55 yong striplings, which were taken in the castell of Widdowmme, after it was wonne by the Englishmen, and being asked what should be done with them, he commanded they should be hanged incontinentlie, without respect to their yong peeres, or consideration of their innocencies that might have moved him to pittie. After his decesse, his sonne Edward of Carnarvan succeeded in the gouernement of England, who following his fathers enterprize, called a councill at Dunfreis, summoning the lords of Scotland to appeare at the same, and caused a great number of them at their comming thither to do their homage unto him, as to their superior lord and gouernor: but yet diners disobeyed his commandements, and would not come at his summoning, upon trust of some change of fortune by the death of his father, for that the son was much giuen (as was reported) to incline his eare to lewd counsell, not without the great griefe of his people, and namelie of the lords and chiefe nobles of his realme.

Shortly

A craftie dissimulating priuate.

The rising of the Dowglassies to honor.

The death of king Edward Longshanks.

The cruelty of king Edward as is noted by the Scottish writers.

Edward of Carnarvan, sonne to Edward Longshanks.

Honour to king Edward of Carnarvan

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castell of
Carrike.

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Shozlie after this, the said Edward of Carnarvan returned into England, and in the meane time John Cummin erle of Buchquhane gathered a mightie armie, both of Scots and Englishmen to resist against king Robert, that he might thereby declare his faithfull affection toward the new English king. He trusted onelie with multitude of people to cause his enemies to giue place: but king Robert though he was holden with a sore sicknesse at that time, yet he assembled a power, and caused himselfe in a hostelitter to be caried forth with the same against his enemies, who abiding him at a streight, supposed it had bin an easie matter for them to be put to flight: but it chanced quite contrarie to their expectation, for in the end the Cummin with his whole armie was discomfited, and a great number of king Roberts aduersaries slaine or taken. This victorie was gotten at a village called Cnuerrour, ten miles distant from Aberdeen, on the Ascension daie, where with king Robert was so much refreshed in contentation of mind, that he was suddenlie ther vpon restored to his former health, hauing at that time also taken the castell of Aberdeen, which he vtterlie destroyed, and caused to be leuelled with the ground, to the end his enemies might haue no more refuge thereby.

John Cummin
discomfited by
king Robert
at Cnuerrour
1308.
Fr. Thin.

Donald of the
Fles discom-
fited by Ed-
ward Bruce.

Argile sub-
dued by king
Robert.
This was in
1309, as Iohn
Ma. saith.

R. Edward
commeth into
Scotland,
Anno 1310 as
should seeme
by Io. Maior.

A soze dearth.

1311.
Castels reco-
uered by king
Robert.

King Robert
inuaeth
England.

1312. Io. Ma.
The towne of
Perth reco-
uered, other-
wise called
St. Johns
towne.

Castels won.

In the same yere Donald of the Fles came with a great armie of Englishmen and Scots against R. Robert, and was on the feast day of the apostles Peter and Paule discomfited by Edward Bruce the kings brother, at the water of Deir. At this battell was a right valiant knight named Rowland, slaine of the English part, with a great number of other about him, and Donald himselfe was taken prisoner. Thus king Robert through fauour of prosperous fortune, obtaining the victorie in sundrie conflicts, came with an armie into Argile, and not onelie subdued the countrie to his obeisance, but also toke Alexander lord of Argile out of a strong castell in that countrie, and banished him with all his friends into England, where shozlie after he decessed. In the yere next following, king Edward came with an armie into Scotland, where joining with an other armie of Scots that were assembled readie to aid him, he passed through the countrie into Kanfretw, and at length without atchiuing anie notable enterprize worthie the mentioning, he returned againe into England.

In the same yere, through continuall warres, there rose such dearth & scarcitie of things in Scotland, that neither corne nor other vittels could be had for monie: for the ground in manner generally through the countrie late vntilled, and beasts with all kind of cattell were diuen awaie, as booties taken by the enemies. By reason wherof the famine so increased on each side, that the people were constrained to eat hostles, and other lothsome fleshy & meats, thereby to susteine their liues. In the yere following which was after the incarnation 1311, king Robert chased the Englishmen out of all parts of Scotland, winning manie castels out of their hands, diuerse of the which he rased and consumed with fire. After this entring at sundrie times into England with his fierce armie, he brought from thence innumerable booties of cattell and other riches, afflicting the Englishmen with like slaughter and calamities, as the Scots had suffered in the yeres before, by the outrageous force and puissance of king Edward. On the eight day of Januarie next ensuing, king Robert wan by fine force the strong towne of Perth, beating and hanging all the people both English and Scottish, which were found in the same. He thereto also the walles of that towne to the ground, and filled the ditch with the rampire. The same yere the castels of Dunfreis, Aire, Lanarke, with manie other

strengths and castels were rendered vnto him, and cast to the ground.

The castell of Rokeburgh was taken by sir James Dohoglasse on Feastings euen, in the yere 1313, when they of the garison were overcome with immoderate sursetting by meats and drinks excessive taken, according as on that day the accustomed vse is. In that yere also Thomas Randall, afterwards created earle of Surrep, wan the castell of Edinburgh. In which yere also, Bruce wan the Ile of Man; Iohn Maior lib. 5. cap. 1. And the same yere Edward Bruce besieged the castell of Striueling: but the strength of the house was such, that by nature of the high crag whereon it stood, and what by fortification of mans hand beside, all his traueil and inforcement diligentlie imploied to win it, procured vaine for the time. Within this castell as capteine thereof, was a right valiant knight named sir Philip Hotwhay, a Scottish man borne, but taking part with the English men, who feared nothing the siege, for he had sufficient store of men, vittels, munition, and all maner of puruesance sufficient to defend the hold for a long season: so that finally Edward Bruce, perceiuing no meanes whereby to atchiue the enterprise, which he had rashly taken in hand, was abashed thereof: for by force he saw well enough it could not be brought to passe, and by large offers made to the capteine, if he would render the place, and become seruant to the king his brother, he could not once moue him to giue anie care thereto, insomuch as at length he sought to trie him another way forth, which in the end toke better effect than was likelie it would haue done, considering the lacke of circumspection vsed in the bargaine making: as thus.

After long siege, and (as before is said) no good done, there was a motion made betwixt him and the capteine within for a truce, which was accorded on this wise: that if the fortreffe were not succoured within twelue moneths next ensuing, it should then be rendered vnto king Robert, and in the meane time no force should be vsed against it. This composition was vntwiselie made, as most men iudge: for euerie man of anie wisdom might easilie coniecture, that king Edward hauing so long day to make his prouision, would come in support of them within the castell, and that so strongly, as would be hard for the Scots to resist him. King Robert himselfe also was sore offended with his brother for his follie helued in this behalfe: but yet he would not go about to breake the covenant accorded, for doubt to lose his brother, whose aid he might not well want.

In the meane time king Edward sent forth messengers with letters, not onelie vnto all his subjects, but also vnto all his confederats and alies, to haue men of warre taken vp and retrained to serue him in his warres against the Scots, which he intended to folow to the vtter destruction of the whole nation. There came therefore in hope of spoile, not onelie such as were appointed by commissioners of the musters, but also a great number of other that offered themselves of their owne accord to go in that iourne, namelie such as had little to liue vpon at home, and trusted to amend the matter by some good fortune in the warres abroad. The countries out of the which it is reported by the Scottish writers, that such aid came to the English, were these; Holand, Zeland, Brabant, Flanders, Picardie, Bolognois, Calcoigne, Normandie, Guian, and Burdelois. For all these at that time were either subiect to the king of England, or else in confederate league with him. There were also manie Scots that were English by deuotion, and aided king Edward at this time.

Rokeburgh
swone on
Shozlie
day.

1313.

The castell of
Edinburgh
swone.

Striueling
well besieged.

Sir Philip
Hotwhay.

Some often-
times ex-
ceeds the truth.

Edwards
humile.

Edward
thinketh him-
selfe sure of
victory.

Robert was
a Car-
melite.

Iohn Ma. hath
in his booke
of thousand
that Robert
was coming
toward the
castell.

The opinion
of expert war-
riors of king
Edwards.

Out of what
counties R.
Edward had
aid of men.

Conch-
sane by
house to
show the
Englishmen.

But the number of naturall Englishmen exceeded anie one nation beside, insomuch that the whole armie that of one and other, contained (as the same went) one hundred and fiftie thousand footmen, and almost as manie horsemen, beside carriage-men, coissers, women, and lackies, but the same herein belike (as often happeneth) did farre exceed the truth. For it is not to be thought (as Iohn Maior himselfe writeth) that he should get such a number together, not for that England it selfe is not able to set forth such a power: for as the same Maior saith, as manie men as are to be found in England of lawfull age, so manie able personages may be found there to passe for able souldiers. But either kings are not of abilitie to find so great a multitude with vittels and sufficient provision, or else they will not straine themselves thereto. Nevertheless, the whole number by all likelihood was great, for many as well strangers as Englishmen, brought their wives, their children, and whole household-meinie with them, in hope after the countie were once subdued, to have dwelling places appointed them in the same, there to inhabit: for so had king Edward promised them. By reason whereof the disorder was such, that no warlike discipline might be obserued amongst them; for men, women, and children, were all mixt together, with such clamor and noise, through the huge number of people, and diuersitie of languages, that it was a thing right strange to behold a campe so confusedlie ordered.

King Edward himselfe most proud and insolent of such incredible number, took no heed at all to the gouerning of them, supposing victorie to be alreadie in his hands; insomuch that at his coming to the borders, he took aduise with his counsell to what kind of torment and death he might put king Robert, for he had no doubt of catching him at all. He also brought with him a religious man somewhat learned belike, of the order of the Carmelites, to describe the whole manner of his conquest and victorie over the Scots: so sure he thought himselfe that all things would come to passe as he could wish or desire. This Carmelite, as may appeare in Iohn Bales booke, intituled A summarie of the writers of great Britaine, was named Robert Basson, and had the gouernance of an house in Scarburgh, of the Carmelites order, he being (as before is said) of that cote himselfe.

On the contrarie part, king Robert ordered all his doings by good & prudent aduise, and with 30000 men, right hardie and thoroughlie exercised in wars, came forth against his enemies, shewing no token of feare in the world, but boldlie pitched downe his tents in good order and warlike arae, vpon a plaine a little aboue Bannockshorne. Whether he did this for the great confidence he had in the hardinesse of his people, or for that he would shew how little he doubted the puissance of his enemies, least they should haue him in contempt, it is vncertaine. Indeed there were diuerse expert warriors amongst the Englishmen, that said (when they heard how the Scots were thus assembled to fight) that the victorie would not be had, except it were dearelie bought: the wisdom and manhood of king Robert was knowne so well amongst them, that they were assured he would not leopord himselfe in such a case, but that he knew he had such fellows about him, as would sticke to their tackle.

Moreouer the Scots by appointment of their king, to the furtherance of his hardie enterprise, had cast deepe pits and ditches in the place where it was iudged the battels should soine, and pitched sharpe stakes within the same, and after couered them ouer with greene fufes or sods, in such wise that

a few footmen might passe ouer well enough; but if a nie great number should come preassing together, or that a nie horsemen came thereupon, the sods would shinke and fall to the bottome of the trenches, with extreme perill of the men and horses, that were sure to fall vpon the stakes set there for that purpose; or else to be so inclosed, that they should not be able to get out of those pitts. By the place where king Robert was thus incamped, there runneth a great brooke or water called Bannockshorne, so named of oten-cakes called bannocks, which were vsed to be made commonlie at the mills standing on the banks of the said water. It falleth into the fourth right famous afterwards by reason of this battell fought nere to the same.

When both the armies were approached within a mile together, king Edward sent eight hundred horsemen by a secret waie, vnto the castell of Strueling, to giue notice to sir Phillip Mowbraye the capitaine, that he was come with his armie to succour him. As Robert being aduertised of their gate, & beholding them which way they took, he sent Thomas Randall with five hundred Scottish horsemen to saue the countie from spoile, who with singular manhood encountering with those Englishmen in sight of both the armies, there ensued a cruell fight betwixt them for so small a number, continuing a long space with vncertaine victorie. In the meane time sir James Douglas, breeding that his special friend the said Thomas Randall should be ouerset with multitude of the Englishmen, came to king Robert, and falling on his knees before him, required licence to go forth to the support of them that were thus fighting with their enemies: which because the king would not grant at the first, he rushed forth of the campe without licence, hauing in his companie a small band of men, but yet chosen out for the purpose, that if it were but by shewing himselfe, he might put the enemies in some feare.

Notwithstanding, when he was come nere to the place where they fought, and saw how the Scots had got the victorie with great murder of the Englishmen, he staid and went no further, least he should by his coming seeme to bereaue them the glorie of the victorie, which had wone it with so great prowesse & singular valiancie. All those in the Scottish campe were relieved, in good hope of greater successe to follow in the whole enterprise by so hapie a beginning. The Englishmen passed little thereof, but yet for that the Scots should not wane proud, and take ouer-much courage thereby, they determined to giue them battell the next morow. King Robert with great diligence caused his people to prepare themselves ready to receiue the enemies, though he was nothing able to match them in number, deuising which waie he might traue them into the ditches before prepared. He commanded through the armie that enerie man should on the next morow receiue the sacrament of the Lords bodie, through the which they might haue the better hope of victorie against the vniust invaders of their realme and countie.

On the other side, the Englishmen trusted that all things would prosper with them, euen as they could best deuise: for by one small daies labour they hoped to be lords of all Scotland, and to dispose of the lands and goods of their enemies, as should seme to them good, and most for their owne anail. But king Robert all the night before the battell took little rest, hauing great care in his mind for the surtie of his armie, one while reuoluing in his consideration this chance, and an other while that; yea and sometimes he fell to deuout contemplation, making his prayer to God and saint Phillip, whose arme as it was set and inclosed in a silver case, he supposed had bene

Bannockshorne.

The fight of Ch. Randall with 500 Scottishmen in his companie against 800 Englishmen.

The Englishmen determined to giue battell. King Robert prepared to receiue the enemies by battell.

Saint Phillip bene

E. j.

beene the same time within his tent, trusting the better fortune to follow by presence thereof. In the meane time, as he was thus making his prayers, the case suddenly opened, and clapped to againe. The kings chapleine being present, astonished therewith, went to the altar where the case stood, and finding the arme within it, he cried to the king & other that were present, how there was a great miracle wrought, confessing that he brought the emptie case to the field, and left the arme at home, least that relike should haue bene lost in the field, if anie thing chanced to the arme otherwise than well.

The king verie toisfull of this miracle, passed the remnant of the night in praier and thanksgiuing. On the morow he caused all his folks to heare diuine seruice, and to receiue the sacrament, as ouer night he had appointed. The abbat of Inchchaffrate did celebrate before the king that day, and ministered vnto him and other of the nobles, the communion, other priests being appointed to minister the same vnto the residue of the armie. After this, when seruice was ended, the king called the people to his standard, and first declared vnto them from point to point, how necessarie it was for them to shew their wanted manhood, considering that such a huge multitude of people was brought thither against them by king Edward, not of one nation or dominion, but of sundrie languages and parties, as well subiects as allies to the Englishmen, with full purpose of utterlie to extinguishe the Scottish name and memorie, and to plant themselves in their seates and homes, as in possessions utterlie voided of all the ancient and former inhabitants. To increase the fierce stomachs of the Scottishmen against the enemies, he recounted vnto them what he heard by credible report touching the menacing words and insolent brags of the same enemies, able to moue verie quiet minds vnto full indignation. Againe, to auoid feare out of their hearts, which they might conceiue by reason of the multitude of their aduersaries, he rehearsed that a number of rascals were amongst them, without anie skill of warrellike affaires, not taken by by choice and election in appointed musters, but resorting without difference together, in hope of spoile and botties, hauing not else wherbyon to liue at home in their countries.

Moreouer, if nothing else might raise their harts in hope of victorie, their iust cause sith they came in defense of their countrie against inuasions, was matter sufficient to aduance their manlie stomachs, in trust of Gods aid in that quarrell, hauing partlie assured them thereof, by notable miracles shewed in the night last passed. Hereto he added, that the greater multitude there was of the enemies, the more spoile and riches was to be got, if they attained the victorie. Finally, the more to stirre their harts to do valiantlie, he required them of one thing, which he trusted (their manhood being such) they would not thinke hard for them to achieve, and this was, that euerie of them would but dispatch one of the enemies, which if they performed, he promised them assured victorie. As for ten thousand, he knew to be amongst them of such approued souldiers, and old men of war, as he durst safelie undertake for them that they would slea two of the enemies a peece, at the least. Such manner of persuasions king Robert vsed to encourage his people.

* But Iohannes Maior, lib. 5. cap. 2. putteth speech much different from this, in the mouth of Bruce, further saing, that when this oration was ended, that the king came downe the hill, on which he stood, when he vttered these words, and bareheaded embraced all the nobilitie in his armes, and after turning himselfe to the whole armie, he reached to euerie man his

hand, in signe of amitie: but I suppose he was over-wearied before he had taken 35000 men by the hands. On the other part, king Edward caused the colonels of ech nation within his campe, to criout their retinues to remember, that if they fought valiantlie for one houre or two, they should purchase infinite riches with the whole realme of Scotland, in reward of their labour: for he desired nothing for himselfe, but the superiortie. Againe, he willed they should haue in remembrance that irrecoverable shame would follow (sith they had departed out of their countries in hope of gaine) to returne home with emptie hands, and void of victorie, not without some reproch and note of cowardise.

* Besides which (as seemeth by Iohannes Maior) king Edward clothed in his kinglie robes, is said to haue vsed these speeches to the armie. If I did not behold the open victorie, I would this day (most valiant men) make an other beginning of speech vnto you. We are in preparation & number of souldiers farre beyond these miserable Scots. Besides which, we haue abundance of brasse peeces, catapultes, bowes, and other such engins of warre, which on the contrarie part the Scots doe want. They are onelie covered with leather pilches made of bucks skins, and with clothes like vnto the wild mountaine people, for which cause our archers, before the strength of the maine battell shall come, will some subdue them. I warrant not that they haue before time subdued some of my subiects, because they did it by their accustomed deceits, and not by strength of battell. And though by chance they haue overcome (in sight) some weake compaignie of equall number vnto them, yet are they not able to resist vs; being farre more excellent in number, preparation, and order of battell. The Scot hath a weake nation fighting on his owne charge, not hauing anie chosen souldier. God hath in this field inclosed that for Bruce (nourished by my god father) to the end that he might receiue worthy punishment for his wickednesse. His three brethren were consumed by my father: wherefore it now remaineth that we apprehend (aloue) these other two wicked and waueing men, to lead them to London, there to receiue their due punishment. You had great reuenues (noble princes) giuen to you by my father, in that kingdom. Wherefore now shew your selues valiant persons, that you may againe recover the same, at this day possessed by the vnjust and vnrighfull owners. Besides which, I will further by line geometricallie measure forth all the land of Scotland, to be diuided vnto those that deserue the same, according to the merits of the men. Thus much Maior.)

But yet when they should march forward in arraie of battell towards the Scots, they might scarce be seuered from their wiues and children, which they had there in campe with them: neuertheless, at length by the sharpe calling vpon of their capteins, they were brought into order of battell, not without much adoe, by reason of the vnraie multitude. The archers were placed in wings, mingled amongst the horsemen on the sides of the wards and battels, which stood inclosed in the middell of the same wings. King Robert appointing all his battels on foot, diuided the same into three parts: the fore ward he committed to Thomas Randolph, & James Douglas, capteins of verie approued valiance, vnder whom went seven thousand of the borderers, and three thousand of the Irish Scots, other wise called Batersans or Redshanks. These no lesse fierce and forward, than the other practised and skilfull. The second ward was gouerned by Edward the kings brother, wherein were ten thousand men: but for that he was suspected of too much rashnesse, there was ioined with him

A subtil chapleine.

A matter debated betwixt the king and his chapleine, as is to be thought.

The exhortation of king Robert to his people.

The exhortation of king Edward.

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Fr. Thin. Iohannes Maior maketh Edward to speake (in his pen) thus: he lieth vnto you. We are in preparation & number of souldiers farre beyond these miserable Scots. Besides which, we haue abundance of brasse peeces, catapultes, bowes, and other such engins of warre, which on the contrarie part the Scots doe want. They are onelie covered with leather pilches made of bucks skins, and with clothes like vnto the wild mountaine people, for which cause our archers, before the strength of the maine battell shall come, will some subdue them. I warrant not that they haue before time subdued some of my subiects, because they did it by their accustomed deceits, and not by strength of battell. And though by chance they haue overcome (in sight) some weake compaignie of equall number vnto them, yet are they not able to resist vs; being farre more excellent in number, preparation, and order of battell. The Scot hath a weake nation fighting on his owne charge, not hauing anie chosen souldier. God hath in this field inclosed that for Bruce (nourished by my god father) to the end that he might receiue worthy punishment for his wickednesse. His three brethren were consumed by my father: wherefore it now remaineth that we apprehend (aloue) these other two wicked and waueing men, to lead them to London, there to receiue their due punishment. You had great reuenues (noble princes) giuen to you by my father, in that kingdom. Wherefore now shew your selues valiant persons, that you may againe recover the same, at this day possessed by the vnjust and vnrighfull owners. Besides which, I will further by line geometricallie measure forth all the land of Scotland, to be diuided vnto those that deserue the same, according to the merits of the men. Thus much Maior.)

him certeine ancient gentlemen of great sobriety and circumspection, to qualifie his haire and hot nature. The third battell, in the which were (as Iohn Maior recordeth) fiftene thousand fighting men, the king himselfe led, the being a verie cherefull countenance amongst them, so farre forth, that certie one that beheld him, conceived in his mind an assured hope of victorie to succeed.

The abbat of Inchbalkate afore said (who as before is mentioned, discribete that morning after the king) came forth before the battels, with the crucifix in his hands, bearing it aloft like a standard, admonishing them valiantlie to take in hand the defence of their countrie, and the libertie of their posteritie: for (saith he) you must not everie man fight as it were for his owne private defense, his owne house and children, but everie man for all men, and all men for everie man must fight for the libertie, life, patrie, monie, children, and tomes of all the realme: for such and so great is the dignitie of our countrie; as they which deface or spoile it, are to be punished with perpetual fier, and they which doe preserve it, are to be recompensed with an eternall crowne of glorie. And herewithall this abbat instructed them of manie things touching the love of their countrie, which nature hath so planted in all men, that for the preservation and libertie thereof, none should refuse any danger, no not the losse of life, yea though (if it were possible) that it might be manie times lost therefore. Which done, he feared not to admonish them to worship the image of Christ, which he shewed them on the crosse. Incontinentlie wherupon, the Scottish armie fell on knees before it, devoutlie commending themselves to almightie God.

The English armie beholding the Scots fall on knees, thought verelie they had yielded without stroke stricken. But when they saw them rise againe, and to come forward, they began to be somewhat doubtfull. And hereupon rushing together, at the first joining a great number of people on either side were beaten downe & slaine. The archers which were arraied on the vtter skirts of the English wings, sore annoied the Scots, till finally Edward Bruse came on their backs with a thousand speares, and brake them assunder, in such wise that they did but little more hurt that day. Albeit incontinentlie herewith a battell of horsemen to the number of thirtie thousand, came rushing together all at once in thicke, to have borne downe and overriden the Scots; but being so in their full race galloping with most violence towards them, they tumbled into the fosses and pits before mentioned, in such wise one upon another, that the most part of them was slaine, without all recoverie. Nevertheless the Scots in manner oppressed through the huge multitude of the enemies, were nere at the point to have bene vanquished. During which conflict saith Buch, this happened (which though it be a small thing to put in writing, yet was such as oftentimes it chanceth in battell, and as brought no small benefit to the persuation of their businesse) that king Robert (who continuallie rode before the battell appointed to his government) holding a mace of warre in his hand (and keeping the first order in the arraie) was espied of an Englishman that knew him verie well: and forthwith rode full against Bruse with his spere. But the king beating the stroke aside, came to his English adversarie, overthrew him by the force of his horse, in the end killed him with his mace & so left him dead. Whereupon, the common people beholding the valure of their king and capteine, did with great force by the instigation of their fierie and fierie minds (and not by the kings persuation) fall upon their enemies in such sort, that they seemed to

have had the victorie of the adversie battell of their enemies: had it not bene for the English archers, which were placed in the wings of the battell; whom Bruse (sending out certie light horsemen) did sore repulse: wherby the Scots encouraged, made their partie good; rather by hidden policie, than prepared force. For a stratagem by the Scots devised, and an error by the English therof conceived, did far more hurt to the enemy, than the power afforded in the field. For that deule in the end was the cause that the English lost the victorie, being in this sort.

The Scots which were appointed to attend the carriage, as carsters, wainemen, lackies, and the women, beholding in what danger their maisters, friends, & countremen stood, put on spirits, smocks, and other white linnen aloft upon their vsuall garments, and herewith binding towels and napkins to their speares, and to other such frames as they got in their hands, placed themselves as well as they could in arraie of battell, and so making a great moister and shew anelo, came downe the hill side in the face of their enemies, with such a terrible noise and hideous clamor, that the Englishmen fighting as then with most furie against the Scots with their certie victorie, and beholding this new rectiforce coming downe the hill upon their faces, supposing verelie it had bene some new armie, their hearts began to faint, the more in deed, so that they saw themselves vnto able to susteine the violent encounter of the Scots then present. And hereupon they began to turne their backs, and fell to running away as people clearelie vanquished: on whom the Scots followed with insatiable fire, and slew them down on all sides where they might overtake them. Sir James Douglas with foure hundred chosen horsemen, was commanded by king Robert to pursue the king of England with all speed, to trie if he might overtake him.

Douglas (according to his charge) followed him in chase to Dunbar, & casting betwixt that and the borders, late in wait to have taken him, if he had returned by land; but he being received into the castle of Dunbar by Patrike Dunbar erle of March, with fiftene earles in his companie, was by the same erle of March conveyed into certie vessels, lieng there at anchor, with the which he passed alongst by the shore into England, to shew an example of the trustable state of princes: for though this Edward was that day in the morning right proud of the great puissance and number of people which he had about him, not unlike sometime to the great armie of king Herres yet he was constrained before the evening of the same day, to save his life in a poore fishers boat. In this battell were slaine fiftie thousand Englishmen (as the Scottish writers assester) amongst whom was the erle of Gloucester, with two hundred knights. On the Scottish part were slaine about foure thousand, and amongst other two valiant knights, sir William Telpount, and sir Walter Kesse. The spoile was so great of gold, silver, and other jewels gotten in the field, that the whole number of the Scottish armie was made rich thereby: and besides this, they got little lesse monie and riches by ransoming of prisoners taken at this battell, than of spoile gotten in the fight, campe, and field. But the death of sir Giles Argentine, that died amongst other in this most fall battell, was so displeasing to king Robert, for the familiaritie which he had sometimes with him at England, that he reioiced little of all the gains got by so famous a victorie. He caused his body to be buried right honorable in saint Patricks church beside Edinburgh. The quene king Roberts wife, who had bene kept in

The English mens hearts began to faint.

The English men put to flight.

King Edward escaped.

The trustable state of princes.

The number of Scots slaine.

Sir Giles Argentine slaine.

The queene
king Roberts
wife restored
to his husband

in captiuitie the space of 8 yeares, was in England
now, delivered by exchange for one of the nobles
of England, which was taken at this battell. The rich
clothes of silke, velvet, and gold, which were found
in the English campe, were distributed to the ab-
beies and monasteries of the realme, to make there
of vestments, copes, and frontals for altars. The
Carmelite sister, of whome ye heard before, brought
further by king Edward to, describe the victorie of
the Englishmen, was taken prisoner amongst o-
ther, and commanded by king Robert to write con-
trailie the victorie of the Scots, according as he had
sene: who thereupon gathered his rustie wits toge-
ther, & made certaine rude verses beginning thus.

Merles made
by Robert
Balfour the
Carmelite.

De planctu cudo metrum carmine nudo,
Risum retrudo cum tali themate ludo,
With barren verse this rime I make,
Bewailing whilest such theme I take.

There be some that haue iudged, how this victorie
was attained by the singular fauour of almightie
God, by reason of miracles which they rehearse to
happen at the same time. The night before the day
of the battell, there came to the abbete of Glasen-
burie two men in complet armour, desiring to
lodge there all night: the abbat keeping an house of
great hospitalitie, receiued them right gladlie, and
making them good cheare, demanded what they
were, and whither they were going: who answered
that they were the seruants of God, and going to
helpe the Scots at Bannockburne. On the morrow
the chamberlaine found them departed before anie
of the gates were opened, & the beds faire made, and
not stirred otherwise than as they left them ouer
night. The same day that the battell was foughten,
a knight clad in faire bright armour, declared to the
people at Aberdeen, how the Scots had gotten a
famous victorie against the Englishmen, and was
sene shortly after to passe ouer Dialand firth on
horsebacke. It was supposed by the people that this
was saint Magnus, sometime prince of Orkney,
and for that cause king Robert endowed the church
of Orkney with five poundes sterling of the cu-
stomes of Aberdeen, to furnish the same church with
bread, wine, and wax.

Robert Fle-
ming rewar-
ded for his
faithfull ser-
uice.

Manie noble men for their approued manhood
shewed in this conflict, were highlie rewarded at
the hands of king Robert. One Robert Fleming,
by whose means he reuenged the treason wrought a-
gainst him by John Cumyn, with slaughter of the
same John, had the lands of Cumnerald giuen
him, which were of the inheritance belonging to the
said Cumyn. It is reported by writers, that two
knights of Brabant that serued amongst the Eng-
lishmen, chanced to heare manie reprochfull words
spoken in the English campe against king Robert,
who being somewhat moued therewith, and mis-
king such dismeasured talke, wished in words that
the victorie might chance vnto him. For the which
with li. Edward informed thereof, caused them by
a trumpet to be conueied vnto the Scottish campe,
with commandement to aid king Robert to the ut-
termost of their powers, purposing to punish them
according to his mind, if he attained the victorie, as
he had no doubt but he should. Whereupon, before
the joining of the battels, he caused proclamation
to be made, that whosoever brought their heads vnto
him, should haue an hundred marks in reward.

A proclama-
tion.

The Scottish
house in An-
tuerpe build-
ed.

King Robert hearing in what danger they had
run for his sake, rewarded them with great riches
of the spoile got in the field, with the which they re-
turning into Brabant, built a goodlie house in An-
tuerpe, naming the same Scotland, and causing
the Scottish armes, and the picture of Bruce to be
set vp in the same, appointed it for a lodging to re-

ceiue for men of the Scottish nation that should reco-
me into that towne, as may appeare even vnto this
day. And this was done for a memoriall, to shew
that loue and hartie benenolence these two knights
bare towards king Robert and his people, for the
great liberalitie receiued at his hands. This glori-
ous victorie chanced to the Scots on the day of the
natiuitie of saint John Baptist, in the yeare 1314.

About this time for the varietie of fortune (in so
small a course of yeares) happened a thing not be-
lieueth the reporting. For John Wentith, which
before betrayed his deere friend Wallace to the Eng-
lish, being therefore (as of right he ought) extreme-
lie hated of the Scots, was (in recompense thereof
beside manie other rewards) benefited with the gar-
dianship of the castle of Dunbarton: which fort (after
all the other castles before said) were recovered to the
Scots) was almost the onlie thing (except some few
others) that remained in the hands of the English;
and because this fort was by nature inerpugnable,
king Robert dealt with the capteine (by such as
were friends and of kinred vnto him) to betraye the
castle into his hands, promising great recompense
therefore. Wherevnto this Wentith by no means
would agree, unless li. Robert would giue to him the
earledome of Lennox for his reward. Whereupon
the king being greatlie in doubt what to say therein,
(though in deed he vehementlie longed for the said
castle) because he did not thinke the obtaining there-
of to be of such good vnto him, as that he would
therefore offend or lose the earle of Lennox; who had
in all his calamities bene the most certeine, and al-
most the onlie friend of the king: which doubt, when
the earle vnderstood, he forthwith came vnto him,
willing him in no wise to refuse the condition; wher-
upon the bargaine was concluded betwene John
Wentith and the king, and that in such sort, as it was
most solemnely confirmed.

Now, when the king should come to recouie this
castle (according to compositions) as he was in the
wood Colchon, a mile distant from the same, a cer-
teine carpenter called Kololand came thither secre-
tly vnto him, & desired licence that he might speake
to the king, for he would discouer a great matter
touching a treason that was deuised and prepared a-
gainst him, by the capteine of Dunbarton. Which
pardon obtained, he opened vnto Bruce, that be-
low in the wine-cellar of the castle, were a number
of English inclosed, which at dinner should either
take or kill the king (being then safe) after that he
had obtained the castle. Whereupon the king no-
thing abashed, but keeping on his former determi-
nation, & being (according to appointment) receiued
by the said John Wentith in the castle of Dunbar-
ton: after that he had searched all other places, and
was courteously invited to sit downe to dinner;
answered that he would not eate, untill he had lo-
ked into the cellar below. Wherevnto for excuse,
and to defer the time, the capteine answered that the
smith was absent and caried the key alway with him.
But the king not waiting for the coming of the
smith, did incontinentlie breake open the cellar
dore, whereby all the deceit appeared. After which,
the armed men were brought forth before the king,
who being severally examined, confessed the whole
matter; and further, that there was a ship readie in
the haven to haue caried the li. prisoner into Eng-
land, if they had taken him alive. Whereupon the
rest being punished, John Wentith was onlie cast
into prison, & reserved from further paine: because
the king would not offend his friends & kinred in so
dangerous a time as that was. For this Wentith
had manie beautifull daughters married to men of
great power & riches. After which imprisonment of this

1314.
The crowne
of Scotland
mailed.
Margerie the
daughter of
king Rob-
ert by his
first wife.

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan.

John Wen-
tith made
captaine of
Dunbarton
castle.

The second
marriage of
king Robert.

The issue of
king Robert
by his second
wife.

Liberties by
king Robert.

Englishmen
inclosed in
cellar to kill
king Robert
after his re-
turne into
Dunbarton
castle.

1315.

The lords of
Ireland re-
surre and of
king Robert.

Walter.

Edward
Bruce pro-
claimed king
of Ireland.

The English
men possesse
little in the
pope's com-
mande-
ment.

this p^rinth was by mediation of such as greatlie fauored him, restored to the fauor of Bruce, vnder whome he did after serue most faithfullie.

In mediaticke after, king Robert called a parlement at Aire, where, by consent of the thre states he was confirmed king, and the crowne intailed to the heires male of his bodie lawfullie begotten, and for want of such heires, to remaine vnto his brother Edward Bruce, and to the heires male of his bodie; and if he chanced to die without such heires, then should the crowne descend to Margerie the daughter of king Robert, and to the heires generall of hir bodie by lawfull succession. In which parlement it was further decreed, that if the king were in his minority, he should then be gouerned by Thomas Randolph, and if anie misfortune chanced vnto the said Randolph, that then the gouernement of the kings person and kingdome should be committed to James Douglas.

This Margerie was gotten by king Robert on the earle of Mar his sister, his first wife, and was married by the aduise of his nobles vnto Walter great Steward of Scotland. Also king Robert, for that his first wife aforesaid was deceased, married shortly after Elizabeth the daughter of the earle of Ulster, on whome he got a sonne named David, and two daughters, the one named Margaret, and the other Maule. The first was married to the earle of Sutherland, and bare him a sonne named John: the second departed this world in hir infancy. After the marriage solemnized betwixt his daughter Margerie, and the foresaid Walter Steward, king Robert went through all the bounds of his realme, and did not onelie confirme the ancient liberties and priuileges of the burrowes and towne in all places where he came, but also augmented the same, and granted vnto diuerse, as well towne as baronies, sundrie new prerogatiues and franchises, as may appeare by his charters made vnto them of the same, speciallie to the towne of Perth, Dundee, and Aberdeen.

In the yeare folloving, which was in the yeare 1315, the princes of Ireland oppressed (as they toke it) with long and insufferable tyrannie of the Englishmen, and trusting by support of Scots to recover their libertie, now after so notable an overthrow of the whole English puissance, sent ambassadors vnto king Robert, requiring that it might please him to send his brother Edward Bruce, to receiue the crowne and gouernement of their countrie of Ireland. This request being granted, Edward prepared to take that iourne in hand, and so with a small power of Scottishmen transporting ouer into Ireland, and joining with an armie of such as were readie to assist him there, he toke the citie of Ulster, and due a great number of Englishmen which were found in the same. Then afterwards, by the generall consent of all the estates of Ireland, Edward Bruce was proclaimed king of that realme, and certeine of the Irish nobilitie sent ambassadors vnto the pope, to sue for a ratification of their act and proceedings, for the suertie and weale of their countrie, sith they were not able longer to susteine the greivous yoke of the English thraldome. These ambassadors, through their earnest diligence, got such fauor in their sute, that the pope sundrie times charged the Englishmen to auoid out of Ireland: howbeit, they seemed to passe little of his commandments in that behalfe, for they daile sought how to make themselves strong in that part: least they should lose the possession of that countrie, which their enemies were about to get forth of their hands.

King Robert, being informed how through the reinforcement of the English armie, being daile re-

freshed with new succors, his brother was like to run in danger to be cast away, he left sir James Douglas gouerno: in Scotland, with a competent number of men to defend the borders, and he himselfe with a great power of other souldiers and men of war went ouer into Ireland, to support his brother: but suffering great distresse at his first comming thither, for want of vittels & other provisions, he lost almost the one halfe of his folks through verie famine & hunger, & the residue were constrained to eate horses and other such lothsome meates, therewith to susteine their languishing liues. At length being approached within a daies iourne of his brother, in purpose to haue supported him with those people which he had left, his brother not abiding his comming, fought vntwifellie with the Englishmen at a place called Dundach, and receiuing the overthrow, was slaine himselfe with a great number of other. It is uncerteine whether he had anie knowledge of the comming of his brother king Robert, or that through desire of fame he feared least if he staied till his brother came, a great part of the praise (if they got the victorie) should remaine to him: and therefore he made such hast to fight. But howsoeuer it was, thus he was slaine on the fourteenth of October, in the yeare 1317.

Edward king of England, hearing that king Robert was passed ouer into Ireland, thought the time to serue well for his purpose, effioness to invade Scotland: and hereupon comming with a great power to the borders, he purposed to haue done some great feat. But sir James Douglas the gouerno: hauing likewise gathered an armie, gaue him battell, and put both him & his people to flight. In this battell were slaine thre notable captaine on the English side: as sir Edmund Lilaw a Gascoigne captaine of Berwik, with sir James Peuill, and the thirde sir James Douglas slue with his owne hands. King Edward perceiuing it was not like that he should doe anie good at that time against the Scots by land, thought it best to assaile them by sea, which way forth the Englishmen commonly were euer too good for the Scots. He rigged therefore a fleet of ships, and sent the same into the Forth, which burned the countrie on each side, and toke manie rich booties from the inhabitants nere to the shore.

Duncane earle of Fife, hearing of these cruelties done by the Englishmen, came forth with five hundred hardie souldiers, to defend the countrie from such inuasions: but when he perceived that the enemies were of greater number than he was able well to encounter, hauing but an handful of men in comparison to them, he gaue somewhat backe, and in the meane time met with William Sinclair bishop of Dunkeld, hauing about thre score armed men in his compaignie, who blaming the earle for his faintnesse of courage, caused him to set forward againe towards the enemies, & finding them busie in spoiling & harrieng the countrie, they gaue an onfet vpon them so fiercelie, that there was slaine at the first encounter to the number of five hundred of the Englishmen, and the residue chased to their booties lying at Dunbrissell, which they entered in such haste, that one of the booties being pestered with ouer great number of haikes with them before they could get to their ships. King Robert euer after customablie called this William Sinclair his owne bishop, for the noble prowess which he shewed in this enterprise.

In the same yeare Robert Steward the sonne of Walter Steward and Margerie Bruce was borne, which Robert after the death of King David le Bruce was preferred to the crowne. After this, Thomas Randall earle of Murray, the second day of April recovered

See more hereof in Ireland.

King Robert passed oner into Ireland.

Edward Bruce is slaine in Ireland.

See more of this matter in Ireland.

Edward sendeth a nauie into Scotland.

Englishmen discomfited.

William Sinclair called King Roberts bishop.

Robert Steward borne.

1318.

but yet he dissembled for the time, and commended them for their noble hearts and valiant stomachs: neuertheless, he purposed to be reuenged of their proud presumptions, when moze opportunitie of time serued thereto. Sundrie of the nobles perceiuing that the king bare an inward grudge towards them for this matter, deuised amongst themselves how to deliuer him into king Edwards hands, so to auoid all danger that might follow of his displeasure conceiued thus against them. For the accomplishment of this their treasonable practise, they made a bond in writing, confirmed with their hands and seales betwixt them, & minded to send the same into England vnto king Edward. But king Robert hauing some inkling of this their purpose, caused diligent watch to be laid by the way for such as should passe into England from them with the said bond, inasmuch that in the end a palmer or pilgrime was apprehended which had the bond, and other writings inclosed within his pilgrims staffe.

King Robert vnderstanding by these writings all the manner of the treason, and what they were that had consented to the same, hastily sent for the whole number of them, as though there had bene some matter in hand wherein he wished to haue their aduise. They were no sooner come, but straightwaies calling them before him, he questioned with them whether they knew their owne hands and seales, and immediatlie therewith shewed the writings, which were found in the palmers staffe: and because they could not denie their owne act, they were committed to ward within sundrie castles, till he had taken further aduise in the matter. Incontinentlie after, he went to Berwik, and there arrested the capteine of the towne, named sir William Soules, and caused him to be conueied to Berth (committing the said William Soules (as saith Io. Maior) with the countesse of Straherne, to perpetuall prison) where shortly after he called an assemble of all the estates of the realme. This was called the blacke parlement, kept in the yere after the incarnation of our Saviour 1320. In this parlement, at the beginning thereof, was David Abernethie, the sisters sonne of king Robert, accused as partie to the treason aforesaid, though being laboured vnto by the rest of the conspirators to ioine with them therein, he refused so to do, but yet for that he did not utter the thing, but concealed it with them, he was condemned & lost his head, the people sore lamenting his mishap, for the great balliance which was knowne to be in him, hauing serued honorable manie yeres before against the Saracens, and other miscreants in the parties of beyond the seas, where he was called the flower of chivalrie.

In deed the king himselfe would gladlie haue saued his life, but for that he minded to doe iustice on the residue, and finding no man to make sute for him, he permitted the execution. to proceed against him. On the morrow after, he caused all the residue of the traitors to be brought forth to iudgement, and sentence being giuen against them, he commanded without delate that they should be executed. Then came diuerse and sundrie persons in most humble wise to make sute for pardon to the king for their friends and kinsmen: but he made them plain answer, that there was none to be found that would make intercession for the saving of his kinsmans life the day before, when he was led to execution, that had offended nothing so grieuouslie, in comparison of them for whom they now made sute, and therfore he had them be contented, for they should assuredlie haue according to that which they had deserued. And therewith were the officers commanded to make had with the execution, which was done incontinent-

lie without any further respite.

There were some that were accused to be partakers in this treason, but yet for that no euident proofes could be produced against them, they were dismissed, as Walter Martwell, with Walter Berclate prioste of Aberdene, Patrike Crain, Hameline Reidzinton, and Eustace Kathpe, knights; besides eight others. But yet the countesse of Straherne & William de Soules were condemned to perpetuall prison. The earle of Buchananes lands, who suffered at that present, were diuided into two parts, the one being giuen to William Haie that was made constable of the realme in place of John Quincie, who like wise suffered at the same time; and the other part was giuen vnto William Keth, together with the office of the stewardship of the realme. About the same time the king of England by complaint made to the pope, purchased that a legat was sent from the see apostolike into Scotland, to admonish king Robert to cease from further disquieting the realme of England, by such cruell inuasions, as were furnished that he wrongfullie exercised against the same realme. But answer was made herevnto by the king, and other the nobles of the realme of Scotland, that all the world might well vnderstand that the whole occasion of all the trouble which had chanced betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, did onelie proceed of the couetous desire in the Englishmen, seeking to conquer that realme without any iust claime or title: and therefore they thought it reason first to suppress the lottie stomachs of the Englishmen; and then if there were any thing worthy to be reformed on their behalfe, they would be contented to stand vnto the order of the popes authoritie therein. Thus was the legat dispatched home, without other effect of his errand [sauiug (as saith Buchanan) he cursed and interdicted the Scots and Scotland.]

Shortly after, king Robert entered with an armie into England, and waisted the countrie before him, till he came to the recrosse, which standeth vpon Stanemore. Wherewith it should seeme by that which Richard Southwell writteth hereof, that king Robert was not present himselfe in person in this iourne, but that he appointed the earle of Pirrey to be his lieutenant, who with an armie, after the feast of the Epiphanie entered into England, and coming to Darington, staid there for a season, whilst the lord James Douglas, and the lord Stewart of Scotland went abroad to harrie and spoile the countrie on each side, the one of them passing forth towards Hatfieldpole and Chelmsford, and the other towards Richmond. The inhabitants of Richmondschire, hauing no capteine amongstest them to defend their countrie from that grieuous inuasion of the enemy, gaue a great summe of monie in like manner, as at other times they had done, to haue their countrie spared from fier and spoile.

The Scots taried at this time about 15 daies within England, and in the end returned without battell. For when the knights of the north countries repaired vnto the duke of Lancaster then lieng at Bomfret, and offered to go into the field with him against the Scots, he would not once stirre his foot, by reason of the discord that was depending betwixt him and king Edward: but howsoeuer the matter went, king Edward sore grieued in his mind with such inuasion made by his enemies the Scots, he gaue order to leaue an armie of an hundred thousand men, what in horsebacke and on foot (as the report went) appointing them to be readie to enter into Scotland at Lancasters next: whereof king Robert being aduertised, went to prevent him, and there vpon in the countie of the Batistie of Saint John Baptist,

A legat sent from Rome to the Scots.

The answer made to the legat.

Fr. Thin.

King Robert with an armie into Scotland.

Ri. Southwell. 1321.

The bishopricke of Durham burnt by the Scots.

Richmondschire redeemed from spoile with a summe of monie.

The duke of Lancasters dissolute.

King Robert inuadeth England.

The abbey of
Holme burnt.

Fourneis ab-
bele.

Leuin sands.

The towne of
Lancaster
burnt.

Preston in
Anderneis
burnt.

R. Edward
raifeth an ar-
mie.

He entered
Scotland.

The abbeies
of Melrose
or Melrose
& Durburgh
burnt.
King Robert
inuaeth the
north parts of
England, ap-
proching al-
most to York.

R. Edward is
put to flight.

The earle of
Richmond is
taken.

1323.

Ri. Southwell.
Ri. vale abbey.

Yorkeswald
washed by
Scots.

Baptist, he entered into England with an armie
raide to Carlisle, and burnt a manor place that some-
time belonged to him at Rosse, and Allerdale, and
spoiled the monasterie of Holme, notwithstanding
his fathers corpes was there interred.

From thence he marched forward, destroing and
spoiling the countrie of Copland, and so keeping up
on his iourne, passed Doden sands, towards the ab-
bele of Fourneis: but the abbat meeting him on the
waie, redeemed his lands from spoile, and brought
king Robert to his house, and made to him great
chere: but yet the Scots could not hold their hands
from burning and spoiling diuerse places; And mar-
ching forward vnto Cartmelle beyond Leuin sands,
burnt and spoiled all the countrie about, except a pri-
orie of blacke canons which stood there. Passing from
thence they came to Lancaster, which towne they al-
so burnt, saue onelie the priorie of blacke monks,
and a house of preaching friers. Here came to them
the earle of Murray, and the lord James Dowglas
with an other armie, whereupon marching further
southwards, they came to Preston in Anderneis,
and burnt that towne also, the house of friers in-
moors onelie excepted.

And thus being foure score miles within Eng-
land from their owne borders, they returned home-
wards with all their prisoners, cattell, and other bo-
ties which they had got in that iourne, comming to
Carlisle on the eue of saint Margaret, and lodging
about that towne the space of five daies, they wasted
and destroyed the corne, & all other things that came
within their reach. Which done, on saint James e-
uen they entered into Scotland againe, having bene
within England at this time three weekes and three
daies. Immediatlie hereupon, to wit, about the
feast of Lammias, king Edward with his armie
came to Newcastle, and desirous to be reuenged of
such iniuries done to his subjects, entered into Scot-
land, and passing forth till he came to Edinburgh,
through want of vittels and other necessarie prouisi-
on, he was constrained to returne home within the
space of 15 daies. For king Robert aduertised of
his comming, had caused all the corne and cattell in
the countrie to be conueyed out of the waie into cer-
teine foris, whereunto the Englishmen might not
come to get it into their hands, & so to relieue them-
selues therewith. But in their returning homeward,
somewhat to reuenge their displeasures, they spoiled
and burnt the abbeies of Melrose, and Durburgh,
with diuerse other religious houses and places, & not
sparing anie kind of crueltie against all those of the
inhabitants that fell into their hands.

In reuenge hereof, king Robert shortly after en-
tered with a puissant armie into England, spoiling
& wasting the countrie, till he came almost to York.
At length, hearing that king Edward was com-
ming towards him with an armie, he chose a plot of
ground betwixt the abbey of Wiland and saint Sa-
uoloch, there to abide battell; which king Edward re-
fused not to geue, though in the end he was put to
flight with his whole power, and chased with great
slaughter both of Englishmen and Irishmen, which
were there in his aid. Diuerse also of the nobilitie
were taken prisoners, as John de Britaine earle of
Richmond, and Henrie Solle, with others. This
battell was fought in the yeere of our Saviour 1323,
15 daies after the feast of saint Michell the archan-
gell. King Edward being the same time at the abbey
of Wale, aduertised of this overthrow, fled and got
him into Porke, leaving his plate and much other
stuffe behind him for want of cariage in that his sud-
den departure, which the Scots comming thither
found, and took away with them. And from thence
they passed forth into Porke woods, spoiling and wa-

king the countie men vnto Beuerleie, which to some
for a summe of monie they were contented to spare,
and so then they returned homeward, entering a-
gaine into Scotland on All soules day, which is the
second of Nouember, after they had remained with
in England at that time the space of a moneth and
foure daies.

Shortly after, king Robert sent an ambassadoe to
the French king [to pacifie him offended with them
for the English] and to renew the ancient bond of a-
mitie betwixt the two realmes of Scotland and
France, which was accomplished with this new con-
dition added to the former articles, that if it chanced
that succession failed touching the inheritance of the
croune of either realme, so that a doubt should rise,
who ought by right to inioy the same, the claime and
title thereof should be tried and decided by the nobles
of both the realmes; and further, that they should not
onelie remoue and exclude all such as went about
wongfullie to vsurpe the croune, but also to defend
and mainteine the true inheritor to the uttermost of
their powers. In confirmation of this couenant, both
the kings received the sacrament. And for further
ratifying of it, they made a prouiso, that whereas
(then) they had the popes consent hereto, neither he,
nor anie of his successors hereafter should dispense
with them for the breaking of that bond; and if they
did, euerie such dispensation should be reputed void
and of none effect.

In this yeere 1323 (as Richard Southwell re-
porth) about the Ascension day, came commissioners
from the two kings of England and Scotland, vnto
Newcastle, there to treat of some agreement of
peace. For the king of England came Auerie de
Valence earle of Denbroke, the lord Hugh Spen-
ser the younger, and foure other persons sufficientlie
authorized. And for the king of Scots came the bi-
shop of saint Andrews, Thomas Randall earle of
Murray, and foure other persons likewise of god
calling. After much talke, in the end they agreed vpon
a truce to indure for 13 yeeres, which was procla-
med in both realmes about the feast of saint Bar-
nabas next ensuing. About this time also, or not long be-
fore, an Englishman descended of noble linage, cal-
led Hamton, chanced for speaking certeine words in
commendation of king Robert, to fall at variance
with one of king Edwards priue chamber, named
John Spenser; insomuch that fighting together a-
bout the same words, Hamtons hap was to slea this
Spenser, & thereupon knowing there was no waie
but death, if he should hap to be caught, he fled with
all speed into Scotland, where he was receiued of the
king in most friendlie wise, and had giuen to him
for the maintenance of his estate like a gentleman,
the lands of Cadzow [which (as saith Buchanan) he
called by the name of Hamilton.]

The posteritie of this Hamton remaineth in Scot-
land vnto this day, increased so in kindred and honor,
by reason it was in processe of time mingled with
the kings blood, that few linages in that realme
are of like estimation. They are now called Ha-
millons, somewhat changed from the name of their
first beginner. [Donald earle of Marre, was made
by king Edward the second gardian or capitaine of
the castell of Wiffow in England, the which he kept
untill the coming of queene Isabell againe hir
husband Edward the second, at what time he deliue-
red the same into the hands of the said queene, and re-
turned into Scotland.]

In the meane time, Edward king of England be-
ing called altogether by two of the Spensters, as
Hugh the father and Hugh the sonne, ran so farre in-
to the hatred of his people, as well the nobles as
commoners, that in the end he was deposed of all
kinglie

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.

The bond of
amitie between
Scotland and
France re-
newed with
new articles.

3 prouiso.

Ri. Southwell.

Hamton an
Englishman
of whom the
Hamiltons
are descended.

Fr. Thin.

The Ham-
tons mingled
with the
kings blood.

Fr. Thin.
1323.
Scala chron.

R. Edward
deposed.

his son Ed-
ward the third
crowned.

1326.
Ri. Southwell.
The collect of
Hamton.

James Dow-
glas sent into
France to the
Baili.

The resigna-
tion of the
Baili to
king Robert.

Parliament
at Cambus-
kenneth.
In act for the
cession of the
croune.

The rule of
things com-
mitted to
Thomas

kinglie authoritie, committed to prison, and in fine secretlie murthered, as in the English historie moze plainelie appereth.

His sonne Edward the third was placed in his come, and crowned the 26 day of Januarie, in the yere 1326. In the night of the same day in which he received the crowne, the Scots went to haue stolne the castell of Roxham by scaling, and they went so cunninglie about their purpose, that they were to the number of 16 of them got aloft on the wals: but the capteine of this castle Robert Baners being warned aforehand of their coming by one of his souldiers that was a Scottishman bozne, suddenlie assailed them, slue nine or ten of them, and toke five prisoners alive, but sore wounded, so as this misfortune falling to them in the beginning of king Edward the third his reigne, might haue bene a forwarning of their losses to follow in the daies of his gouernement.

Whilste these things were a doing in England, king Robert though he might seeke to haue title iust enough to the crowne of Scotland, which he had possessed now not onlie by rightfull conquest, but also by lawfull interest of inheritance for a certeine number of yeres, by consent of all the estates of the realme; yet to the end to put atwaie all doubts, and to conclude the succession of the Ballioll from all claime, which hereafter they might pretend to the crowne of Scotland, he sent sir James Dowglas into France vnto the lord John Ballioll, to require him to transpore and resigne all the challenge of right and interest which he might seme to haue to the crowne of Scotland, as well for himselfe as his heires & successors for ever, to king Robert le Bruce, and his heires. In consideration of which resignation, he offered faire lands and rents to him to be appointed forth in Scotland.

The Ballioll being now soze woynie with age, and thereto blind of bodilie sight, lightlie consented vnto this motion, considering (as he said) he toke it to be the ordinance of almightie God, that king Robert should inioy the gouernement of the Scottish kingdom, as most worthy and able thereto, hauing deliuered the same, and defended it most valiantlie from the hands of most cruell enemies. He called therefore his friends and kinsmen together, in the presence of whome he wholie resigned vnto king Robert and his heires, all the right and title which he or anie other for him either had, or hereafter might haue to the crowne of Scotland, concerning anie interest or claime which might be auouched for anie cause or consideration, from the beginning of the world vnto that present day. After the returne of sir James Dowglas forth of France, with so good expedition and dispatch of that businesse wherabout he was sent, king Robert verie iollfull thereof, assembled a parlement of the nobles and other estates of the realme at Cambuskenneth, where he procured a new act to be established touching the succession of the crowne, which was, that if his sonne David deceased without heires of his bodie lawfullie begotten, that then Robert Stewart begotten on Margerie Bruce his daughter, should succeed in possession of the crowne. All the lords at the same time were sworne to mainteine this ordinance.

In the meane while, king Edward the third sent vnto king Robert for peace, but forsomuch as it was perceiued to be but a coloured pretense, no conclusion thereof insupd, but preparation made on either part for wars. King Robert shortly after fell sicke, by reason whereof, being not able to ride abroad, nor to traueil himselfe, he committed the administration of all things touching the common-wealth, and other the affaires of the realme vnto Thomas Randall,

earle of Murray, and to the lord James Dowglas, two capteins, for their high prowesse and noble valancie in those daies greatlie renowned. These two hardie chieftains assembling an armie of twentie thousand men, or (as some writers haue) 25 thousand, entered with the same into Northumberland, waiking & spoiling the countrie on ech side. [And in countreing with an assemblie of the English at Darlington, there slue manye of them, and put the rest to flight.] Against whome came king Edward with an armie of an hundred thousand men: of the which number there were (as Froissard saith) eight thousand horsemen, and 24 thousand archers. At their coming into Northumberland, they might well perceiue by the smoke of the fiers, which the Scots made in burning of villages, houses, and towne, where the enemies were: but yet because they taried not long in a place, but passed on without sojournng here or there, the Englishmen might not come nere to fight with them.

King Edward therefore was counselled to draw towards Scotland, that lieng betwixt them and home, he might haue them at some aduantage as they should returne, which was thought should be shortly, as well for lacke of vittels, as also to defend their owne borders, when they heard once that the English armie drew that waies south. But coming to the riuer of Tyne, through abundance of raine (latelie fallen) the streame was so risen, that neither horse nor man might passe, so that the armie was constrained to incampe there for the space of thre daies, in great scarcitie of vittels, till they were faine to send vnto Newcastle (which was distant from thence 26 miles) and to Carlisle (which was about 22. miles thence) for prouision, which was sent them from those places in great plentie. In the meane time were thus certeine light horsemen sent abroad into the countrie, to vnderstand where the Scots were, and to view their doings. [Upon proclamation before made by the king (that who so could bring him word where the Scots were harbored, should haue a hundred pounds of yerelie reuenues in recompense for the same; Thomas Rokebeire after diligent search, brought word to the king thereof:)] for those which were sent, finding where the Scots were incamped, vpon the top of a mounteine, not past fife miles from the English campe, returned backe to king Edward, and declared what they had seene and learned of the enemies doings.

King Edward right iollfull of the newes, causeth his armie to be diuided into thre battels, and forthwith marcheth on towards the place where his enemies late. And coming about none daies within sight of the Scots, he perceiued at length that the place which they kept was so strong, that with the height of the ground, & thereto defended on the one side with the course of a riuer, that by no means they might be assailed without great and manifest danger. The Englishmen in the end thought it best to chuse forth a place to incampe in for that night, and so doing, sent an herald at armes vnto the Scots, requiring them to come downe vnto some euen ground where battell might be giuen; but the Scots refused so to do, alledging that sith the Englishmen were thre to one in number, it was no reason to will them to forsake their ground of aduantage which they had taken and chosen forth for their owne defense.

Thus were they incamped nere togither either in sight of other for the space of thre nights, euerie day shewing themselves in order of battell, without breaking their arraie, except certeine of the horsemen, which on either part now and then came forth and

Randall and to James Dowglas.

They made Northumberland.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

1327.

King Edward the third commeth with an armie against them.

Fr. Thin.

The Scots are incamped on a hill.

The English men sent to the Scots.

The answer of the Scots.

The Scots
dislodge.

The English
armie raised.

An enterprise
exploited by
sir James
Dowglas.

The Scots
secretly re-
turne home to
their countrie.

and fell in skirmish, so that sometimes a man might haue seene good emptieng of saddles betwixt them. On the fourth day in the morning, when the Englishmen beheld the hill where the Scots had lien the night before, they perceiued how they were gone, and thereupon sending forth light horsemen to trie out which way they had taken, word was brought how they were but remoued to an other hill a little off, lieng fast by the same river, and there lay incamped more stronglie than before. Incontinentlie hereupon, king Edward raiseth his campe, and remoueth to an other hill lieng ouer against that hill where the Scots with their power were now lodged. At length, after that both the armies had lien thus a good space the one ouer against the other, James Dowglas took aduise with himselfe to exploit a right hardie enterprise.

He chose forth two hundred of perfect good horsemen, mounted vpon verie swift and readie geldings, with the which in the night season he passed silie by the English watch, that he was not once descried by anie of them, till he was entered into their campe, where, by the noise of the mouing of the horse feet, some chanced to awake that lay asleepe. But yet per the alarme were raised to anie purpose, the Scots thus led by Dowglas had perced through, euen into the kings tent, and cut two cords of the same in sunder, so that the king was in no small danger to haue bene slaine, had not the Scots withdrauen the sooner for doubt of being inclosed with their enemies as now raised on each side to come to his succors, but Dowglas yet returned in safetie with his number backe againe to the Scottish campe, hauing slaine (as some books report) three hundred Englishmen at this bzunt. The Englishmen warned hereby, took better heed after to their watch.

These armies lay thus one against an other for the space of eightene daies, till at length the Scots priuillie in the night conueied themselves away, and returned home in most speedie wise, supposing they had done sufficientlie inough for that time. It chanced that in the euening, before the Scots went thus their waies, there was a Scot taken by the English watch, who being brought before the king, confessed that there was commandement giuen through the Scottish campe, that euerie man should be readie with his armor and weapon to follow the standard of Dowglas at a certeine houre the same night, but whether they intended to go, it was unknowne, saue onelie amongst the capteins. Hereupon the English doubting least the Scots minded to giue them a camifado that night, placed themselves in order of battell, and so stood till the next morning readie to haue receiued them, if they had come. The Scots also made great fires within their campe, that they might see about them. In the breake of the day, there were two Scottish trumpeters taken by the English scouts, the which being brought before the king, declared that the Scottish armie was broken vp and returned, and further shewed how they were appointed thus to declare vnto him, hauing suffered themselves to be taken for the same intent. As soone as the Englishmen were aduertised that the Scots were thus departed, they hasted to the place where they had lien incamped, in hope to haue found some riches, which for hast they had left behind them: but at their comming thither, they found nothing, but 200000 paires of hieland shoes, which are made of the greene hides of beasts vntanned. Also they found three hundred hides of sauage beasts set vpon stakes in stead of caldrons, therein to seeth their meat. Moreover, they had left behind them five hundred dead carcases of beasts & sheepe,

which for that they could not dye them away, they killed, to the end the Englishmen should haue no gaine by them. There were likewise found five Englishmen with their legs broken, & bound naked vnto trees, which were quicklie loosed and committed to the cure of surgeons. The enemies being thus departed, king Edward by aduise of his counsell brake vp his campe, and returned to London, supposing it but lost labour to trauell his people anie further at that time.

In this yeare died Walter Stewart, father to Robert Stewart, that was after king of Scotland. And in this yeare following, or rather the same yeare, R. Elizabeth mother to David Bruce the prince deceased, and was buried in Dunfermling in the yeare after the birth of our Saviour 1328. In the same yeare, king Robert won the castell of Roxburgh, and shortly after besieged the castell of Alnwick, where were slaine William de Mowbray knight, John Clapauen, and Malisus de Dunbar, with diuerse other of the Scottish nobilitie. In the end of the same yeare, there were ambassadoes sent from king Edward into Scotland for the conclusion of a peace, which was accorded in this wise: that R. Edward should renounce all his right & claime which he had or might haue to the crowne of Scotland, in declaring it free as it was in time of king Alexander the third, vnder these conditions, that Northumberland should be admitted for the marches of Scotland on the east part, and Cumberland on the west. For the which renuntiation thus to be made, and for the damages done to England by the Scots, it was couenanted that king Robert should pay to king Edward thirtie thousand marks sterling. And for the more suertie and ratification of this small agreement and peace betwixt the two nations, it was concluded that Jane the sister of king Edward should be coupled in mariage with David Bruce the prince of Scotland.

All which articles were put in writing, wherevnto all the seals of the great lords within both the realms were set in most substantiall wise. The solemnization of the mariage before remembred was kept at Berwick within a while after, on the eighteenth day of Iulie, in the presence of a great number of the nobilitie, both of England and Scotland. King Robert liued not past twelue moneths after this mariage, departing out of this life at Cardos the seventh day of Iulie, in the yeare of our Lord 1329. In the latter end of his daies, he was grievously vexed with a leprosie, which thus finally made an end of him, in the twentieth fourth yeare of his reigne, being one of the most valiant princes knownen in anie part of the whole world in those his daies, hauing felt in his time the force of either fortune: for in the beginning of his reigne, such storms of aduersitie surrounded him on each side, that if his constant manhood had not bene the greater, it might haue brought him in despair of all recovery: for beside sundrie discomfitures, which he receiued at the hands of the enemies, with losse of all his brethren (his brother Edward onlie excepted) the most part of all the lords of Scotland were against him, and aided his aduersaries to the uttermost of his power: yet he nothing discouraged hereby, ceased not to imploy all industrious means to deliuer his countrie from the yoke of seruite bondage (which he believed would succeed by the gouernment of the English kings) till at length (as it were in despite of all former chanches) he attained the effect of his whole inuozors, so much the more to his praise, as he had found the hinderance and difficultie great in bringing the same fullie to passe.

This same therefore did spread hugelie, not onelie amongst

The Scots
king Robert

his
mortal
enemies

quest
propose
an Eng
herald by
Edward
tied.

1325, as is
Major faith,
but that can
not be, if the
died the same
yeare that the
Scots were
besieged in
Roxburgh
parke.
Robert cas-
till won.
A peace was
concluded
between
Edward and
Jane, the
sister of king
Edward, mar-
ried to David
Bruce prince
of Scotland.

The be-
st answer
question

The be-
st scope

The hy-
percube

The death
of king Robert

The hy-
percube

The hy-
percube

1329.

King Robert
rather both
prosperous
and at warre
for some.

The o-
f the
conceit
being a
batter

amongst his owne people, but also amongst strangers, insomuch that his due praise was not wanting, no not euen amongst and in the midst of his verie enemies. For (as it is said) on a time it chanced that king Edward the third, sitting at a banquet among his nobles, fell in talke with them of warlike enterpises, and of such notable capteins as had excelled in knowledge in that behalfe. At length, after much reasoning to and fro, he proponed this question to the king of heralds, that as then stood by, commanding him to declare which were the three most worthe & ballant capteins that he had knowen in all his daies. The herald aduising with himselfe of this matter, staied a space, in which meane while all the companie were quiet, longing to heare his answer therein; both for that they knew his skill was such as was able best to giue sentence in such a matter; and againe, for that manie of them thought hee would haue numbred some of those that were there present amongst those three. But the herald did not onelie know all the noble men within the realme of England, but also all such strangers as had in anie wise excelled in partiall prowesse, hauing all their acts and ballant doings in fresh memorie, and thereupon boldlie vttered his mind as folloeweth.

The first, most worthe and ballant chiefeine (said he) that hath liued in these our daies, was Henrie the emperour: for he subdued three kings and three realmes, and mainteined his imperiall estate and prosperous felicitie to his liues end. The second, was sir Giles of Argentine, who in three sundrie battels against the Saracens got the victorie, & slue two of their principall capteins with his owne hands. The third (if vnder your graces correction I may praise the enimie) I must iudge to be Robert Bruce king of Scotland: whom the herald had no sooner named, but all those that were present, with scornfull laughter began to least at the heralds presumption, for that he durst so malapertlie in the kings presence honor the enimie with so high praise. At length, at the heralds request, the king commanded them to be still. The herald then began againe thus: I beseech your highnesse (said he) if I haue ought offended, to take my words in good part: for I haue bene euer of this opinion, that the truth should in euerie case be vttered, receiued, and allowed in your presence; namely, where your highnesse commandeth anie man to declare the same. This one thing therefore I shall desire you to consider, that if a man must needs be vanquished, it is lesse dishonor to be vanquished of him that is knowen for a right ballant personage, than of him that is but a coward. Moreover, to shew plainelie vnto your grace, how much I esteeme the ballancie of king Robert (whome I perceiue some here may not abide to haue numbred with the two former most ballant capteins) if truth might appeare, I durst be bold to preferre him with good cause before them both: for the ballant acts attributed by Henrie the emperour may be ascribed rather to the wisdomme of his counsellors, than to his owne ballantnesse and prudence: but contrarielie, king Robert being confined out of his countrie, and destitute of friends and all conuenient aid, recovered the realme of Scotland, by his singular manhod, out of the hands of your noble father, and established it with such tranquillitie, that he appeared moze terrible to his enemies of England, than euer they had bene afore to his subjects of Scotland. These or the like words vttered by the herald, were well allowed of the king; and stopped the mouths of them that toke the matter so strangely at the first.

But now to returne to the purpose. King Robert a little before the time of his death, called together

into the chamber where he laye, the chiefe peers of his realme, and there in presence of them all, committed vnto them the government of his sonne David, a child as then not past seuen yeeres of age. He also aduised them of sundrie things touching the rule of the realme after his decease, which he perceiued was at hand. And first he counsellled them, that in no wise they should at anie time make an absolute lord ouer the Isles; because the people of the same are of nature wildest, and some seduced and brought to moue rebellion against the king, into the which being once fallen, they are not easilie reduced to their due obediencie againe, by reason their countreies are of such strength, that they cannot be approached but by sea; as instructed with the same. Secondarilie, he aduised them neuer to appoint anie set battell with the Englishmen; no, to leoparde the realme vpon the chance of one field: but rather to resist and keepe them off from indamaging their countreies, by often skirmishing, & cutting them off at streights & places of aduantage, to the intent that if the Scots be discomforted, they may haue some power yet reserved to make new resistance. Thirdlie, he forbade them in anie wise to make any long peace with England; for naturallie men war dull and slouthfull by long rest and quietnes, so that after long peace, though lacke of vse and exercise of armes, men are not able to susteine anie great paines or trauell.

Moreover, he alledged, how the Englishmen would continue in peace no longer than there wanted opportunitye and conuenient occasion for them to attempt the warres: and therefore he iudged it best, that the Scots should neuer conclude anie perpetual peace with them, nor take anie truce longer than for three or foure yeeres at the most. He willed them further, to consider one thing, that when their appeared least occasion of warres with England, then they ought to be most circumspect, least peraduenture their enemies should come at vnwares, and find them vnprovided for timelie resistance. Herevnto he desired them, that after his deceasse, they would choose some one of the most worthe capteins within the whole realme, to beare his heart vnto Iherusalem, and there to see it buried within the temple, before the holie sepulchre of our Lord. For if he had not bene for a long space hindered by vrgent businesse of warres at home, and lastlie prevented by death, he had vowed to haue passed with an armie into the holie land, in defense of the christian faith, against the Turkes and Saracens.

Herevpon when he was dead, the lords by one assent, appointed sir James Dowglas to take this enterpise in hand, who willingly obeyed their order, as he that had euer during the life of king Robert, serued most faithfully the bodie wherein the same heart was inclosed, & for this cause the Dowglas beare the bloudie heart in their armes. The commendations of which king Robert, Buchanan setteth forth (to comprehend manie things in few words) to be: that he was euerie way a most worthe person, and that there were few to be found (from the former herofall daies) equall vnto him in all kinds of vertue. For as he was in battell most ballant, so was he in peace most temperate & iust. And though his vndoubted good successe and perpetuall course of victories (after that fortune was once satisfied or rather wretched with his misfortunes) were verie great, yet he seemeth to Buchanan to be farre more wonderful in his aduerser fortune: whose valour of mind was such, that it could not be broken (no not so much as weakened) by so manie evils as happened vnto him at one time: whose singular constancie appeared by the captiuitie of his wife, and the death of his ballant brother. And besides that, his friends were

The aduise given by king Robert vnto his nobles before his deceasse.

His desire to haue his heart borne to the holie sepulchre

The cause why the Dowglas beare the bloudie heart

Fr. Thin.

There is no bodie but hath his shadow, no rose but hath his prick.

Welcome of king Robert.

His praise amongst the commons.

Question proponed to a English lord by king Edward the third.

The heralds answer to the question.

The herald assigned.

The heralds suit.

The heralds warning.

The opinion of the herald concerning king Roberts ballancie.

they no Englishman would make him king at

King Edward the third by his campe.

1326, as lo.

Major faith, but that cannot be, if he died the same yeare that the Scots were besieged in Stanhop park. Forham castle still stood. A insomuch besieged. Ambassadors sent from Edward for a peace. A peace concluded with England in the year 1328, after account of them that began the peace at Chyll-male. Jane, or rather June, the sister of king Edward, married to David Bruce prince of Scotland.

The death of king Robert.

1329.

King Robert tasted both prosperous and aduerser fortune.

King Robert tasted both prosperous and aduerser fortune. He recovered all his gains, lost of his wife, so to damage ment here in text of praise, great

anelie ongt

at one time bereft with all kind of calamities, and they which escaped death, were banished with the losse of their substance: he himselfe was not onelie spoiled of all his patrimonie, but of the kingdome also, by the mightiest king of that age Edward the first, king of England, a man most readie in counsell, and of dispatch of his affaires as well in warre as peace. Yea, so farre was this Base oppressed at one time with all these kinds of evils, that he was diuened into extreme pouertie. In all which misfortunes he neuer doubted of the recoverie of the kingdome, neither did or fast anie thing unbeseeming the noble mind of a king: for he offered no violent hands to himselfe; as did the late Cato and Marcus Brutus, neither with Marius did he pursue his enemies with continuall hatred: For when he had recovered his former estate, he solued with them that most occasioned his labour and trouble, that he rather remembered himselfe to be a king ouer them, and not an enemy vnto them. To conclude, he did not so forsake himselfe towards his end (when a grievous disease added troubles to age) but that he confirmed and established the present estate of the kingdome, and provided for the quiet of posteritie, whereby his subjects did not so much lament his death, as that they were deprived of so iust a king and goodlie father.)

Sir James Dowglas then chosen as most worthy to passe with king Roberts heart vnto the holie land, closed the same in a case of gold, imbalmed with sweet spices, & right pretious ointments. And herewith hauing in his companie a number of nobles, and gentlemen, amongst whom sir William Sinclair and sir Robert Logan were chiefe, he passed forth till he came to the citie of Ierusalem, where he buried the heart aforesaid, with all reuerence and solemnitie that he might deuise. This done, he resorted with such number as he had brought thither with him, vnto such other christian princes as at the same time were gathered with great puissance, from sundrie parts of christendome to war with the Turks, and there in companie with them, he did so noble seruice against the common enemies of our religion, that by his often victories he wan great honoz to the christian name. At length, hauing accomplished his charge in those parties, with no lesse fame and glorie than princelie magnificence, he toke the seas to haue returned home into Scotland: but by force of contrarie winds he was diuened on the coast of Spaine, landing there vpon the borders of Granada, where at the same time he found the king of Aragon, ready to make warres against the Saracens that inhabited in those parties.

The Dowglas, to make his manhood and prowess the more knowne in all parts where he came, offered the king of Aragon to serue vnder him in those warres against the infidels, and so fought at sundrie times in his support against the enemies, with prosperous successe, till at length hauing too much confidence in fortunes fauour (which hath brought so manie noble men to their deaths) hee waied negligent, and toke small regard of dangers that might insue, so that in the end he was inclosed by an ambush laid for him by the enemies, and there slaine amongst them, with all such as he had about him. This was the end of that noble Dowglas, one of the most valiant knights that liued in his daies. He had gotten the victorie 57 sundrie times in fight against the Englishmen, and 13 times against the Turks, at it is written at length (saith Bellenen) in Scotichronicon. He might haue bene right necessarie for the defense of Scotland, if his chance had bene to haue returned home in safetie. He ended his life in maner (as is before mentioned) on the 26 day of August, in the yere of Grace 1330.

But now to proceed in order with the historie, we shall note, that after the decease of king Robert, his sonne Dauid, a child scarce seuen yeres of age, was proclaimed king, and afterwards crowned at Stone, the 23 day of Nouember, in the yere of our Lord 1331. During the time of his minority, earle Thomas Randall was ordeined gouernoz of the realme, who for the space of foure yeres in the latter end of R. Roberts reigne, had the whole administration of things committed to his charge by the same king, for that by reason of sicknesse he was not able to attend the same himselfe. This earle Thomas then being elected gouernoz by the generall consent of all the nobles of the realme, considered with himselfe, how necessarie it was for the people to continue in peace, till they had somewhat recovered their hindrance & losses chanced to them by the former wars. He addrested therefore certeine ambassadoz immediately after the death of king Robert, vnto the king of England, to require a new confirmation of the peace betwixt both the realmes for a season. These ambassadoz found the king of England easie enough to be intreated for the grant of their sute, so that a generall truce was taken for the space of thre yeres.

In that meane time, earle Thomas applied his whole studie for the maintenance of iustice and equitie throughe the whole realme, not omitting yet to appoint order, that men should be provided of armor and weapon for defense of the countrie, if neede shold be required. [Wherefore when he was going to Widdone (a towne in Galloway) word was brought to him, that there was a strong assemblie of theues in that countrie, besetting the high waies, and spoiling the passengers: wherupon sending forth a companie of his followers, he apprehended and hanged them all, not fauouring anie vnder pretext of deuotion or religion: For one of them latelie come from Rome (and safe as he supposed by the charter of the popes pardon) was also apprehended and executed by appointment of this Randall, saying, that the pardon of the fault belonged to the pope, but the punishment thereof belonged to the king.]

Whereouer, for the better proofe of exercising iustice amongst them that couered to liue by truth, and to haue more readie occasion to punish others that nient the contrarie, he commanded the saddles and bydes, with all other such instruments and stuffe as pertained to husbandrie, should be left abroad both day and night without the doores: and if it chanced that anie of them were stolen or taken awaie, the thiriffe of the thire should either cause the same to be restozed againe, or else to paie for it on his owne purse. Finally, such punishment was exercised against theues in all places, that both theft and pilforing were quite suppressed, and the realme brought to more tranquillitie than euer it was in anie kings daies before. Anie insolent and misruled persons were tamed by his seuerer chastisement and iustice. Also that vertue might be cherished within the realme, he commanded that no vagabund nor idle person should be receiued into anie towne or place, except they had some craft or science wherewith to get their liuings. By this meane he purged the realme of Scotland of manie idle & slothfull roges and vagabunds.

It is said, that during the time whilst such strict punishment was exercised against offenders, by the ministers of the lawes thereto by him authorized and assigned: it fortuned that a carle of the countrie, because he durst not steale other mens goods, stole his owne plow irons, that he might haue the value of them recompensed to him by the thiriffe: neuertheless, such earnest diligence was vsed in the search

David.

1331.

Earle Thomas Randall gouernoz of Scotland.

Ambassadoz sent into England.

A truce for thre yeres.

Fr. Thin, Buchanan.

A meane to haue iustice executed.

Domination of thames.

A landable ordinance against vagrant persons.

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Thomas (as
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contempt.
I wante sent
into Scotlan
to punish the
gouernoz.
The strict in
strument to
bring such a
thing to passe.

Hyperbolicall
commenda-
tions.The ballan-
ce of James
Dowglas
shewd against
the Turkes.James Dow-
glas commeth
on land in
Spaine.James Dow-
glas slaine by
the Saracens
in Spaine.How often
James Dow-
glas had got
the victorie.

and trill, who had the plow irons, that finally the truth came to light, whereupon for his craftie false-
hood the partie gillie was hanged, as he had well de-
served. The gouernour himselfe, for that he saw how
hard it was to reduce them that had bene brought
vp in slouthfull loitering, vnto honest exercise, held
euer about him a gard of warlike persons, that he
might the more easilie oppresse all stubborne offen-
dors, which would not submit themselves to his com-
mandements. Those that appeared before him, vpon
summons giuen, had fauourable iustice, temper-
red with much mercie ministred vnto them.

Others that refused to obeie, were pursued with
his gard, and hanged euer as they were taken: as it
happened on a time at Haddington, where threescore
euill and naughtie disposed persons being gathered
together, robbed and spoiled the people on each side:
and for that they regarded not, but rather misused a
pursuant, whom he sent vnto them, they were all ta-
ken incontinentlie by his foresaid gard, which follo-
wed the said pursuant at the heeles, and without re-
spit hanged them vpon gibbets to giue example to
others. Thorough such rigorous iustice, no rebel-
lion was heard of within the realme of Scotland
manie yeres after, so that such tranquillitie folowed,
that not onelie theues and loitering lubbers were
daunted, but the realme also aduanced in wealth and
riches, to the great terror of all the foes and enemies
thereof. King Edward aduertised of this great fe-
licitie chanced to the Scots by this meanes, began
to enuie the same, and imagined with himselfe, that
if earle Thomas, the author of the same felicitie
were dispatched out of the way, it should not onelie
impeach the proceeding of so great wealth to the
Scots, but also make for the suertie of the realme of
England: for the singular manhood and high pro-
uidence of this earle was by him and other his nobles
so suspected.

He thought good therefore to attempt the thing by
sleight, which might not be done by force, that after-
wards the realme of Scotland might be the more
infiebled, and as it were made open to receiue dis-
pleasure at his hands. For king David was young,
and manie of his nobles bare small good will ei-
ther towards him, or his house, for the slaughter of
their fathers and friends in the blacke parlement.
Whereupon he deuised, which way he might best de-
stroie earle Thomas, the onlie confounder of all his
imagined hope, as to atchieue anie luckie enterprize
against the Scots. At length he deuised to dispatch
him by poison: and after he had long debated by
whome he might worke that feat: finally he found
none so fit for his purpose, as a monke of the order
and facultie of those, that wandering from place to
place, can with dissembling visage say that thing
with mouth, which they neuer thought in heart: for
oftentimes men of that order, put no difference be-
tween shame and honestie, cloking their execrable
wickednesse vnder the feined shadow of their hypo-
criticall coloures.

This monke, fullie instructed in that wherabout
he was sent, came into Scotland, and feining him-
selfe to be a physician, got credit within a while a-
mongst the people, to be a man of most excellent
knowledge, for he had a companion with him, that
being made priuie to the matter, set forth his cum-
ning and practise to the bittermost, declaring what
notable and most desperat cures he had taken in
hand, and made the patients perfectlie whole of the
same, where all other had quite giuen them ouer:
namelie he bruted it abroad, that for healing of the
stone and grauell, his like was not to be found in all
christendome, as euidentlie had appeared by cures
which he had shewed vpon sundrie noble men, both

in England and France. This he spake, for that it
was knowne, how the lord gouernour was sore vered
with that disease, hoping by this meanes to haue
him in cure, that he might thereby the more easilie
worke his diuelish enterprize.

And euen according to his desire it came to passe:
for being taken for such a man as he was named to
be, he was sent for to the gouernour, and comming
before him, he handled the matter so with wordes,
that the gouernour was contented he should take
him in hand, which he did with such wicked intention,
that persuading him to keepe such diet as he prescri-
bed, and here with to take such sirrups & other things
as he would giue him, at length he most traitorous-
lie poisoned him in bed. The venem was of such
mixture, as would not flea him out of hand, but by
little and little waste his entrails, that the monke
might haue leasure to escape home into England,
per it were perceiued what he had done. He there-
fore after he had ministred his wicked poison, found
meanes to conueie himselfe out of the wate, and re-
turned most speedilie into England, informing king
Edward how he had delt. The gouernour feeling him-
selfe tormented with such paine and worke in his sto-
mach and wombe, and hearing that the monke was
gone, and minded not to returne to him againe, he
began to doubt the matter, and shortly after learned
by physicians that he was poisoned, and that the ve-
nem had taken such hold within his bowels, that it
was not possible to remoue it.

In the meane time was king Edward come with
an armie to the borders, purposing to invade Scot-
land, for that he thought how the gouernour was ei-
ther dead, or at the verie point of death, and therefore
he was in hope, that comming in time of the trouble
vpon his death into Scotland, he should find occasion
to atchieue some enterprize, highlie to his aduantage.
But the gouernour aduertised hereof, raised a pow-
er, and though he were not able either to ride or go,
yet he caused himselfe to be caried forth in an horse-
litter. King Edward hearing that the gouernour
was comming towards him with an armie, & that
himselfe in person quite contrarie to his expectation,
he sent an herald vnto him for meane of communi-
cation of some peace, as was outwardlie pretended,
though nothing else was ment but that he should es-
pie how all things in the Scotish campe stood. The
gouernour hearing of this heralds comming, arrai-
ed himselfe in his best apparell, that it might appere
he was rather recovered of his infirmities, than o-
therwise weak and feeble thorough his disease, and
then causing the herald to be brought before him,
where he was set in a chaire, to heare what his mes-
sage was, which consistin in certeine demands not
greatlie agreeable to reason, the gouernour with bold
countenance answered, that he trusted within short
time to make it knowne, what right the English-
men had to moue such unreasonable request, and
thus dispatching the herald, he gaue him all such go-
geous and rich apparell as he ware at the same time
when he thus talked with him.

King Edward at the returne of the herald, not
perceiuing otherwise by his report, but that the go-
uernour was in health, he returned immediatlie with
his armie into England, and licencing euerie man
to depart to his home, laid hands on the monke, and
as one that had dissembled with his prince (for so he
tooke it) caused him to be burnt for his vntruth. Thus
was the wretch righteously recompensed, as he had
most iustlie deserved. In the meane time, the gou-
ernour returning homewards, through force of the ve-
nem still increasing, deceased at Appleburgh, and
was buried at Dunfirmling, in the yere of our re-
demption 1331. He left behind him two sonnes,
Thomas

The gouernour
is poisoned.

The monke
dieth.

Edward
his purpose to
invade Scot-
land.

The gou-
ernour in an
horselitter is
caried forth
to encounter
the English-
men.
An herald
sent to the go-
uernour.

The gou-
ernours answer
to the herald.

The monke
is burnt.

Fr. Thin:
Buchanan.

1331.

Thomas and John, worthie such a father, they bring persons of great valure, and friends to their native countrie.]

Two gouernours chosen to rule Scotland.

After his deceasse, by common consent of the three estates of the realme in counsell assembled, Patrike earle of March, and David earle of War were chosen gouernours, the first (that is to say, the earle of March) had the charge of that part of the realme which lieth on the south side of the Forth, and the other (that is to say, the earle of War) was appointed to gouerne all that on the north side. Shortly after rose great trouble in Scotland by meanes of Edward Balioll, the son of John Balioll before remembred, as thus: It chanced there was one Twynam Loxton, a gentleman borne, but spotted with vile conditions as adulterie, and diuerse other, for the which heing put under censure of the church by the official of Glasgow he took at length the same official as he was going towards the towne of Aire, and held him in captiuitie, till he had paid two hundred pounds for his deliuerance. But this iniurie remained not long unpunished: for sir James Douglas, before his passage to the hollie land, would not suffer him to rest, till he had constrained him to flee into England for his more safegard.

Twynam Loxton.

Scottish lords banished into England.

Twynam Loxton sent by to Edward Balioll.

At his comming into England, he met with David Cumyn earle of Atholl, and manie other Scottishmen, which were banished in times past by king Robert, for that they assisted the king of England against him. These persons being driven out of the realme, and confederat altogether in one band, remained in England long time after, euer trusting to see some occasion offered, whereby they might one day returne againe into their owne native countrie. And now hearing that earle Thomas Randall the gouernour was deceased, this Twynam Loxton in name of them all was sent ouer into France to perswade Edward Balioll to attempt the recovery of the crowne and realme of Scotland, as the rightfull heritage of his father, and descended vnto him as lawfull and rightfull heire. Though the Balioll had no regard to make anie claime at all to the crowne of Scotland before this time, yet through the pithe persuations of the earnest messenger, declaring how easie a matter it were for him to achieve, considering the aid which he should haue in England, both at the kings hands, and also by the Scottishmen which remained there in exile, by whose meanes he might assure himselfe of support inough within Scotland it selfe, after he was once entered, finally he concluded to passe ouer into England, to proue what purchase he might make there.

Edward Balioll cometh into England

The promise of the Balioll to Edward. Edward doth agree to aid the Balioll. The English writers speake but of two thousand, or 2500 at the most. Ric. Southwell.

Fr. Thin.

At his comming thither, he made suite to the king, to aid him in his righteous quarrell towards the attaining of the crowne of Scotland, which if he might bring to passe with prosperous successe, he promised to hold the same of him and his successors as superior lords thereof. King Edward gladly vpon that condition, condescended to his request, notwithstanding the alliance contracted with king David, by the marriage of him with his sister. Wherevnto he appointed forth six thousand men well apparelled and arayed for the warre, to passe by sea with the Balioll, and other the confederats into Scotland, trusting that vpon their arrivall there, they should find no small number of friends to assist them. For beside the Balioll, there was the lord Henrie Beaumont, a Frenchman, who had married the earle of Buchanans daughter and heire: also the earles of Atholl, Angus [the lords Perth and Wake, Richard Talbot, Henrie Ferrers, John Mowbray] & other Scottish lords such as were banished Scotland, when king Robert le Bruce recovered it out of the English mens hands. These were appointed to go with the

Balioll to assist him in that enterpryse: and likewise the lord Stafford, and diuerse other English capitaine, wherevpon when all their provision was once ready, with the number appointed them by king Edward, and a few others, they got them a shipboard, and sailing forth by the coast till they entered into the Forth, at length they came on land nere the towne of Kingorne, and shortly after, incountring with Alexander Seton, they slew him, and put his folkes to flight.

Balioll verie ioyfull of this happie successe, came with his people to Perth, otherwise called St. Johns towne, whereof the earles of War and March being aduertised, they raised two mightie armies, and hastened toward the enemies, not as though they should haue to doe with men of warre, but to chastise a number of thieves and robbers, that were come out of England. Yet at length they concluded to ioinie both together in Strathern, that they might iointlie set vpon these enemies both at once. The Balioll seeing the matter brought so far forth, that no feare of death nor starting-hole by flight might auail him, boldly came forward, and pitched downe his tents at Dunblane nere to the water of Erne, trusting that if his armie would stand to it, and fight with manlike valour, he should weild his enemies well inough, notwithstanding their huge number. The same night came the earle of War with his power, and encamped with the same within sight of the English armie, but the earle of March lodged about fife miles from thence, at Dunsinane.

The Scots that were with the earle of War, having knowledge of the small number of their enemies, made no accounts of them, so that they neither took heed to their watch, nor to anie other order for defense of themselves, but fell to singing, dancing, revelling, and drinking, in most dissolute manner. The Balioll taking occasion hereof, determined to assault them the same night in their campe, and therevpon causing his people to make them ready to accomplish that enterpryse, in the dead of the night he issued forth of his campe, and comming vnto the water of Erne, passeth the same by the ford, where one Andrew Murray of Tullibard had pight a stake of set purpose, in midst of the streame, to stay them the waite. Thus having got all his armie ouer the water, without anie noise or din, so secretlie as might be deuised, he entered the campe of his enemies, and brake through till he came to the tent of the earle of War, the Scots generall, before he was once descried. Here at the first was the earle himselfe slaine, lieng fast asleep in his bed, & after with huge noise they set vpon the whole campe, murdering the Scots as they lay in slepe without all defense. And therevpon folloied so cruell slaughter, that nothing was heard but grunting and groning of people, as they lay on heapes ready to die, weltering together in their owne blood. And if it had not bene that Edward Balioll had caused ech of his men to wrape a white cloth about his arme, no man might haue knowne (by reason of the darknesse of the night) his friend from his fo.

The Englishmen were so earnestlie bent to the slaughter of Scots, that they might not be filled with the blood and murder of them, so that they slew none whome they might ouertake. There were slaine of nobles and gentlemen, to the number of three thousand, beside innumerable of the commons. A certeine number of the Scots that escaped out of the place, closed theiues together, and in purpose to be reuenged on the Englishmen for the death of their fellows, returned vpon them againe, and were slaine themselves euerie mothers sonne. The chiefest nobles that were slaine at this battell, were these,

Edward Balioll in Scotland.

Alexander Seton is slaine.

The earle of March is slaine.

The earle of War is slaine.

The earle of Atholl is slaine.

The earle of Angus is slaine.

The earle of Perth is slaine.

The earle of Buchan is slaine.

The earle of Mar is slaine.

The earle of Glamorgan is slaine.

The earle of Hereford is slaine.

The earle of Worcester is slaine.

The earle of Devon is slaine.

The earle of Somerset is slaine.

The earle of Gloucester is slaine.

The earle of Warwick is slaine.

The earle of Northampton is slaine.

The earle of Lincoln is slaine.

The earle of Derby is slaine.

Edward Balioll in Scotland.

Alexander Seton is slaine.

The earle of March is slaine.

The earle of War is slaine.

The earle of Atholl is slaine.

The earle of Angus is slaine.

The earle of Perth is slaine.

The earle of Buchan is slaine.

The earle of Mar is slaine.

The earle of Glamorgan is slaine.

The earle of Hereford is slaine.

The earle of Worcester is slaine.

The earle of Devon is slaine.

The earle of Somerset is slaine.

The earle of Gloucester is slaine.

The earle of Warwick is slaine.

The earle of Northampton is slaine.

The earle of Lincoln is slaine.

The earle of Derby is slaine.

these, the earle of Mar generall of the armie, Robert Bruce earle of Carrick, Alexander Fraser knight, William Haie constable of Scotland, with all his linage so whole, that had not his wife as then being great belied, bene afterwards delivered of a sonne, all his surname had bene utterly extingui- shed. [Whereupon saith Buchan, Thomas Kandoll, Robert Bruce, William Seintclere bishop of Dun- keld, and Doncan Hakouffe despairing of good suc- cesse, swore fealtie to Balioll.] There were slaine also Robert Keith marshall of the realme, with ma- nie of his surname, David Lindseie of Glenelke, Alexander Beiton, George Dunbar, Robert Stra- thaguen, Thomas Haliburton, and John Skrim- geour knights, with manie other overlong to re- hearse. The earle of Fife & a few other were taken. This battell was fought on the thirteenth day of August, in the peare 1332. After that Edward Ba- lioll had achieved this victorie thus at Duplin, he went straightwaies unto Perth (otherwise called 20 saint Johns towne) and giving assaile thereto, quick- ly entered it by force, without anie great resistance. The earle of Mar that lodged (as is said) the same night that the battell was fought, not past five miles off, hearing what had chanced both in the battell and to come, came with his people arrayed in good and per- fect order unto Perth asforesaid, to besiege the Eng- lishmen with Edward Balioll and other as then within it. But having lien there a certeine space, and filled the ditches in the meane time to such ab- 30 nantage, that it was thought if he had given the as- sault, he must needs have entered, he suddenlye raised from thence, and departed, to the unspeakable damage (as was thought) of the whole Scottish na- tion. The siege being thus raised, there came daillie great numbers of nobles and commons to the Ba- lioll, offering him their aid and service as his loiall subiects, towards the attaining of his right to the crowne.

Whereupon, perceiving his power sufficientlie in- 40 creased, and receiving the othes of the earle of Fife, and William de Seintclere bishop of Dun- keld, he went accompanied with them and a great number of other, unto Scone, where he was crow- ned the 24 day of September, in the peare last be- fore remembred, and received there the same time the homages and fealties of a great companie of no- bles & gentlemen, at that solemne feast there assem- bled. King David being not past nine peares of age, to avoid all dangers in that troublesome time, as de- stitute of succors, by advice of his counsell, was conveied over into France with quene Jane his wife, sister to Edward king of England, and was most friendlie received by Philip king of France the first of that name, so that they remained there the first of that name, so that they remained there the meane time divers noble men that yet remained at the deuotion of king David, understanding that 50 Edward le Balioll sojourned within the towne of Perth, otherwise called saint Johns towne, which standeth almost in the middle part of the realme, and was at that present not closed with anie wall, or rampire, they raised their powers, and besieged him within the same towne, he having as then no great companie about him.

Whereof when they of Galloway had advertise- ment, because the king was their speciall lord and chiefe gouernor, they assembled together under the conduct of the lord Eustace de Hakewell, and inua- ded the lands of those Scottishmen that had thus be- sieged their lord king Edward Balioll, and by that means constrained the adversaries to leaue their 60 siege. Whereupon earle Patrike and the new earle of Murray, with the lord Andrew de Murray, and

the lord Archibald Dotoglasie, with an armie at- 70 sembled in all speed, entered into Galloway, doing all the mischief they could devise, with fire & sword, taking & bringing away from thence a great num- ber of cattell and other goods; but they slue no great number of people, for they found them not at home, being withdrawn out of the way for feare of this terrible inuasion. Thus did the Scots in that part of the realme spoile & harrie each others countries.

In the meane time, king Edward le Balioll for- 80 tified the towne of Perth, appointing the earle of Fife to the keeping thereof, whilst he with an ar- mie passed into the countrie; but before he returned, his adversaries (that is to say) the sonnes of them that had bene slaine at the battell of Duplin, Ro- bert Keith, Alexander Lindseie, James and Simon Fraser wan S. Johns towne in the third moneth, after they had laid siege thereto, as Hector Boetius saith. But whether that is to be intended after the first 90 besieging thereof, or now after their last coming thither, I can not affirme; but as the same Boetius writeth, now when the towne was wone, the earle of Fife, and Andrew Murray of Tullibard, were taken, with other of their complices. The earle with his wife and children were sent to the castell of Bal- dunnich, there to remaine vnder safe keeping; but Andrew Murray for his treason afoze committed, was beheaded. The towne being thus wone, was deliuered to the keeping of John Lindseie. But 30 Buchan. out of an other autho? supposeth that it was not committed to the custodie of anie; but that the walls were pulled downe to the ground. The ga- ning of this towne put the Scots in hope of more prosperitie to succed.

And thereupon John Kandoll the earle of Mur- ray, sonne to earle Thomas late of famous memo- rie, and Archibald Dotoglasie lord of Galloway, the brother of James Dotoglasie latelie slaine (as before is mentioned) in Spaine with Simon Fra- 40 seir and others, gathered a great armie, and came with the same [and William Dotoglasie lord of Lid- desdale to Panfet] against the Balioll, who being ad- uertised thereof, met them in Annandale, where in- countering thereof, after cruell fight & great slaugh- ter on both parts, at length Baliols part was put to the worst, so that he himselfe was glad to flee, ha- ving got an hostle without a bydle, and rested not till he came to Korburch, or rather to Carleill, as Richard Southwell saith. In this battell were slaine 50 sir Henrie Balioll, a man of great valiance, sir John Motobzaie, Walter Cumyn, and Richard Kirkbie; but Alexander Bruce earle of Carrick, and the lord of Galloway were taken prisoners, and sa- ued by the helpe of the earle of Murray, for that they had submitted themselves to the Balioll but latelie before. Shortlie after the achieving of this victorie, Andrew Murray a man of great puissance and pos- sessions was chosen to be gouernor, as colleague and associat with the earle of Mar. These two gouer- 60 nors, hearing that the king of England was min- ded to invade Scotland with a maine armie, sent sir Alexander Seiton with manie other gentlemen unto Berthke for defense of that towne and castell; [Alexander (as saith Buchan.) being captaine of the towne, and Patrike Dunbar captaine of the castle and borders adjoining.] Shortlie after, the new gou- ernor Andrew Murray was taken prisoner at Korburch, by reason that hauing put his enemies to flight in a skirmish which he made with them at the bydge without the castell, he pursued over fast- lie in the chase, and was inclosed amongst them, and so taken yet he might be rescued. [At which time also 70 William Dotoglasie lord of Liddesdale was sent to Annandale, to defend the west marches.] There

Galloway in- uaded.

Saint Johns towne fortifi- ed.

Saint Johns towne wone.

Fr. Thin.

The battell discomfited and put to flight in An- nandale.

Andrew Murray chosen fellow gou- ernor with the earle of Mar.

Fr. Thin. Andrew Murray the new gou- ernor is taken prisoner.

Fr. Thin.

Ri. Southwell.
Crab, a pirat
taken.

was also taken beside the gouernoz, a notable pirat named Crab, who before that time had done manie displeasures to the Englishmen both by sea and land: and now because his countriemen would not ransom him, but to his further griefe had slaine his sonne within Berwikke, he became the king of Englands man, and did the Scots more damage afterwards, than euer he had done to the Englishmen before. The gouernoz at length was ransomed for a great summe of gold.

William
Dowglas of
Liddesdale
taken priso-
ner.

About the same time William Dowglas of Liddesdale named for his singular manhood, The flower of chivalrie, fought with the Englishmen in Annandale, where himselfe was taken, and his people discomfited. Both these noble men thus taken prisoners, were detained in captiuitie more than a twelue moneths space, & then ransomed for a great summe of gold. This William Dowglas was sonne to sir James Dowglas, of whom so often mention is made heretofore. The realme of Scotland being thus diuided in two parts, the one assisting the Balioll, and the other continuing in their allegiance to king David: Edward king of England iudged the time to serue well for his purpose to make conquest on the Scots, and hereupon gathering a mightie armie both of Englishmen and strangers, as well such as were subiects to him as other, whome he retained out of Fozmandie, Anjou, and Flanders, he came with the same to subdue (as he outwardlie pretended) onelie such Scots as would not yeld themselves to the Balioll. The Scots perceiving themselves thus ouerset with enemies on each side, sent John Randall earle of Murray into France vnto king Dauid, that by his means they might purchase some aid of the French king to defend the realme from the forces of the enemies. In the meane time the king of England besieged Berwikke both by sea and land, notwithstanding such as were within it defended the towne so manfully that he got but small gaines by assaults; by reason whereof the siege continued for the space of foure moneths: during which time manie issues and skirmishes were made betwixt the Scots and Englishmen, whereat manie proper feats of armes were atchieued with variable fortune.

Edward king
of England
purposeth to
subdue the
Scots.

The earle of
Murray is
sent into
France.

Berwikke is
besieged.

Buchanan.

Sir Alexan-
der Seiton
capteine of
Berwikke.

Archembald
Dowglas
chosen gou-
ernoz in place of
Andrew
Murray.

William Seiton bassard sonne to the capteine of the towne was taken prisoner, and his bassard brother, as he assailed the English ships one night ouerfiercelie, was drowned by mischance in the sea. At length, when they within the towne began to want vittels, the capteine sir Alexander Seiton sent vnto king Edward, promising that if he would grant a truce for the space of 6 daies, if no succour came in the meane time to resist his siege, the towne should be deliuered into his hands at the end of that terme; and for the assurance thereof, he was contented that his eldest sonne and heire Thomas Seiton should remaine with the said king in hostage. Whilist things passed thus at Berwikke, the nobles of Scotland by common consent chose Archembald Dowglas to be gouernoz in place of Andrew Murray. This Archembald Dowglas raising a mightie armie of Scottishmen entered with the same into the borders of England, so to withstand king Edward from the siege of Berwikke to defend his owne lands from burning and spoiling. But king Edward aduertised hereof, deuised an other shift, for immediatlie sending a messenger to sir Alexander Seiton capteine of the towne, he certified him plainelie, that unless he rendered the towne forthwith into his hands, both his sonnes which he had with him, the one as hostage, and the other as prisoner, should be without further delay hanged on a gibbet there in sight afore his owne face.

Sir Alexander Seiton hereto answered, that as yet the terme of the truce was not expired, & therefore desired the king either to obserue the covenants, or else to deliuer the pledges, that he might be at his aduantage: but king Edward (as saith the Scottish chronicle) immediatlie caused a paire of gallows to be raised before the towne, and both the sonnes of sir Alexander to be led thither, to suffer on the same without further respite. Sir Alexander Seiton beholding that pitifull sight, and weicing with himselfe, that he might saue the liues of those innocent creatures, if he would, was brought into great perplexitie of mind: the naturall affection and compassion which he bare towards his sonnes mouing him to haue rendered the towne on the one side, and the dutie with faith promised to his king and countrie restraining him from all such resolution on the other. But in the end, the tender regard he had to saue the liues of his sonnes, had overcome him, and caused him to haue rendered the towne into his enemies hand, had not his wife and mother to his said sonnes, exhorted him most earnestlie to the contrarie, alleging that such reproch and dishonour should rebound vnto them, and their posteritie, if through their fault the towne were traitorously deliuered into the enemies hand, that from thenceforth they should be infamed for euer: and as for the death of their sonnes, it was not to be counted a losse, for by this kind of death, they should win immortall name, & leaue to their parents the high honor and renoume of faithfull & loiall subiects. Againe they were yong enough to beget and bring forth new children, where they should be neuer able to recouer honor once lost; if by deliuering the towne into the enemies hands, they should seeme to betraye their countrie, & falsifie their faith to their naturall prince and soueraigne.

With such & manie other the like words, this noble & worthy ladie perswaded hir husband to restraîne his inward griefe, and brought him with right sorrowfull and heauie chere vnto his chamber, that through commiseration had of his sonnes, he should commit nothing either against his honor or weale of the towne. In the meane time, his two sonnes were put to death, ending their liues (saith Hector Boetius) with most honor, for the righteous quarell of their countrie: [at that time R. Edward removed his campe to Halidon hill.] Archembald Dowglas the gouernoz, being at that present entered into Fozthumberland with his armie, hearing that king Edward had thus cruellie put to death those two yong gentlemen, came the third day after with all his power, and pitched downe his tents not far from R. Edwards armie, fullie resolved to giue him battell, as well to reuenge the displeasure for the death of the said gentlemen, as to deliuer the towne of Berwikke from further danger of the enemies force.

Yet were there sundrie prudent counsellors in the Scottish armie, that for diuers respects aduised him in no wise to fight with the enemies at that present, considering the huge number of practised soldiers which they had amongst them, and the want of skilfull warriors on his side, hauing few with him saue yongmen, and such as lacked experience in the wars, for that they had bene but little trained therein. Notwithstanding, he himselfe was of contrarie opinion, iudging that the good willes and desire which his people had to fight with the Englishmen, should supplie their lacke of skill: and thereupon determining to trie the chance of battell with them, commanded his armie to refresh themselves with meat, drinke, and sleepe for that night, and to provide themselves readie for battell on the next morning. In the breake of the day he arrayed his people in order of battell. The vanguard was gi-

The appoint-
ing of the
Scottish bat-
tles.

The policie of
the English
army.

Sir Alexan-
der Seiton is
doubt wheth-
er he will.

The maner
of the
Alexander Se-
iton's wife.

The Scottish
army put to
flight.

The great
laughter of
the Scots.

The number
of Scots
slaine at Hal-
idon hill.

Sir Alexan-
der Seiton
died at Hal-
idon hill.

1333. H. B.
Buchanan.

Fr. Th. B.

Archembald
Dowglas
purposeth to
giue battell.

The towne of
Berwikke
reioiced to
Edward on
the day, as
Ri. Southwell
saith.

men to Hugh, lord Rosse, having with him Kenneth earle of Southerland, Simon and John Fraiser, and John Purrey lieutenant to the earle of Purrey, who as then was sore tormented with a grievous maladie or sicknesse. The second battell was committed to the gouernance of Alexander Lindsay, with whom were joined Alexander Gordon, Kenneth Graham, and Robert Kenneth. In the third battell was the gouernor himselfe, accompanied with James, John, and Alane Stewards, the sons of Walter great Steward of Scotland.

On the other part, the Englishmen were nothing slow to come forward to encounter the Scots, but at the first to take the vantage of the ground; they gaue somewhat backe, withdrawing to the side of an hill, which they having once got, boldlie turned themselves to the Scots that pursued them over rashlie, in hope that the victorie had bene already theirs: but being here fiercelie receiued by the Englishmen, and beaten downe in heaps on each side, though they enforced themselves with all their might to be reuenged both for old and new iniuries which they had receiued, and so sue no small number of the enimies; yet in the end was the Scottish armie put to flight, and more slaughter made in the chase, than was afore in the battell: for one wing of the Englishmen making forwards to get before the Scots, so stopped their passage, that they were slaine miserablie on each side, as they had bene inclosed within a toile or deere-stall. There were but few in number that were taken prisoners, those on the next day were beheaded by commandement of king Edward, except a small number which were kept secret by some of the Englishmen for profit of their rancome. There were slaine on that day of the battell, to the number of fourtene thousand men, amongst whom were these as principall: Archem-bald Dowglas the gouernour, John Stewart, James Stewart, and Alane Stewart, the sonnes of Walter Stewart; the earle of Rosse, the earle of Southerland, Alexander Buse earle of Carrike, Andretto, James, and Simon Fraiser. This battell was fought on Dagdalen day, in the yeare of Grace, 1333.

¶ That this number and therewith manie more abounded by one yeare, Wil. Harison doth gather together by the series, because Adam Meremouth saith, that Dagdalen day fell on the monday this yeare, and that the morrow after being tuesday, Berwike was surrendered. But for so much as the same Meremouth maie be perhaps deceived, or mistaken herein: I haue here thought good (as in other places) to note in the margin the yeare, according to the account of Hector Boetius, speciallie in this place, the rather because he agreeth with Richard Southwell, Robert Auesburie, and other of our English writers, concerning this yeare in which this battell was fought: but where the same Boetius saith, that it was fought on Dagdalen day, R. Southwell, Robert Auesburie, Thomas Walf. and diuers other affirme, that it was fought the nineteenth of Julie being saint Margarets euen. But now to proceed. The place where this battell was stricken, is called Ballidon hill.

Immediatlie upon this overthrow of the Scottish power, Alexander Seiton and Patrike Dunbar captains of Berwike, despairing of all support, yielded the towne to king Edward, with condition to haue their liues and goods saved, and to become subiects to king Edward. Whereupon, when they had receiued their oths, Patrike Dunbar was commanded by king Edward, to build by againe the castell of Dunbar upon his owne costs and charges, for that he had throwen it downe, when he saw he

was not able to defend it against the English power comming toward him. K. Edward accomplishing his desire, returned backe into England, leaving behind him with the Balioll, manie great lords of England (amongst whom for chiefe was Richard Talbot) that using the advice and counsell of them he might rule the realme of Scotland as should be thought expedient. Edward Balioll hereupon went thorough all the bounds of Scotland, placing garrisons of Englishmen in most part of all the strengths and castles of the realme, for he had them all at his commandement, save of them onelie excepted, which were kept by such Scottishmen, as would not renounce their allegiance promised to king David. For Dunbretan was kept by Malcolme Fleming of Cumrinald, Lochleuin by Alane of Drepon, the castell of Biddumme by Christine Buse, and Berghart by Robert Lauder, the pise of Loudopin, a strong thing of so small a compasse, was in the keeping of one John Thomson [who were supported with monie by Philip the French king] These captains would by no means neither yield themselves nor their fortresses to Edward Balioll, but defend them to the uttermost for the behoufe of their souereigne lord and master king David.

In the meane time, Philip king of France laboured to the pope, that he might by his authoritie cause the Englishmen to surceasse from further veyring the Scots, by their cruell inuasions made into their countrie: but when the popes ambassadors came about this matter into England, they were so little regarded, that they could not get licence to declare that message, and so were they glad to returne without doing any thing in the matter whereabout they were sent. Shortly after was a parlement called at Perth, where Edward Balioll was confirmed king of Scotland, a great number of the nobles promising there by solenne oths, neuer to remoue any rebellion against him in times to come. In the meane time rose great altercation betwixt Henrie Beaumont, and Alexander Dowglas for certeine lands in Buchquhane [which Edward the first had giuen John Dowglas, brother of this Alexander.] Henrie Beaumont claimed those lands by the right of his wife, that was daughter to the said Alexander, but the Dowglas claimed them as heire to his brother.

After long contention, Dowglas had the lands adiudged to him by sentence of the Balioll, by reason whereof, David Cumin earle of Atholl, and Richard Talbot, fauouring the cause of Henrie Beaumont, began to practise such conspiracies against the Balioll, that to auoid further danger, he was glad to repeale the former sentence by him giuen on the behalfe of Alexander Dowglas, and by new sentence adiudged the lands unto Henrie Beaumont, for that (as was alledged) he had married the inheritor thereof, which sentence he was constrained to change (saith Buchanan) by this means. K. Balioll (fauouring Alexander) and hauing adiudged the matter on his side, so offended the minds of the aduersaries, that they feared not openly to complaine of the iniurie. But when they perceived that they nothing profited therein by their speeches, they all departed from the court to their owne possessions of which faction Talbot, whilst he goeth into England, was taken and carried to Dunbretan: Beaumont doth strengthen Durgard a strong castell of Buchquhan, and not onelie maketh the land whereof the contention was, but also the whole countrie adjoining, to be subiect to his gouernement. Cumin (returning to the part of David Buse) goeth into Atholl (whereof he was earle) and sending the places of strength thereabouts, armeth himselfe to withstand all force,

Richard Talbot.

All the fortresses of Scotland in Baliols hands, save onelie excepted.

Fr. Thin.

The popes ambassadors not regarded.

A parlement at Perth.

Strife betwixt Dowglas & Beaumont. Fr. Thin.

1334. Fr. Thin. John Maior.

The appointment of the Scottish battell.

The policy of the English.

Sir Alexander Seiton in doubt what to do.

The manie stomach of Alexander Seiton.

The Scottish armie put to flight.

The great slaughter of the Scots.

The number of Scots slaine at Ballidon hill.

Sir Alexander Seiton's sonnes executed. Fr. Thin.

1333. H. B. Buchanan.

Fr. Thin.

Archem-bald Dowglas purpoiseth to giue battell.

The towne of Berwike yielded to king Edward on the Dagdalen day, as R. Southwell.

if anie be prepared against him. Balioll fearing the conspiracie of these great men, changeth his iudgement, and awardeth the lands (whereof the contention grew) to Beaumont, and reconciled Cummin unto him, by the gift of many rich possessions, that then belonged to Robert Stewart, which shortly after was king of Scotland.

Thus through puissance of the parties, the truth in deciding the controuersie, might not onlie not haue place, but Balioll was also diuinen to that extremitie, that he must haue one of them (with his faction) to be his enemies. For now Alexander, stroken with this iniurie (to haue the iudgement giuen before for him thus to be reuoked) forsaking the Balioll, ioined him selfe with Andzew Murray gouernor of Scotland (for David Bruce) having a little before ransomed himselfe, with a great masse of monie out of the Englishmens hands. These things (although done at seuerall times) we haue ioined together, least by often repeating of them in other places, the course of the historie might be broken: for (vpon this) Andzew Murray besieged Beaumont in the castell of Dongard, the inheritance of his wife, where he surrendered the same, vpon condition that he might frelie repaire into England: at what time also Richard Talbot (being beyond the mounteins, in the inheritance of his wife the daughter of John Cummin of Scotland (for now manie English nobles possessed great reuenues in Scotland by marriages) hearing of these newes, that Balioll was forsaken by the earle of Atholl and Beaumont, would haue gone into England, but was taken in Lownes. ¶ This yere the earle of March holding on the part of the king of England, came to him to Perthcastell vpon Tine, who returning homeward, was grievously wounded of the people of Northumberland, for couetousnes, to haue robbed him of such monie as B. Edward had liberallie bestowed vpon him.)

Not long after this, Edward Balioll came to Kainfrew, and there receiuing the people into his obedience, had the keyes of the castell of Rothsaie and Dunnone, brought vnto him by sir Alane Lile shiriffe of Bute [at what time the king gaue to him the keeping of the castell of Rothsaie, hauing before made him shiriffe.] Thus did the Balioll increase in puissance, by such confluence of people as daile submitted themselves vnto him, & he enriched them liberallie with lands and goods still as they came to him, thereby to win there good wils. He sought by all meanes possible to haue gotten Robert Stewart into his hands, as the person whome he knew to haue most right, next vnto king David to the crowne of Scotland: but through the diligent foresight of his friends, this Robert Stewart being about the age of fiftene yeres, was conueied [with hote and horse, by the helpe of William Harriot and John Gilbert] to the castell of Dunbretton, where he was iustlie receiued by Malcolme Fleming the capteine.

The Balioll being soze offended, that such castles as were kept by his enemies, were so great an impediment to his interprises, by succouring and relieuing his aduersaries to make warres against him, he got together an armie, and the next yere laid siege to the castell of Lochleuin: but perceiuing that this castell might not be wone without long siege, he appointed sir John Striueling to continue the siege with a great power of men, vntill the castell were yielded. There were left also with him, Michaell Harriot, David Wernis, and Richard Palenill, with diuerse other. These captaine aduising the place and site of the castell, lodged themselves within the churchyard of saint Herse, beside Kainrosse, making bassiles and other defenses within the same, for their

more safegard. Within the castell were two balliant captaine to defend it, the one named Alane Wepont and James Lambie, citizens of saint Andrezus.

The enemies assaied all the meanes that might be deuised to haue wone this castell, but all was in vaine. At length, they deuised a subtil sleight, whereby to compasse their intent, on this wise. They went about to dam vp the mouth of the riuer where it issueth out of the Loch, with earth, trees, & stones, that the water being so kept in, might rise to such an height, that it should ouerflow the castell, and so drown all the people within it. And to cause the Loch to swell more speedilie, they turned the course of diuerse riuers and brookes in the countrie thereabouts, and brought them into the same Loch. It chanced at the same time, that sir John Striueling captaine of the siege, with a great part of the armie, went vnto Dunfirmling for deuotion sake, to visit the shrine of saint Margaret, sometime queene of Scotland. Whereof Alane Wepont then captaine of the castell, hauing vnderstanding, about midnight prepared three botes, and taking certeine soldiers with him, rowed south to the head of the dam or water, and there, with such engins as he had deuised for the purpose, assaied to boare through and make a hole in the banke or rampire that kept vp the water, which when they had brought to passe, they returned quicklie againe to the castell.

The water hauing once gotten an issue, within a while ware the hole so large, that entering with more violence, it finally brake downe the banke, and rushed south with such an huge streame, that it bare downe all afore it, drowning by the bassils and tents of them that lay at siege there, and caried the same with men and all downe into the deepe sea, they were so suddenlie taken, yer they could make anie shift to escape. Alane Wepont, when the water was fallen to the old marke, issued south of the castell, & setting vpon those that had escaped the danger of the water, due part of them, and put the remnant to flight. John Striueling hearing the mischief that had happened to his folks, returned to the siege, and made a bold nener to depart from thence, till he had taken the castell, and slaine all them within it. But yet, after he had laine there a long time, and saw it was not possible to win that fortresse, he was constrained to raise his siege, and to go his waies, after he had lost thereat no small number of his people. This siege of Lochleuin chanced in the Lent season, in the yere 1335.

In the yere following, king Edward prepared an armie both by sea and land, to enter into Scotland. He sent by sea 70 ships well and sufficientlie decked for the warres, to enter by the Forth: but by a soze tempest manie of those vessels perished betwixt Inchkeith and the Forthland. He himselfe hauing the Balioll in his companie, with fiftie thousand men, came by land vnto Glascolw, and perceiving there was little for him to do, for that no rebellion greatlie anie where appeared, he returned backe againe into England with the Balioll, and left David Cummin earle of Atholl gouernor in his roome, to subdue the residue of the rebels, and to win those strengths, which as yet were defended against him. David Cummin left thus to be gouernor in Scotland, toke vpon him the rule in name both of the king of England, and also of the Balioll, and seized into his hands all those lands in Murray and Buchanane, which pertained to Robert Stewart, confiscating all the goods of such the inhabitants, as would not be swozne vnto him. [Who notwithstanding that he was of such great authoritie in Scotland, of credit with both kings, Edward of England, & Edward of Scotland, and of exceeding great possessions of

Alane Wepont and James Lambie captaine of Lochleuin.

A deuise to drown the castell.

The castell of Dunnone taken. Fr. Thin.

The shiriffe of Bute slaine.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. John Maior.

The bassils and tents of them that lay at siege drowned.

A releasement of tribute.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Murray re- turneth south of France.

Fr. Thin. Countries reduced to the obedience of king David. Fr. Thin.

A. Edward immediately Scotland both by sea and land.

The earle of Atholl fleeth into the mounteins.

He submitteth himselfe.

David Cummin earle of Atholl gouernor of the Scotland.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

Sir William Douglas, and Andzew Murray ransomed.

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The castles of Rothsaie and Dunnone destroyed to the Balioll. Fr. Thin.

Robert Stewart.

Fr. Thin.

Lochleuin besieged.

his done, would yet neuer vsurpe anie superiortie to him himselfe in title, but passed all the grants and writings in the name of Edward king of England, and of Balioll king of Scots. At what time none would publickely professe him a subiect to David Bruce, but boies, who in their plaies & games would alwaies call their king, David Bruce.]

Incontinentlie hereupon, Robert Stewart assembled his friends by the helpe of Dungall Campbell of Lochgubow, and suddenlie toke the castell of Dunnone, sleaing all the Englishmen and other, which were found therein. [Which Campbell (as saith John Maior) came with 400 men, and by the testimony of Buch. was a man of great power in Argle.] The commons of Bute and Arrane, glad of this prosperous beginning, assembled together to the number of foure hundred persons, and set forward, that they might come to support Robert Stewart in such his late begun enterprises: and being incouraged by the waite by Alane Lile thirrisse of Bute, they laid so lustilie about them, that they slue the thirrisse, [with John Gilbert capitaine of the castell of Bute] there in the field, & discomfited all his people [which they did after this manner. These people of Bute, (called the seruants of Batodanus) seeing such sturs to be made by Alane Lile, ran to a heape of stones not farre from them, and with great force pelting the thirrisse, they in the end killed him with stones, and put the rest to flight.] Diuerse of them taken prisoners, were brought awaie, and presented vnto Robert Stewart, who in recompense of this seruice, granted sundrie priuileges vnto the inhabitants of Bute and Arrane: as among other things, to be free from paying tribute for their corne and graine. Such felicitie succeding one another, caused manie of the Scots to ioine themselves with Robert Stewart, in hope to recouer the realme out of the English mens hands. Amongst other, Thomas Bruce earle of Carrike, and William Canther [whome John Maior calleth Carrucher, & Buchanan Carruder of Annandale] with a number of the commons came vnto him.

About the same time, the earle of Murray returned forth of France, and landed at Donbryton, where he was most ioyfullie receiued by the said Robert Stewart. Shortly after the said Stewart, and the said earle, hauing with them a great power of their friends and allies [as Godfrie Kosse, and others] came into Clibdale, Kankrewe, Kile, Cunningham and Aire, which together with Ros and Murray, they reduced to the obedience of king David. [At which time (as saith Buchanan) did Kankraie come to his old lordes the Stewards.] The earle of Murray also, to reuenge the iniuries done by the earle of Atholl, went vnto Aberdeen, and there learning where he sojourned, made thither with all speed: but the earle of Atholl vnderstanding how all the countrie toke part with his aduersaries, fled into the mounteins, where he sustained his life with hearbs and roots for a time, and durst not come forth to shew his head. At length, when he saw no waie to escape, he came forth and in most humble wise submitted himselfe to the lords that defended the part of king David. They receiuing him vpon his submission, sware him to be true vnto king David, and exhorting him to be as diligent in reconciling the people vnto king David, as he had bene afore to subdue them to the obedience of the Balioll, they suffered him to depart.

About the same time, sir William Dowglas of Liddesdale, and Andrew Murray, were ransomed home out of England, for a great summe of monie, after they had bene kept there by the space of three yeres in captiuitie. At their comming to Cuthburgh, they found the lords assembled in counsell, at

the which John Randolph earle of Murray, and Robert Stewart, with generall voices were elected gouernours. Manie Scottishmen at this time revolted from the king of England, submitting themselves to king David, as Alexander Ramsay, a vertie skillfull warriour, Laurence Besson, John Herring, and John Haliburton knights, with diuerse other.

After this, John Randolph, and Robert Stewart, were sent into the north parts with a strong armie, gathered of such as were wearied by the English gouernement, whereat David Cumin (being feared with the sudden assemblie) fled for his safetie, whome they egerlie pursued, and taking him (being then beset in a narrow streit, and oppressed with penurie of all things) they compelled him to yeld (without anie more circumstances) to their faction, who then swearing fealtie to David Bruce, was permitted to depart vpon his promise: wherevnto they gaue such faith, that they left him deputie for them. At what time he did not faintlie dissemble the fauouring & defending of the part of Bruce. In the meane time, Randolph returned into Aouthian, and ioined himselfe with his old friend William Dowglas latelie returned out of England, & now with great slaughters of his enemies egerlie reuenged the long lothsomnesse of his imprisonment: to whome also to make their partie the stronger, came Andrew Murray, which was taken at Bokesborowe. Wherefore these gouernours sufficientlie garded with the nobilitie, appointed a parlement at Perth, in the kalends of Aprill. Whither when the nobles came, there could not be anie thing performed, by reason of the secret hartburning harboried in the bosoms of William Dowglas, and David Cumin earle of Atholl: the cause whereof was pretended to be, in that Dowglas did obiect vnto Cumin, that it was by his meanes, that he was no sooner deliuered out of prison from the English: amongst which nobilitie, Stewart fauored Cumin, and almost all the other toke part with Dowglas. Which dissention amongst the nobilitie, was occasioned for suspect which they had of the Cumins comming to that place with so great a traine: for he brought thither such number of his friends and followers, that he was a terror to all the rest of the assemblie, to the increase of which suspicion, they further ioined a conceit they had of Cumins great and changeable wit, his aspiring mind, and certeine rumors spred abroad of the comming of the English, with whome no man did doubt, but that the earle of Atholl would ioine for his defense.)

Edward king of England vnderstanding the rebellion of the Scots, determined to assaile them both by sea and land: and so prouiding a nauie of an hundred and foure score ships, sent the same well bittellied and manned to saile into the Forth, the which being there arriued, burnt and spoiled the towne on both sides that riuer, but returning backe into England, they lost manie of their vessels by a tempest. King Edward himselfe, together with Edward the Balioll entered by land, with an armie of fiftie thousand men, leading the same to the towne of Perth, otherwise called saint Johns towne, and there lodged in campe, abiding for the comming of the earle of Atholl, who as then being solicited thereto by the king of Englands agents, was ready to turne againe incontinentlie to his side [who after accozdinglie, with Godfrie of Kosse, & Alexander Dowglas, with other, came to the king of England.]

The same time, whilst the king of England lay thus at Perth, the earle of Ramure (whom the Scottish writers wronglie name the duke of Gelderland) came into England with an armie, and purposing to passe thorough Scotland vnto the place where king Edward lay in campe, to come to his aid, was discomfited

The earle of Murray and Robert Stewart elected gouernours.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

Hector Boet. saith it was holden at Darke.

Ye may read more of this matter in the historie of England. A nauie sent into Scotland. Shipwracke.

R. Edward invaded the Scots by land.

Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

Not the duke of Gelderland but the earle of Ramure, named Guy,

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Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.

The castell of Dunnone taken.

The thirrisse of Bute slaine.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. John Maior.

Incomendment.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Murray returned forth of France.

Fr. Thin. Countie reduced to the obedience of king David.

1335.

R. Edward invaded Scotland both by sea and land.

The earle of Atholl fled into the mounteins.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

The William Dowglas, and Andrew Murray ransomed.

John Fourdon.

William Dowglas cometh to the succour of the Scots.

David de Armand a Scottish knight.

Hyperbole.

A woman of manlike force and stature.

The earle of Murray is taken prisoner

The earle of Atholl renouling to the Balioll is established governour. The king of England returneth home taking the Balioll with him.

consisted on the Burrowe moore, beside Edinburgh, by the power of the governours, and others, which were there assembled against him. There died manie on both parts in the fight (as John Fourdon writeth) for the strangers fought verie valiantlie: insomuch that if William Dowglas, with diuerse other, had not come downe from Midland hills to the aid of the Scots, whilst they were thus fighting, the strangers that day had wonne the victorie. But now discouraged with the sudden comming of this fresh aid to their aduersaries, they began to giue place, and drew towards Edinburgh: neuertheless keeping themselves in order of battell, they fought still: and at length comming to Edinburgh, they were driuen by thorough the friers street, and so by an other street, called saint Marie Wind, where one sir David de Armand, a verie valiant knight chanced to be wounded by one of the enemies, by reason whereof he was so kindled in wrathfull desire to be reuenged, that with an are which he had in his hand, he gaue his aduersarie (that had hurt him) such a blow on the shoulder, that he claue him downe together with his horse, that the are staid not till it light vpon the verie hard pavement, so as the print of that violent stroke remained to be seene a long time after in one of the stones of the same pavement.

The strangers still retiring, and manfullie defending themselves, at length got to the hill where Edinburgh castle standeth, and there slue their horses, making as it were a rampier of their carcasses, so to defend themselves from the force of their enemies: but being inuironed by the Scots on ech side all that night, and hauing neither meate nor drinke there, with to susteine their languishing bodies, the which beside hunger and thirst, were soe tormented with cold also, and want of conuenient lodging, they yielded themselves the next day, with condition to haue their liues saued. When the spoile of the field (where they first ioined) was gathered, amongst the dead bodies there was found a woman of an huge stature, who in the beginning of the battell strept forth before hir companie, and incountering in singular fight with an esquire of Scotland, named Richard Shaw, she ouerthrew him, and afterwards beating downe hir enemies on ech side, long it was per the might he ouerthrew one, which chanced not before she was inuironed about on ech side with hir enemies.

The earle of Hamure hauing yielded himselfe into the hands of the governours, was verie courteously vsed, the earle of Murray not onelie rendering vnto him all his goods, but also granting him licence to depart: and for his moze suertie, he went himselfe in person with him to the borders, to see him safe deliuered out of all dangers. But by an ambush that lay in wait for the earle of Murray, he was taken prisoner, and brought to king Edward. David Cumin earle of Atholl, hearing that the earle of Murray one of the governours was thus taken, supposing king Edwards part to be much advanced thereby, came streightwaies vnto Perth, and gaue his faith effionces vnto Edward Balioll, and was againe established by him governour of the realme of Scotland, as he was before. The king of England, hauing in the meane time gotten the towne of Perth, returned into England, and toke the Balioll with him, for doubt least when he had recovered the whole gouernement of the realme, he should thinke awaite from him. The earle of Atholl hauing now regained his former authoritie, began to exercise great crueltie against all those that were enemies to the Balioll.

The nobles of the contrarie faction (as Patrike Dunbar earle of March, Andrew Murray, & William Dowglas, with other) toke great despite there-

at, and raising an armie to restraints his insolent doings, came towards him, whereof he being aduertised (as then lieng at siege before the castle of Killdunmure) rose and met them in the fields within the forrest of Killblaine, where he gaue them a sore battell, and had gone awaite with the victorie, had not John Crag capteine of Killdunmure sallied forth of the castle with three hundred fresh men, and comming to the succour of his friends, renewed the battell in such earnest wise, that the aduersaries thereby were discomfited, earle David their chiefeine being slaine in the field, with Walter Bide, Robert Cumin, and a great number of other, both gentlemen and commons. Sir Thomas Cumin was taken prisoner, & beheaded the next day, being Iacobus day. For the battell before mentioned was fought the last day of December (as Fourdon noteth). Who further saith, that the earle of Atholl had with him three thousand men against his aduersaries, which were not past eleuen hundred.

* This David earle of Atholl was verie instant & greedy of gouernment, who if he had brought all the Scots to haue taken king Edwards part, would out of doubt, haue afterward contended with king Edward, and inuaded the kingdome of Scotland by violence; he did most grieuoullie oppresse the gilllesse and poore people, and wickedlie ordered all things after his own fantasie, without reason. Cumin earle of Atholl was slaine on this wise: Andrew Murray was chosen gouernour in place of the earle of Murray, taken (as before is said) by the Englishmen. This Andrew Murray in the beginning of his new office, laid siege to the castle of Couper, with a mightie power of men, but hearing that the Cumins made foule worke in the north parts of the realme, against such as fauoured not the English part, he left that siege, and went against them, with whome incountering in battell, he ouerthrew their armie, and put them all to flight.

At this bickering were slaine two of the Cumins, Robert and William, Thomas Caldar, and diuerse other valiant men, though enemies for the time vnto the gouernour. This victorie reduced all the north parts of Scotland vnto the obedience of king David. Few Englishmen after the same abode within the north bounds of Scotland, except those that were within the castle of Dungard in Buchquhane. At length this castle was wonne, & all that kept it slaine, except Henrie Beaumont the capteine, who being sworne neuer to returne againe into Scotland, was licenced by the gouernour to depart into England without anie interruption. After this, the gouernour came to the castle of Lochindozis, and laid siege to it, where within was the countesse of Atholl, the wiife of the late slaine earle David. This woman hauing knowledge aforehand, that hir house should be besieged, had sent vnto the king of England and to Edward Balioll for succours.

The king of England now doubting least all the strengths in Scotland, kept by such as were his friends, would be lost without recouerie, if the same were not the soner rescued, he raised an armie of forty thousand men, and entering therewith into Scotland, came to the castle of Lochindozis aforesaid. The Scots that lay there at siege, vpon knowledge had of his comming towards them, brake vp, and departed from thence. Wherevpon, when he had refreshed the hold with new men, munition, and vittels, he toke the countesse forth with him, and passed with bloudie sword thorough Murray, euen to Elghine, and returning by Mar, burnt the towne of Aberdeen. When he went to Strueling, where he strongly repaired the castle: from whence he toke his iourne to Bothernell, and there also in winter he made the castle

The earle of Atholl is slaine.

Fourdon.

Fr. Thin. John Major. 5. cap. 14.

Andrew Murray chosen gouernour.

The Cumins put to flight.

The north parts of Scotland reduced to the obedience of king David. The castle of Dungard wonne.

The castle of Lochindozis besieged.

The king of England cometh to raise the siege of Lochindozis.

The towne of Aberdeen burnt by the Englishmen. Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

The towne of Perth newlie built.

My crueltie.

Edward slayeth his brother William.

He died of a natural infirmie, as by the English writers it appeareth. Edward returneth into England.

Andrew Murray cometh forth the mountains. He winneth the castle of Munclewin.

He stronger, in which he placed a valiant garrison: to this fort the lord Berkeleie conueied vittels from Edinburgh, and in one night discomfited William Dowglas that lay in wait to intercept him. After which, king Edward did shortly lose all the said castles, which he had before with so great care fortified. His nauie being on the sea at the same time, entered into the Forth, and spoiling (as other had done afore time) the church of saint Colme, felt reuenge thereof shortly after: for that ship (as they tell the tale) wherein saint Colmes goods (for so they call them) were laden, sank to the bottome of the sea, without force of anie tempest, or other apparant occasion.

The king of England at his coming to Perth, south of the north parts of Scotland, and finding the towne unfortified, caused the same to be newlie fenced with wals and bulwarks, at the charges and onerous expences of these six abbeyes, Aberbrothoke, Couper, Lundoris, Balmerinoch, Dunfermling, & saint Andrewes. Henrie Beaumont also, who contrarie to his oth before taken, was now returned with king Edward into Scotland, was made capteine of saint Andrewes. Also Henrie Ferrar was made capteine of the castle of Lucres, William Montacute of Strueling, William Felton of Rockburgh, and the keeping of the towne of Perth was committed vnto one Thomas Wylsh. Whilste king Edward ordered things in Scotland after this manner, his brother (surnamed by the Scottish writers Eltham) came vnto him at Perth, who in the west parts of Scotland had exercised much crueltie, as well against the enemies of the Englishmen, as against those that were sauiours and friends vnto them, in so much that passing through Galloway, Carrick, Kyle, and Cunningham, he put all to the fier and sword that came in his waies. He burned the church of saint Bute, and a thousand persons within it, which were fled thither for safegard of their liues. At his coming to Perth, he found the king his brother within the church there, who being sore offended with him for his misordered doings, verie sharpelie reprimed him for the same: and for so much as he answered him somewhat srowardlie, he plucked south his sword, and there thrust him through the bodie, euen before the altar of saint John, wishing that all such might perish on the same wise, as put no difference betwixt friend and fo, place hallowed and unhallowed; as being no reason, that the church should be anie more refuge for him, than he had made it for other.

It may be, that king Edward sawe some other man in this sort, as the Scots here doe write: but for the earle of Cornewall that was brother to king Edward, and surnamed John of Eltham, because he was bozne at Eltham, it is nothing true that he was so made a waie, for he died of a naturall infirmittie, as by our English writers it manifestlie appereth. But now to proceed with the historie, as we find it written. Such things accomplished in Scotland (as before ye haue heard) king Edward returned into England, & left the Balioll behind him with a great power of men at Perth. About the same time, Henrie Beaumont slew all such Scots as he might lay hands on, that had bene at the battell of Halbleine, where his cosine David Cumyn was slaine. Shortly after, he came into Perth, and there toke the castle of Kinkellin, and rased it to the earth. Shortly after he came into Perth, and there toke the castle of Kinkellin, and likewise rased the same.

Then passing forward, he burned Dunnoter.

On the other part, the Englishmen made no lesse spoile and destruction on each side where they came, so that the Bernes, Angus, Stirling, and Perth through spoile, murther, & other disgraces, chancing by continuall warre, were left in manner waste and desolat. At length, this Andrew Murray assembling a great power, with support of them of Murray, Mar, and Buchan, fought with his enemies at 10 Dunnoter in Angus, where he obtained the victorie with huge slaughter of Englishmen, and other his aduersaries. In this battell was slaine Henrie Mountfort, who lately before had bene sent by king Edward into Scotland to support the Balioll, beside foure thousand others, the most part gentlemen: so that this ouerthrow was verie displeasing to the king of England, hauing his side sore weakened thereby. After the gaine of this victorie, Andrew Murray passed thorough Fife & Angus, ouerthrowing the castle of Lucres, with all the other strengths of Fife, the castle of Couper onelie excepted.

Andrew Murray gardian of the Scots (and sir David Buse) did much harme in the countrie of Carleill, from whence he went to besiege the castle of Edinburgh (as yet in the hands of the English) whose intent coming to the knowledge of the marchers of England, they hastened to repaire to raise the same siege of Edinburgh, and to rescue their countrymen within the towne. By means thereof, the Scots remoued and came to Clerkington, and the English came to Brethetowne not farre distant; betwene whome there was a great fight, and manie slaine on both sides. But the victorie inclining (without anie great conquest) to neither partie, both armies parted: for the English went ouer Tweed, and the Scots feining that they would go into England, lodged themselves at Calusarill. So that king Edward hearing of such prosperous successe chancing to his aduersaries, sent incontinentlie two capteins with two armies into Scotland, to the support of the Balioll.

William Calbois a man of notable prowes, hauing the conduct of the one of these armies, was encountered by William Keith, and after the discomfiture of his people, being taken prisoner, was kept in captiuitie till he paid two thousand marks for his rancome. The other was led by Richard Mountfort with whome Laurence Preston and Robert Gordon met, and giuing him battell, slew the same Richard with the most part of all his companie. About the same time sir William Montacute earle of Salisbury, together with the earle of Arundell came into Scotland with a great power of men, and besieged the castle of Dunbar, lieng at the same for the space of 22 weeks. [At which battell also was king Edward, the earle of Gloucester, the lords Perre and Beuill, being in the yeare 1337, as saith Scala chron.] Within the said castell was the countesse hir selfe, surnamed blake Agnes of Dunbar, who showed such manlie defense, that no gaine was to be got anie waies south at hir hands, so that in the end they were constrained to raise their siege, and to depart without speed of their purpose. It is said, that this countesse bled manie pleasant words in teasing and taunting at the enemies doings, thereby the more to encourage hir souldiers.

One day it chanced that the Englishmen had devised an engine called a sow, vnder the pentise or covert wherof they might approach safelie to the wals: the beholding this engine, merueille said, that unless the Englishmen kept their sow the better, she would make hir to cast hir pigs: and so she after destroyed it. In the yeare next after this siege, there was such a dearth thorough all the bounds of Scotland,

The calamitie chancing to sundrie countreies of Scotland thorough continuall wars. The victorie of Andrew Murray gotten at Dunnoter. Henrie Mountfort slaine.

The castle of Lucres ouerthrowne. Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

Two armies sent into Scotland.

William Calbois taken prisoner.

Richard Mountfort & Laurence Preston slain. The castell of Dunbar is besieged by the earles of Salisbury and Arundell. Fr. Thin.

1337. Blaque Agnes of Dunbar.

An engine called a sow.

A great dearth and all

The earle of Atholl is slaine.

The towne of Perth newlie fortified.

Fourdon.

Fr. Thin. Iohn Maior li. 5. cap. 14.

Andrew Murray chosen gouernor.

The Cumyn put to flight.

Myrmellie.

The north parts of Scotland reduced to the obedience of king David. The castle of Dungard wonne.

Edward burnt his brother Eltham.

The castle of Lochindrossin besieged.

Edward a natural infirmittie, as by our English writers it appereth. Edward returned into England.

The king of England cometh to raise the siege of Lochindrossin.

Andrew Murray cometh south of the mountains. The towne of Perth newlie fortified.

The towne of Aberdeen burned by the Englishmen. Fr. Thin. Scala chron.

of a death in
Scotland.

Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

The castell
of Couper
left void.

The castell of
Louthian in
the hands of
the English-
men.

The death of
Andrew Murray the
governor.
1338.

The castell re-
covered out of
the English
mens hands
by William
Dowglas.

Fr. Thin.
Io. Maior. lib. 5.
cap. 5.

land, with such mortalltie of people, as a greater had not lightlie bene sene nor heard of. The cause of which mortalltie proceeded (as was thought) for that the ground lay untilld and not occupied, by reason of the continuall warres before passed. [The marchers of England (that were left behind the lords that went into Scotland) were discomfited at Pzefsen: where Robert Paners was taken, with manie other prisoners, beside a multitude that were slaine, by reason of certeine displeasent words amongst them, which caused that they brake order, divided themselves, and fought in an inconuenient place.] All the souldiers that kept the castell of Couper, for lacke of vittels left the house void, and coming to the sea side, hired a ship to haue passed into England, but through negligence of the master mariner, they fell vpon a sand-bed, and so were cast away. About the same time the most part of all the strengths and fortresses in Louthian were kept by Englishmen.

The towne of Edinburgh was stuffed with a great number of souldiers, both Englishmen and Scots. Amongest whome there was a Scot of a right stout stomach named Robert Bendergest; he, for that it was perceiued he loued but little the English nation, was euill intreated and vsed amongst them, in so much that on a day, hauing his head broken by the marshall named Thomas knatoun, he ceased not to seeke some meane to be reuenged, till he brought his purpose to passe, so that shortly after he slue the said marshall, and afterward to auoid the danger of death due for that fact, he got away, and came to William Dowglas, whome he perswaded with all diligence to passe vnto Edinburgh, where he might find his enemies at some great aduantage, by reason of the slothfull negligence as then growne amongst them. William Dowglas following this aduertisement, came secretly on a night vnto the foresaid towne, and slue foure hundred Englishmen snoring in sleepe and drunkenness, before they were able to make any resistance.

Not long after, Andrew Murray the governor of Scotland deceased, to the great damage of the common-wealth, and was buried in Rosmarkie, in the yeare after the birth of our Saviour 1338. It came well to passe for Scotland, that about the same time the king of England entering into wars against France, was constrained to cease his pursue of the conquest which he minded to make in Scotland, the which mull needs haue come to full effect, if he had followed his former purpose and intent. But to proceed, after the deceasse of Andrew Murray the governor, Robert Stewart took all the charge on him for the government of the realme, till king David returned home out of France, and began to rule all things himselfe. Luidall also was recovered out of the Englishmens hands, with diuers other places, about this time, by the high prowes and manlie valiance of William Dowglas and other Scottish captains; and therefore in the reward of the good seruice shewed by the same William in conquest of that countrie, he inioined the same afterward as his rightfull inheritance. [Herrie earle of Lancaster and Derby, hearing of the valure of these two worthie captains, William Dowglas, and Alexander Ramseie, earnestlie desired to see them, and to trie their strengths in iusting. Wherevpon, there was a day appointed therefore at Berwick by all the said parties, where they met with their complices provided accordingly. At what time a certeine Englishman asked Peter Crame, if he would not refuse to iust with him, to whome he answered, that he accepted the challenge, but willed him first to dine well, because he should that night sup in paradise. Which fell out accordingly, for in run-

ning together the Englishman was slain.] The king of England moued with high displeasure at these doings, sent a right valiant knight named Sir Thomas Berkeley with a great power of men into Scotland. Against whome came William Dowglas, and Robert Stewart the governor, and gaue him battell at Blackeborne, where the Scots were discomfited and so beaten downe, that few of them escaped, which were not either slaine or taken. Notwithstanding the two captains saued themselves by flight.

Not long after, William Dowglas fought with his enemies at the Cragings, where hauing not past fortie men in his companie, he discomfited sir John Strueling, who had with him nere hand five hundred Englishmen and Scots, that took his part in the king of Englands quarell. In the yeare following, the same William Dowglas wan the castell of Hermitage, & slue all them that were found within it. In the yeare next after, he fought five times in one day with sir Laurence Abernethie, principall capteine vnder the Ballioll, and being put to the worse at foure of those times, at the fift he banquished his enemies, and took prisoner their capteine the said sir Laurence, who was sent to the castell of Dunbretton, there to remaine in safe keeping for a time. For these and such worthie enterprises hardlie atchieued, this Will. Dowglas was much commended, and within a few daies after the taking of the said sir Laurence Abernethie, he was sent by the governor the said Robert Stewart into France, as ambassadoe to king David, for the dispatch of certeine weightie matters touching the state of the realme.

In the meane time, Robert Stewart the governor raised a mightie armie, and came with the same vnto the towne of Perth, planting a strong siege round about it; for diuiding his host into foure parts, he lodged them with their captains in foure severall places. The first consisting for the most part of westerne Scots, he gouerned himselfe; the second he committed to Patrike Dunbar earle of March, the third to William earle of Ross, and the fourth, to Maurice of Motowray lord of Clidesdale. These lay thus at siege of this towne for the space of ten weekes. And though sundrie times they gaue alarmes and assaults to it, yet was it so stoutlie defended by Englishmen and other within, that the Scots for a long time lost more than they wan. At length when they were in maner past all hope to get the towne, & readie to haue departed from it, William Dowglas arrived in the Tait, bringing with him out of France in five ships, both men of war, and also munition of armour, artillerie, and weapons, which serued the Scottishmen in that season greatlie to purpose.

Amongest other, there were two knights of the familie of Casteigallard, and two esquires, Giles de la Hois, and John de Bzeise; also a noble pirat, named Hugh Handpille, who had the charge ouer the foresaid five ships. [While Edward the third was at the siege of Turneie, the earls of March and Somersetland made a rode into Scotland, and were discomfited by Thomas Greie the elder, Robert Paners, John Copeland, with the garrison of Roxborough, then in the hands of the English, but after wonne by the Scots, on Easter day, at the vertie house of the resurrection; the gouernement whereof seemed to be fatal, because all the captains of this towne died of euill deaths, amongst whome was Alexander Ramseie the capteine hereof that died with hunger, being put in prison for verie enmie that William Dowglas bare vnto him.] About the same time, one William Bullocke had taken estones the

Sir Thomas
Berkeley.

The battell
of Blacke-
borne.

Sir John
Strueling
discomfited.

The castell of
Hermitage
won.

Sir Laurence
Abernethie
taken prisoner.

Sir William
Dowglas
sent into
France.

1339.
The towne
of Perth
besieged.

There was
also in that
armie beside
other noble
men William
Murray of
Galloway.

William
Dowglas
returneth out
of France.

John Fowd.

Fr. Thin.
1340.
Scala chron.

the castell of Conper to the king of Englands use, but by perswasion of this William Dowglas, he rendered it by againe, and departed with bag and baggage. Those Scots that had served under him likewise, were content to forsake the king of Englands wages, and to serve William Dowglas, who led them forthwith to the siege of Perth, the which towne he beleagured, his coming was reported into the gouerners hands, by Thomas Thirde the capteine, in the third moneth after it was first besieged, & in the yeare after our redemption 1341. Among other exploits attempted at this siege after the coming of the lord William Dowglas, the Frenchman Hugh Desp'ere, taking upon him on a day to assault the towne with his ships, and to gaine an assault thereto, he lost the chiefest vessel he had, although afterwards when the towne was now rendered, the lord William Dowglas caused the same ship to be towed againe to the towne, and with great thanks and honour, as well to him as to the other of the Frenchmen, he sent them backe into France, as a gift to their pleasure and recompensation, although in their returne, as they passed out of Dumfries, they escaped herie hardlie from the thre. [The winter after the siege of Currie, king Edward went to Helroffe, but from thence riding through part of the forest of Strike, in a tempestuous time, he came backe againe to Helroffe, where Harry earle of Lancaster, iusted with William Dowglas (by covenant) in the kings sight, king Edward taking a truce, departed from Helroffe, half overcome with melancholie against those that first moued him to this tourne, not succeeding as they hoped and desired that it should haue done.]

In the same yeare (as some do write) or according unto other in the yeare following, there was such a miserable dearth, both through England and Scotland, that the people were driven to eat the flesh of horses, dogs, cats, and such like vntused kinds of meats, to susteine their languishing liues withall, yea, in so much that (as is said) there was a Scottish man, an vplandish fellow named Cristiclocke, spared not to slea children, and to kill women, on whose flesh he fed, as if he had bene a Wolfe. Perth being once deliuered (as before is said) to the gouernor, he went with his armie to Striueling, and besieging the castell, had it rendered unto him the eight day after his coming thither, on these conditions, that Thomas Foulkie the capteine, with his wife and children might safelie passe into England, without fraud or guile of anie impeachment [of which castell (as saith Buchanan) Maurice the sonne of Andrew Murray was made capteine.] Edward Balioll, by such good and prosperous successe, as did thus daile fall vnto his enemies, to auoid further danger, after oft removing from place to place, at length he was constrained to sitte into England, lest he should haue fallen into his aduersaries hands.

Not long after, the castell of Edinburgh was wonne by policie on this wise. William Dowglas hauing acquaintance with one Walter Towlers, [whom Buchanan called William Cur a merchant] caused him to prouide a ship, and to arrive therewith in the Forth, feining as though he were a merchant, and to offer wines to sell vnto the garison that kept Edinburgh castell. This Towlers according to instructions thus giuen him, prouided him of all things necessarie for the purpose, & so coming into the Forth with his ship, came on land himselfe, and brought with him into Edinburgh two punchions of wine, which he offered to sell vnto the steward of household to the capteine of the castell, who falling at a price with him, appointed that he should

bring them earlie in the morning by to the castell, that they might be receiued in. Towlers hiring a cart ouer night, came with the punchions by to the castell gate, earlie vpon the brake of the day in the next morning, and hauing the gates opened, entered with his cart, and being come within the gates with it, he plucked forth a wedge or pin deuised of purpose, and immediatlie therewith the cart with the punchions fell downe, so stopping the entrie of the gates, that in no wise they might be shut or closed againe.

The Dowglasse hauing in his companie William Bullocke, Walter Fraserie, and John Sandlands, right valiant knights, with diuerse other hardie and bold personages, laie in conert not far from the castell, & hauing knowledge giuen him by sound of home, or otherwise, when to come forth, he hastied thereupon with all diligence vnto the gates, and finding them thus open, first shue the porters, and after into the castell, within a while had dispatched all them within, and so became maisters of that fortres, within the which for capteine they left one William Dowglas, the bastard brother of the other William Dowglas, by whose conduct chiefe, both this enterprisse and diuers other were luckilie achieved. Thus was the realme of Scotland clearelie redonered out of the enemies hands the Englishmen, and all other that took part with the Balioll, constrained to auoid out of all the parts and bounds thereof. The castell of Edinburgh was thus recovered by the Scots in the yeare last before remembred, to wit, 1341.

The same yeare, or in the next ensuing, the second of June, king David with his wife quene Jane, and sundrie nobles both french and Scottish, came safelie through the seas, and arrived in Innerbernie, from whence with no small triumph they were conueried vnto Perth. About the same time, Alexander Ramsay of Dalehouse, one of the most valiant capteins knowne in those daies, gathering a great power of men, entered into England, and hauing knowledge that the Englishmen were assembled, in purpose to giue him battell, laid an ambush for them, and training them within danger thereof, by such a fierce and new onset as he gaue vpon them, he put them out of order, and chased them most egerlie, killing and slaying a great number of them at his pleasure. Amongest the prisoners that were taken, the earle of Salisburie (as the Scottish historie saith) was one, and the capteine of Hokesburgh another.

Sir Alexander Ramsay, perceiving that the most part of the garrison of Hokesburgh were either slaine, or taken in this last conflict, together with their capteine, came hastilie thither, and giuing a right fierce assault thereto, by fine force took it. Wherefore king David in recompense of his valancie thus declared in his seruice, gaue vnto him the keeping of this castell, together with the shirfwike of Glouddale. Whereat William Dowglasse took such displeasure, that seeking to be reuenged, he found meanes to apprehend this Alexander Ramsay within the church of Hawike, and put him in prison within the castell of Hermitage, where he remained in great miserie and lacke of food till he died. [About which time by the said kind of death (as saith Buchanan) was William Bullocke slaine, by David Berkelie. The death of which two did draw Scotland into manie factions, and filled it with seditions.]

King David was sore moued herewith, purposing to see such punishment done vpon William Dowglas for that rebellious attempt, as might serue for an example to all other who they went about ante the like offense. Neuerthelesse, the Dowglasse kept him out of the way amongst the mountains

1341. H.B.
1342. Io. Ma.
King David returneth into Scotland.

Alexander Ramsay recovered into England.

This Ramsay was so renowned, that euerie noble man was glad to haue his sonne and kinsman to serue vnder him.

The castell of Hokesburgh wonne by Alexander Ramsay.

Alexander Ramsay taken by William Dowglas, & imprisoned.
Fr. Thin.

Sir Thomas Berkelie.

The battell of Blackhe.

The towne of Perth rendered to the gouernor.
1341.
John Fourdon.

Sir John Striueling discomfited.

The castell of Hermitage wonne.

1341.
John Fourdon.

Sir Lawrence Abernethie taken prisoner.

Fr. Thin.

Sir William Dowglas sent into France.

1339.

The towne of Perth besieged.

John Fourdon.

There was also in that armie beside other noble men William Keith of Caithness.

Children taken.

The castell of Striueling rendered.

John Fourdon.

Fr. Thin.

Edward Balioll with his army into England.

John Fourdon.

The castell of Edinburgh wonne.

Fr. Thin.

1340.
Scala chron.

Police.

teins and other desert places, till finally Robert Stewart and other nobles purchased his pardon, so that at length he came into favour againe, and had all his lands and livings restored unto him, as well in Tuidale as elsewhere.

The earle of Salisburie exchanged for the earle of Murray.

Froisard.

1342.

A parliament at Perth.

The bounteous liberalitie of King David. This Hugh was grandfather to Hector Boetius.

King David invaded Northumberland.

Fr. Thin.

King David the second time invaded the English borders.

Five Scottish knights taken prisoners.

King David the third time invaded England. Foul weather.

Calis besieged.

Ambassadors sent by French king into Scotland.

Some after the earle of Salisburie was taken by Sir Alexander Ramsay (as is said) he was exchanged for the earle of Murray, that had bene holden manie yeeres before as prisoner in England. But it should appeare by other writers, that the earle of Salisburie was not taken at that time in the borders of Scotland (as before is supposed) but in the borders of France, where he was in the wars which King Edward the same time made against the Frenchmen, & now was exchanged for the earle of Murray. But howsoever it was, King David after the realm of Scotland was once brought into a quiet estate from the former trouble of war, he called a parliament at the towne of Perth, where he rewarded verie liberallie all such as had either done any notable service themselves, or had lost any of their friends or parents in defense & recoverie of the realm out of his adversaries hands. Among other, Hugh Boece had in recompense of his fathers slaughter at Duplin, the inheritance & ladvie of the baronie of Balbrin given him in marriage, which baronie is yet possessed by the heires of the said Hugh.

Shortlie after upon the breaking up of this parliament, King David raised a mightie armie, and entered with the same into Northumberland; but committing the whole charge to John Randolph erle of Murray as lieutenant generall, he would not that any of his owne banners should be spred and borne in all that voiage [although himselfe were there in person, serving secretlie, and would not be knowne in this iourne.] The most part of all Northumberland was burnt and spoiled, for they remained there a moneth before they returned, conceieng atwaie with them great riches, which they got abroad in all places where they came. Shortlie after, he came with a new armie into England, causing his owne standard to be carried afore him at that time, as he that toke upon him the whole governance of that enterprize himselfe. The Englishmen withdrawing all their goods into strengths, minded not to give the Scots any set battell, but to take them ever at some advantage, if they strated abroad any where unwarlike to fetch in booties. Neither were they altogether disappointed of their hoped prey, for 5 Scottish knights, whose names were Stewart, Eglington, Craggie, Woid, and Fullarton, pursuing their enemies on a time over fiercelie, were taken prisoners, and after redeemed for great summes of monie. At length, King David perceiving that he wasted but time, returned into Scotland. But not long after he went againe into England, in which iourne his people were so beaten with vehement stormes of raine and haile, that they had much ado to save themselves from perishing through the unmeasurable force of that so rigorous weather.

On the other side, the Englishmen that were gathered to resist against him, were in semblable manner nere hand destroyed with the like rage of tempest. Hereupon King David, to the end that his enterprize should not seeme altogether to want effect, overthrow sundrie strong houses on the English borders, and so returned home without other damage either done or received. About the same time did Edward king of England besiege the towne of Calis. The French king therfore devising all waies possible whereby to save that towne, and to cause his adversary to raise his siege, sent ambassadors into Scotland, to require King David, that with an armie he would enter into England, and do what da-

mage he might unto the Englishmen, to trie if by that meanes King Edward could be constrained to leave his siege; and to returne home for defense of his owne countrie and subiects. In the meane time also (as I find in the Scottish chronicles) King Edward addressed his orators into Scotland, offering unto King David, upon condition that peace might be had, to deliver into his hands not onelie the towne of Berwick, but also Edward Balliol his old adversary, for whose cause the warre had so long continued betwixt them.

These offers being proponed in counsell, though some of the wisest sort gaue advise that in no condition they ought to be refused; yet the king himselfe (for love that he had to the French king with whom he had bene brought up) and other of the nobles having young heads, upon desire to be revenged of the Englishmen by practise of warres (whereunto they were inclined) would needs consent to the French kings chargeable request, & refuse the king of Englands beneficall offers. Whereupon an armie was leaved, and solempne proclamation made, that all such as were able and fit to beare armour, should meet the king at a certaine day and place, which was to them in the same proclamation assigned. The earle of Ross therefore came with his people unto Perth, and there made his musters before the king: but in the night following he slew the lord of the Isles, with seven of his kinsmen as they were in their beds, and thereupon fled, and got him with all speed againe into Ross [whereby the armie was greatly diminished, when the friends of both parts fearing civil warres amongst the families departed home.]

King David, though he was sore displeased herewith, and desired most earnestlie to have punished that heinous act; yet because he would not hinder his iourne, he let passe the punishment thereof, till more convenient opportunitie might serve thereto. Notwithstanding that William Dowglas of Airdale did earnestlie persuade him, at that time to leade the iourne, and first to punish these turmoils at home, whereby all things might be quieted in his absence. At his coming to the borders, and before he entered into England, he made manie knights, to stirre them the rather to do valiantlie; but first he created William Dowglas an earle, which William was sonne to Archibald Dowglas, slain before at Halidon hill. There was undoubtedly a mightie power of the Scots assembled at that present; in somuch as there was of earles, lords, knights, and gentlemen, to the number of two thousand men of armes; and of such armed men as they called hoblers, set forth by the burrowes and good townes twentie thousand; beside the archers and other footmen; so that they were at the least forty thousand men in all, or (as some writers affirme) thre score thousand.

King David with that his puissant armie, the first of October entered Northumberland, and coming to a fortrell not farre off from the borders called Ribblesdale, they laie round about that place for the space of thre daies, without giving thereto any assault: but the fourth day they assailed it right fiercelie, and in the end entered by fine force, sleaing the more part of all those which they found within the house. The capteine Sir Walter Selbie was taken alive, but immediatlie by King David his commandement, had his head stricken off, and was not permitted to have so much time as to make his confession, which he instantlie desired to have done, but it would not be granted. From thence the armie removed, and went unto the abbie of Launcroft, which they spoiled; and that done they departed, and passing by Ratward castell, and the towne of Redpath, kept on

Ambassadors from the king of England into Scotland.

The king of England offers.

The Scots ready to help the French, & hinder their neighbors the English.

An armie raised to invade England.

The lord of the Isles slain by the earle of Ross.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.

William Dowglas created earle of Dowglas.

Ri. Southwell. Two thousand men of armes, & 2000 hoblers.

King David invaded England.

The top of Ribblesdale.

Sir Walter Selbie taken by the Scots.

Launcroft.

King David lodged in the house of St. Mary.

The abbie of Durham spoiled.

The earle of Northumberland lieutenant of the North.

herald.

The appointment of the Scottish be.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Dowglas slain.

on till they came vnto the p[ri]orie of Berham, which they sacked; but the towne was saued from fire by commandement of king Dauid, who in this iourne appointed to p[re]serue foure towne onelie from burning; to wit, Berham aforesaid, Corbridge, Darlington, and Durham, to the end he might in them lay vp such store of vittels, as he should p[ro]vide abroad in the countrie, wherewith to susteine his armie during the time of his abiding in those parties.

From Berham, where he late thre daies, he marched to Echester, wasting and spoiling the countrie on each hand, and after turned towards the wood of Beantepeire; and coming thither, lodged himselfe in the manour, and set his people abroad into the countrie to fetch in booties, & to burne vp the towne and houses in all places where they came. The spoile, waste, destruction, and slaughter which the Scots p[re]sided with fire and sword, was wonderfull to heare, and incredible almost to be told, they spared neither young nor old, church nor chappell: religious houses as well as other were consumed to ashes. The abbete of Durham, and all places thereabout (as the Scottish writers affirme) were spoiled and miserable sacked, although it was said king Dauid was admonished in a dreame, that he should in anie wise abstaine from violating the gods and lands pertaining to saint Cuthbert.

The earle of Northumberland lieutenant of the North vnder king Edward, to resist these iniuries, raised a great power of men, and joining the same with such bands of old souldiers as king Edward had lately sent ouer out of France for that purpose, first dispatched an herald at armes vnto king Dauid, requiring him to staie from further inuading the countrie, and to returne into Scotland, till some reasonable order for a small peace might be agreed vpon betwixt him and the king his master: otherwise he should be sure to haue battell to the utterance within thre daies after. King Dauid contemning this message, required his folks to make them readie to receiue their enemies if they came to assaile them, and on the next morrow, he diuided his armie into thre battels. In the first was Robert Stewart prince of Scotland, and Patrike Dunbar earle of March: in the second were appointed John earle of Murray, and William earle of Douglas: in the third was the king himselfe, with all the residue of the nobles. [Contrarie to the which Buchanan placeth Douglas in the first, the king in the middle, and Stewart in the third.]

In the morning earlie before the battell, the earle of Douglas departed from the armie to deserue the English host, and to vnderstand their force and order (if it were possible:) but entring somewhat betwixt the English host and his enemies, he was chased, and that to such disadvantage, that he lost fiftie, or rather fine hundred (as some booke haue) of young gentlemen, and such other light horsemen as he toke forth with him, escaping verie narrowlie himselfe also from being taken at the chase. In the meane season, the English host diuided likewise into thre battels, approached forward, and came within sight of the Scottish armie. Wherevpon Dauid Graham with a wing of fine hundred horsemen, well appointed gaue a full charge on the skirts of the English archers, thinking to haue distressed them: but he was so sharpelie receiued and beaten with arrowes, that losing a great number of his men, he was constrained to flee backe to the maine battell, and that not without great danger of being taken in his flight by such as followed him.

These two discomfitures notwithstanding, the Scots rushed fiercelie vpon their enemies, & fought with great manhood a long season; but in the end,

Robert Stewart, and the earle of March, perceiving their people partlie to shrink backe, caused the retreat to be sounded, in hope to saue their men by withdrawing into some safer place: but this fleeing backe of the earle of March and Robert Stewart, brought the discomfite vpon all the residue of the Scots. For that battell of Englishmen that was first matched with them, came now with such violence vpon the maine battell where king Dauid fought, that within a short while after, the same was utterlie discomfited and put to flight. In this businesse king Dauid himselfe did in euery point plaie the part of a most balliant chieftaine, encouraging his people as well with words as notable examples to doe their indentours. Neither would he flee after he saw himselfe destitute of all conuenient aid, but still continued in earnest fight, desiring nothing so much (as should appeare) as death, for that he thought nothing moze displeasing than life, after the slaughter of so manie of his nobles and liege people.

At length hauing his weapons stricken out of his hands, one John Copland came vnto him, and killed him to yeld; but he with one of his fists gaue this Copland such a blow on the mouth, that by force of the gantlet he strake out two of his teeth before he did yeld vnto him. Which Copland is misnamed by John Maior, and not onelie called Couptaunt, but also reported by him to be a Gascoigne, whereas it is euident by our histories, that he was named Copland, and a mere Englishman. But to our purpose. The Scots that fought in the reeward had no better successe than the other: for that battell was also broken & put to flight, with great slaughter as well of the nobles, as other commons, besides those that were taken. There were slaine in this dolorous conflict, the earle of Murray, the earle of Stratherne, the constable, the marshall, the chamberleine and chancellor of Scotland, with a great number of other nobles and commons [with Maurice Murray.] There were taken with the king five earles, that is to say, Douglas, Fife, Sutherland, Wigton, and Spentith [the earle of March & the Seneschall fled, but after the earle of March being taken, was with the earle of Spentith (as saith Scala chron.) d[is]turbance and hanged at London.] And besides other great riches lost in this field, the holie crosse (as they call it) of holie rood house, was found vpon king Dauid, who bare it about him, in trust that by vertue thereof he should be invincible: but he was spoiled both of that and all other his iewels which were found vpon him at the same time. This battell was stricken nere vnto Durham, the 17 day of October, in the yere 1346. What countries and places the Englishmen got after this victorie, ye may read in the English historie.

In the yere following, the Balliol, with the earle of Northumberland made a road into Louthian, and Cliddedale, bringing a great bootie of goods and cattell out of those countries into Galloway, in which countrie the Balliol abode a long time after. At length, the Scots recouering themselves with much paine, after the slaughter of so manie of their nobles and commons, beside the discomfite for the taking of their king, chose and appointed Robert Stewart as gouernour to haue the rule of the realme. About the same time, William Douglas the sonne of Archibald Douglas, that was brother vnto godd sir James Douglas, who (as before is said) was slaine in Spaine, returned forth of France, and by support of his friends chased the Englishmen out of Douglasdale, Tindale, Twisdale, Strike forest, & Tweedale. John Copland capitaine of Roxburgh, to resist such enterprises, gathered a number of men, A. J. and

The cause of the overthrow

The Scots discomfited.

King Dauid his valiance.

King Dauid taken by John Copland.

I 346. Scala. chron. Nobles slaine in this battell. Fr. Thin. Prisoners taken.

Fr. Thin.

The Balliol sojourneth in Galloway.

Robert Stewart gouernour of Scotland.

Countries recovered out of the Englishmens hands.

Embassadors from the king of England into Scotland

The king of England offers.

The Scots ready to helpe the French, & hinder their neighbors the English.

An armie raised to invade England.

The lord of the Isles slain by the earle of Ross.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.

William Douglas created earle of Douglas.

Ri. Southwell Two thousand men of armes, 20000 hoblers.

King Dauid inuadeth England.

The fort of Lidell.

Sir Walter Selbie helped by the Scots.

Launcroft.

King Dauid lodged in the manor of Beantepeire.

The abbete of Durham spoiled.

The earle of Northumberland lieutenant of the North.

A herald.

The appointing of the Scottish battels.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Douglas chased.

David Graham taken.

John Cop-
land chased.

1349.

The second
pestilence that
was heard of
in Scotland.
Sir David
Berklie slaine

and came forth against his enemies, but receiving the overthrow, he was chased into Roxburgh againe, with losse of diuerse of his men.

In the yere next following, which was from the incarnation 1349, there came such a pestilence thorough all parts of Scotland, so beheiment and contagious, that it slue nere hand the third part of all the people. This was the second time that the pestilence was knowne or heard of to haue come in Scotland. The same yere, or (as other bookes haue) the yere next ensuing, one John saint Pighell slue sir David Berklie knight at Aberdeen, in the night season, by procurement of sir William Dowglas of Liddesdale, as then prisoner in England with the earle of Dowglas, both of them being taken at Durham field. The occasion was, for that this sir David Berklie had aforesaid slaine one John Dowglas, brother to the said sir William, and father to sir James Dowglas of Dalkeith.

1353. I. Ma.
Sir William
Dowglas
slaine.

In the yere following, was the same sir William Dowglas, being lately before ransomed out of England, slaine, as he was hunting in Etrike forest, by his cosine and godsonne William earle of Dowglas, in reuenge of the slaughter of Alexander Ramsay, and other old grudges. Thus was the house of the Dowglases diuided amongst themselves, pursuing each other manie yeres togither with great unkindnesse, vnnaturall enimitie and slaughter. In the yere next following, which was 1355, shortly after Easter, there arrived in Scotland a noble knight named sir Eugenie de Carenteris, with a companie of Frenchmen, though few in number, yet valiant and verie skillfull warriors, which were sent thither by John king of France, that succeeded his father king Philip of Valois, lately before deceased, and deliuered vnto the gouernour and other nobles of the realme of Scotland, forty thousand crownes of the sunne, to be imployed about the leuieng of an armie against the Englishmen, that they might be constrained the sooner to withdraw their powers out of France.

Fortie thousand
crownes.

The earle of
Morch and
William Dow-
glas enter in
to England
with an army.
William Ram-
sey of the Dale
house.

This monie was receiued, though a small part thereof came to the hands of the souldiers or men of warre of Scotland, for the lords and nobles kept it safe inough to their owne vse. Yet neuerthelesse, the earle of Morch, and William Dowglas, gather their people, and passe forth with the same to the borders, and entering into England, appoint William Ramsay of the Dalehouse, to ride before with a number of light horsemen, to the end, that if the Englishmen did assemble and come forth too strong against him, he might retire backe to the maine battell, where they lay in couert, at a place called Pilsbet moze. This Ramsay doing as he was commanded, made a great forraie thorough the countrie, and hauing got together a great bootie of cattell, with, drew with the same homewards: but being sharpe-ly pursued by the Englishmen, in hope to recouer their goods, he fled amaine, and they following eagerly in the chase, were vpon the Scottish armie before they were aware. The Scottishmen, and those few Frenchmen that were there, set vpon the Englishmen fiercely, and finally put them to flight, though not without some slaughter on their part: for there were slaine of Scots sir John Holieburton, and sir James Turnebull knights. These were taken prisoners of Englishmen, sir Thomas Greie, and his sonne, with John Darcas, and manie other Englishmen.

The English-
men intrap-
ped.
Put to flight.

Prisoners ta-
ken.

Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.
1355.

The taking of which Greie is reported by others to haue bene after this manner. The lords Persie and Beuill, gardians of the English marches, took truce with the lord William Dowglas, at the time that he conquered the lands which the Englishmen

had twone of the Scots. But Patrick earle of March (being in confederacie with Caranteris) would not by anie persuation consent to that leage: wherevpon (with a number of others) he made a road to the castle of Roxham, ambushing themselves vpon the Scottish side of the riuer of Tweed, sending ouer a banneret with his ensigne, and 400 men to forrage & spoile the countrie, who gathering the preies, draue them in despite alongst the castle: wherevpon Thomas Greie, capteine of Roxham (sonne to Thomas Greie, that had bene three times by the Scots besieged in the said castle of Roxham, in the reigne of king Edward the second) seeing the commons of England thus robbed (and deeming it his part to defend his countrie, friends, and their substance) issued forth of Roxham with few men more than fiftie of the garrison of the castle, and a few of the common people vnerpert in matters of war, who (not knowing of the secret ambush of the band which Patrick had laied in wait behind Tweed) issued forth to follow and recouer the preie: but being so farre gone in chase of the enemy, as that he could not returne in safetie (because he was beset before and behind with the 400 on the one side, & the ambush laied by Patrick on the other side) the said Greie and his companie (finding none other remedie but to hazard the successe) forsooke their horses, and on foot (standing to the extremitie) with a wonderfull courage set vpon the Scots, whereof more were killed than of the English, but the Scots comming so soze on the English (not able to resist) they began to flie, at what time Thomas Greie (as before is declared) was taken prisoner.)

The earles of March, and Dowglas, after the obtaining of this victorie, came suddenly in the night season vnto the towne of Berwik, and raising vp ladders to the wals, wan the towne, but not without losse of diuerse Scottish gentlemen, as Thomas Waus, Andrew Scot of Balwerie, John Gordon, William Sinclair, Thomas Pesson, and Alexander Mowbray knights. Of English were slaine Alexander Ogill capteine of the towne, Thomas Persie brother to the earle of Roxthumberland, and Edward Greie, with others. Eugenie de Carenteris with his Frenchmen did verie valiantlie beate himselfe in this enterpryse, whome Robert Stewart the gouernour rewarding with great gifts, sent backe into France, commending him by letters vnto the French king, as he that had done his dutie in euerie bechalle verie thourghlie. The castle of Berwik, notwithstanding that the towne was thus twone, held forth the Scots and Frenchmen, by reason thereof when an armie of Englishmen came to the succours thereof, they raced the wals, and burnt the houses of the towne, and so departed.

The tidings whereof were brought to king Edward at the verie instant of his landing from Calis into England, for which cause he taried at his parliament appointed at London but three daies, and with all speed came to Berwik, where he entered the castle; whereat the burgeses amazed, treated with him, and therevpon the towne of Berwik was rebelled (against the minds of the Scots) to king Edward. As Edward himselfe being come to the rescue and recouerie of Berwik, and hauing receiued the towne, and finding it so defaced, took order for the repairing thereof againe, went to Roxburgh, and there receiued of the Balioll a full resignation of all right to the crowne of Scotland. [For his pretended right to the crowne of Scotland.] For there the 26 of Januarie, the said Balioll hauing resigned (as before) all his title to king Edward, acknowledged these causes: first, in consideration that the Scots were full of rebellon; also, because he had no heire, nor anie verie nere of his linage: and for that he

Berwik
towne.

Berwik
wals razed.
Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

Berwik
repaired a-
gain by king
Edward.
The Balioll
resigneth his
right.
Fr. Thin.
Scala chron.

alicus epis-
cop. Rolfe. lib.
p. 17.

1355.

The burnt
Candlemas.

Salloway re-
covered.

The battell
of Potters.

The French
king John ta-
ken prisoner.

Archibald
Dowglas
taken prisoner.

Subell poli-
ce.

he was of k. Edwards blod of England, he kneto
not where to bestow it better than vpon him. This
Balioll is by no autho^r (as Lesleus saith) placed in
the catalog of the kings, as well for that he bound
himselfe (by homage) to the gouernement of Eng-
land with an oth, against the gouernement & maie-
tie of Scotland: as for that being a tyrant, & by force
inuading the crowne, he continued not long in the
same. In truth, I suppose he held it not verie long,
and that in continuall warre. But yet for that which
I can see, he was crowned king at Scone, 1332,
as Lesleus himselfe, Buchanan, and all other autho^rs
do agree. Beside, he gouerned by him & his agents
vntill the yeare of 1342, at what time he yelded his
crowne to king Edward of England; which was
the full part of ten yeares, after which againe he re-
couered a good part of Endgland. Wherefore it se-
meth strange to me, that Rosse will not allow him a
place in the catalog of kings, since Buchan. maketh
him the nintie fourth king, and so placeth him vnder
that title, and maketh David Bruce (who was
crowned before Balioll, and gouerned after Bali-
olls departing Scotland) the 98 king, naming al-
so Robert (who succeeded after Bruce) the hundred
king in order of gouernement; in such sort, that both
these writing at one time (but with diuers affec-
tions) cannot agree on the number of their kings:
one receiuing, & the other reiecting him to be placed
in the catalog of their kings. After this, king Ed-
ward passing forth to Hadington, spoiled and wa-
sted the countrie by the way on each hand as he mar-
ched forward; and for displeasure that his nauie on
the sea (after the souldiers and mariners had bene
on land, and burned the church of our ladie in those
parts called Whitekirke) had with force of a
rigorous tempest bene soe shaken, and manie
of the ships lost and drowned together with men
and all, he fell into such a rage, that he caused all
the buildings in those parts to be burnt and spo-
iled, as well abbies as all other churches and religi-
ous houses, as though he minded (say the Scotish
writers) to make warre both against God and all
his saints. These things chanced in the yeare 1355,
after our common account, about the feast of the
Purification of our ladie, & by reason the English
men did so much hurt at that time in those parts by
fire, they called it euer after. The burnt Candlemas.
Hostlie after that king Edward was returned
into England, William Dowglas of Piddesdale
recovered out of the English mens possession the
lands of Galloway, & the lands of Widdale were in
like maner recovered by one Birpatrick. In the
same yeare on the 20 day of October, was the bat-
tell of Poitiers fought, where Edward prince of
Wales, otherwise named the Blache prince, ouer-
threw the armie of France, and took king John
prisoner, with his yongest sonne Philip, and a great
number of other of the French nobilitie besides.
There was at this battell with king John, the earle
William Dowglas, & to the number of three thou-
sand Scots, having diuers knights and gentlemen
to their capteins, of whome there died in the same
battell Andrew Steward, Robert Gordon, An-
drew Holiebarton, and Andrew Claus, knights. The
earle of Dowglas escaped with life and vntaken,
but Archembald Dowglas, son to sir James Dow-
glas slaine in Spaine, was taken prisoner; albeit
his taker suffered him to depart for a small ran-
some, by reason that William Ramsay of Collu-
thie, who was also taken with him, made semblance
as though the same Archembald Dowglas had bene
some poore slave, causing him to pull off his boots, and
to do other such drudging seruice, as fell not for the
estate of a man of any estimation or honestie, to the

end it should not be knowne what he was.

Thus the king of England at one time hauing
two kings vnder his captiuitie, sat crowned be-
twixt them at meate in the feast of Chyristmasse, ma-
king (as the vse is) amongst the Englishmen in
that season a great banquet. And this he did (as is
reposed) to the intent that the maner thereof might
be bytuted abroad to his high praise & glorious fame.
King David with in certeine yeares after was con-
ueied by the earle of Northampton vnto Berwikke,
where the most part of all the nobles of Scotland
assembled together to consult with him touching some
agreement to be had for his ransome: but because
they could grow to no certeine point therein, he
was brought backe againe to London, and there re-
mained in prison as before. In the meane time, Ro-
ger Kirkpatrick was slaine by James Lindseie, in a
castell where the said James dwelled, and receiued
the said Roger as his ghest. This Lindseie fled vpon
the fact committed; but yet being apprehended
and brought to the gouernor Robert Steward, he
suffered death for that offense.

Two kings
prisoners in
England at
one time.

Roger Kirk-
patrick slaine.

Shortlie after, that is to wit at Michaelmasse next
insuing, after king David had bene at Berwikke,
there was an agreement made for his ransome,
whereupon being deliuered, he returned into Scot-
land, in the eleuenth yeare after his taking at Dur-
ham field. It was aged that there should be paid
for his ransome one hundred thousand marks ster-
ling, at sundrie daies of payment, as was accorded
betwixt them. After he had bene 11 yeares in
England, in which place also Froissard setteth downe
that he paid but 50000 marks English. And Scala
Chron. saith, that at the feast of S. Michael, David
king of Scots was deliuered for 100000 marks of
silver: for which, his hostages came to Berwikke,
being the countie of Southerland, and his sonne
that was borne of the sister of king David; Tho-
mas Senescall that was named in Scotland earle
of Angus; Thomas Demurrise baron of Bothuill,
and other twentie sons of noble men in Scotland.

King David
is deliuered.

1357.
Fr.Thin.
Scala chron.

Truce also was taken for the space of fourtē
yeares betwixt both realmes, and diuers nobles of
Scotland were appointed to lie as hostages in Eng-
land, till the monie were paid, as is before menti-
oned [of which pledges (as saith Lesleus) most died in
England, by means wherof, the king was deliuered
of a great part of his ransome.] k. David was also
bound by covenant of agreement to race certeine
castles within Scotland, which seemed most noisome
to the English borders: which covenant he perfor-
med. For vpon his returne into Scotland, he east
downe the castles of Dalwhinton, Dunfreis, Por-
toluene, and Durisdere. He also called a parlement,
wherein he enacted sundrie things for the punish-
ment of them that fled from him at Durham field:
and first for that his cosine Robert Steward was
one of them, being through means thereof a great
cause of the ouerthrow, he procured that the act (by
which the crowne was appointed for want of issue of
his bodie lawfullie begotten, to descend vnto the
said Robert Steward) was vtterlie reuoked and
disanulled, and John Southerland the sonne of Jane
his yongest sister, appointed heire apparant in place
of the said Robert. And all the lords of Scotland
were sware to obserue and keepe this ordinance.

Truce for
14 yeares.

Fr.Thin.

Castles ra-
ced.

A parlement.
Robert Ste-
ward dishe-
ried of the
crowne.
John Sou-
therland made
heire appa-
rant.

The earle of Southerland, father to the said John,
in hope that his sonne should inioy the crowne, gaue
away the most part of his lands, dividing the same
amongst his friends, as to the Hates, the Sinclares,
the Ogilbies, and Gordons: but he was neuerthe-
lesse deceiued of his hope. For shortlie after his son
being one of them that was giuen in pledge to re-
maine in England, till the monie for the kings ran-
some

The death of
John Sou-
therland.

Robert Ste-
ward againe
ordained heire
apparent.
The contri-
bution of the
cleargie.

1363.

Fr.Thin.
Buchanan.

A demand
proponed to
the lords of
Scotland.

Fr.Thin.

1357.
Their an-
swer.

1357

Quene
Janes death.
Fr.Thin.

John Maior li.
5. cap. 22.

Ouid.

King David
marrieth Mar-
garet Logie.

He repenteth
his marriage.

He banisheth
hir.

She complai-
neth to the
pope.

Sentence gi-
uen on hir
part.
She depar-
teth this
world.

some was paid, died there of the pestilence, in such
sort as the most part of the other pledges likewise
did. And shortly after his deceasse, Robert Ste-
ward was reconciled to the kings sauer, and orde-
ned heire apparant to the crowne in semblable man-
ner as he was before. The cleargie of Scotland
condescended to giue the tenth pennie of all their
fruits & reuenues towards the paiement of the kings
ransome [which the pope caused the clergie to giue.]
Not long after, king David called an other coun-
cell, wherein (according to his promise made to the
king of England before his deliuerance) he moued
the lords and barons of Scotland in a matter where-
of he wished not to haue of them anie towardlie an-
swer, and that was this: Whether they could be
contented, that after his deceasse, the crowne of
Scotland should be transferred vnto the king of
Englands sonne, and to his lawfull heires: [Which
thing Iohn Maior assigneth to the yeare 1363, who
also saith, that it was this parlement (as he hath red)
and done by the persuation of Jane the quene, for-
getting that he said before, that she died in the yeare
1357.]

The lords hearing that was proponed vnto them,
answered without anie long studie, that so long as
anue of them were able to beare armour or weapon,
they would neuer consent thereto. King David right
sofall to heare them at this point, thought himsele
discharged, for that he was not bound to labor fur-
ther in this sute, because his promise made to the
king of England touching this point, onelie was,
that if the Scottis lords would agree, then he should
intail the crowne to his sonne. In the yeare next
following, which was from the incarnation 1357,
quene Jane the wife of k. David went into Eng-
land to see hir brother king Edward, & died there be-
fore she returned (leaving no issue behind hir) [at
Hertford in the yeare of our redemption (as saith
Io. Maior) 1362, and was buried (as saith Sca. chro.)
in the greie friers in London beside hir mother.
This woman doth the said Maior commend for a
most rare person, in that she neuer forsooke hir hus-
band in his banishment into France, & in the time
of his imprisonment in England; for which cause she
deserueth as great praise as Penelope, although in
hir life she intoyed small worldlie pleasure, having
had hir bodie dedicated to the marriage bed. For

*si nihil infausti durus tulisset Vlyses,
Penelope felix, sed sine laude foret.*

According to which, it might haue bene said of
this woman, that she might haue bene counted hap-
pie, if hir husband had neuer bene oppressed with
these manie disgraces of fortune; but then she should
neuer haue bene extolled with that commendation,
which now to the worlds end she hath amongst the
wisest.]

k. David, after hir deceasse, married a yong lu-
die gentlewoman named Margaret Logie, daugh-
ter to sir John Logie knight, but within thre mo-
neths after he repented him, for that he had mar-
ried himselfe with one of so meane parentage, to the
disparagement of his blood. Whereupon he banished
both hir, and all other that had counselled him to ma-
rie hir, confining them for euer out of all the parts
of his dominions. She hir selfe went vnto Auig-
non, where as then the pope with all his consistorie
remained, and entering hir plaint there in the court,
followed the same with such diligence, that in the
end sentence was giuen on hir side (that is to say)
that king David should receiue hir againe into his
companie, and to accept and vse hir as his iust and
lawfull wife. Thus should the realme of Scotland
haue run in trouble and danger of interdiction, had
she not departed out of this life by the way in retur-

ning homewards. * Charles the first surnamed the
wise, being king of France (supported by the aies of
Scots) prepared an expedition into the holie land, in
which sortie, when a greuous contention fell among
the French and English, the last were overcome by
the first through the singular manhood of the Scots.
Which benefit Charles not forgetting, erected an or-
der of an hundred archers to be about his person,
and by office to keepe watch and ward for him (in the
night) within his court gates: which (vpon this ori-
ginall) is obserued with great solemnitie, euen in
this our age.] k. David in the meane time repared
fundie places and strengths of his realme, & built a
tower in Edinburgh castell, bearing the name after
him euen vnto this day, called Davids tower. * A-
bout this time (or rather more trulie as others haue
before this written in the yeare of Christ 1356, or
shortlie after the deliuerie of David Bruce from
captiuitie as the third sort do say) William Dow-
glas being about to go on pilgrimage beyond the
seas (at such time as king John was preparing his
host against the Blaque prince) went with k. John
vnto the foresaid battell, being honored by his hands
with the title of knightood: but after, having ma-
nie of his men slaine, and being enforced to forsake
the field, he returned home into Scotland. Willi-
am Dowglas shortlie after, vpon the deliuerie of
David Bruce from the captiuitie of England, was
created earle of Dowglas. Such about which or
at the selfe same time, the said king of Scots ad-
uanced William Ramsie to the earldome of Fife,
by the means of the wife of the said Ramsie, whom
the king intirelie loued (as the report went.) The
right of which countie king David affirmed to be
in his (so that he might liberallie giue it) as
truelie belied in his possession by the forfeiture which
Duncan sometime countie of Fife had done in k.
Robert Bruces daies; in murdering of an elquier
called Michael Beton, whome he miserable slue
in a riuer for extreme displeasure. Wherefore this
William Ramsie surmized that Duncan (to ob-
teine pardon for his offense) did by indenture make
Robert Bruce k. of Scots his heire in reuerfion,
if he died without issue male. Yet had this Duncan a
daughter (by his wife the countesse of Gloucester,
and daughter to the king of England) which was
entertained in England, and should haue bene sold
to Robert the seneschall of Scotland. But she (ra-
ther respecting the satisfieng of hir loue, than the ho-
nor of hir estate, rather choosing to be a kings wife,
than an earles ladie) toke to husband one William
Felson, a knight in Northumberland, which (at the
said time when William Ramsie was made earle
of Fife) challenged that earldome in the right of his
wife, daughter and heire to the said Duncan earle
of Fife. But for anie thing that I can yet see, the
said Ramsie went away with the honor thereof.]
After this appealing of certeine rebels that sought
to trouble the quiet state of the realme, he purposed
to haue gone to Jerusalem: but hauing provided
all things necessarie for such a iourne, he fell sicke
of a burning feauer, and died within the castell of
Edinburgh in the thirtie ninth yeare of his reigne,
and fortie seuenth of his age, which was from the in-
carnation 1370, his bodie lieth in Holie rood house,
where it was buried in the yeare aforesaid.

* During the time that this David Bruce was
prisoner in England, he did so earnestlie set his lo-
uing affection vpon Katharine Portimer, a damsell
of London (by reason of familiar acquaintance with
hir) that he could not forbear hir companie, but (as
it seemeth) brought hir also into Scotland with him;
whereat the lords disdaining, and highlie offended
with the king therefore, procured one Richard de
Hull,

Fr.Thin.
Lectur. 127.
pag. 216.Dauton to be
er built.
Fr.Thin.Scala chro.
Of this man
Dowglas
and his be-
in France
English chro-
nicles do
report.William Dow-
glas made
earle.Scala chro.
William Ram-
sie made ear-
of Fife.

Buchanan.

Fr.Thin.

The resigner
his right to
the Stewar-Robert.
Robert Ste-
ward is cre-
ned king of
Scotland.
1370Fr.Thin.
Scala chro.The first
king of the
Stewards
the crown
Fr.Thin.

Hull, a ballet of Scotland (in feining some matter unto hir from the king, as being sent in message by him) to find meanes to rid hir out of life, which he did so couertlie, and handeled the matter so cunninglie, that he suddenlie murdered hir riding from Melros to Seltrie. Whereupon, the king conceiuing great dolor (not daring to seeke reuenge thereof, for doubt of the nobilitie) caused hir to be honorable buried at Petobottle, not ceassing (as farre as in him lay) after hir death, to manifest the singular loue he bare unto hir in hir life.)

Sundrie marvellous things were seene in the daies of this king David, within the bounds of Albion. In the 16 yere of his reigne, crows, rauens, and pies, in the winter season brought forth their brood, and ceased in the summer and springtime, contrarie to their kind. All the yewes in the countrie the same yere were barren, and brought no lambes. There was such plentie of mice and rats both in houses, and abroad in the fields, that they might not be destroyed. In the 27 yere of his reigne, the rivers and other waters rose on such heighth through abundance of rainne that fell in the latter end of haruest, that breaking forth of their common chanelles, with their violent streame manie houses & towne were bozne downe and destroyed. About this time liued diuerse clerks, in that age counted notable, as Iohn Duns, of the order of saint Francis, Richard Middleton, and William Ocham, with others.

King David being thus dead and buried, the nobles assembled at Lithquo, about the election of him that should succeed in his place. The greater part of the nobilitie, and such as were of the sounder iudgement, agreed vpon Robert Steward; but William earle of Dowglas being come thither with a great power, claimed to be preferred by right of Edward Balioll, and of the Cumins, which right he pretended to haue receiued of them both, and there ought to be no doubt (as he alledged) but that the crowne appertained by iust title vnto them, as all the world knew, and therefore sith he had both their rights, he maintained that he was true and vndoubted inheritor to the crowne. It appeared that the said earle Dowglas purposed to vsurpe the crowne by force, if he might not haue it by friendlie and quiet meanes: but neuertheless he was disappointed of his purpose, by reason that George earle of March, and Iohn Dunbar earle of Murray, with the lord Erskine (which three were captiues of Dunbryton, Sterling, and Edinburgh) and others (of whose friendlie furtherance he thought himselfe assured) gaue their voices with the Steward, assisting his side to their uttermost powers. The Dowglas perceiving hereby that he should not be able to mainteine his quarell, resigned thereupon his pretended title, which in effect was of no importance, nor worth the discussing.

Robert. When was Robert Steward conueid to Scone, and there crowned with great solemnitie, and was called Robert the second. This came to passe in the 47 yere of his age, on our ladie day in Lent, called the Annuntiation, being the yere of Christ 1370. Whereupon, that the firmer amitie & friendship might continue and be nourished betwixt this king Robert and his subiect the earle of Dowglas aforesaid, it was accorded that Eufemie eldest daughter to king Robert, should be giuen in mariage to James sonne to the earle of Dowglas aforesaid. Thus ye may perceiue how the Stewards came to the crowne, whose succession haue intioed the same to our time: quene Marie mother to Charles James that now reigneth, being the eight person from this Robert, that thus first attained vnto it [of whose first originall and descent you shall see before in the life of Duncan.

He had to wife at the time of his attaining to the crowne, Eufemie daughter to Hugh earle of Rolfe, by whome he had two sonnes, Walter and David. But before he was married to hir, he kept one Elizabeth pure in place of his wife, and had by hir three sonnes, Iohn, Robert, and Alexander, with diuerse daughters, of the which one was married to Iohn Dunbar earle of Murray, and another to Iohn Leon lord of Glames. The earldome of Murray continued in possession of the Dunbars onelie during the life of this earle Iohn & his sonne, in whom the succession failed touching the name of the Dunbars, in the intioing of that earldome: for leaving a daughter behind him that was married to the Dowglas, the same Dowglas came by that means to the said earldome of Murray. King Robert after his coronation made sundrie earles, lords, barons, and knights. Amongst other, James Lindsay of Gleneske was made earle of Crawford. His wife quene Eufemie deceased the third yere after hir husband attained the crowne, and then incontinentlie he married Elizabeth pure [or more, daughter to sir Adam pure knight] his old lemman, to the end the children which he had by hir might be made legitimate by vertue of the matrimonie subsequent. [Although before he had procured this Elizabeth to be giuen in matrimonie to one Gifford a noble man in Louthian, which also died (as fortune serued) when Eufemie first wife of the said Robert died, whereby they (being now both at libertie) might renew their owne old loue, and in wedlocke possesse that which before they intioed in adulterie.]

Not long after, by authoritie of a parlement assembled, he made his eldest sonne Iohn, begotten on Elizabeth pure aforesaid, earle of Carrike: his second sonne begotten on hir, earle of Fentith and Fife: and his third sonne Alexander, begotten likewise on the same mother, he created earle of Buchquhane, and lord of Badenoch. [Besides which he had also two daughters by hir.] His eldest sonne Walter, begotten on Eufemie his first wife, was made earle of Atholl, and lord of Brechin: his second sonne David, begotten on the same Eufemie, was made earle of Stratherne. The said Walter procured the slaughter of James the first, for that he pretended a right to the crowne, as after shall appeare. Shortly after, he called an other parlement at Perth, where it was ordeined, that after the death of king Robert, the crowne should descend vnto Iohn his eldest sonne, and to his issue male; and for default thereof, vnto Robert his second sonne, and to his heires male; and for default of such heires, to Alexander his third sonne, and to his heires male; and in default of them, to remaine to his sonne Walter, begotten on Eufemie his wife, & to the heires male of his bodie begotten: and if such succession failed, then it should descend vnto his yongest sonne David the earle of Stratherne, and to his heires general either male or female. And all the nobles of the realme were sworn to performe this new ordinance touching the succession of the crowne, and that in most solemn manner.

About this time, the borderers, which are men ever desirous of warres and trouble, to the end they may applie their market, whereby they most chieflie liue, that is to say, reise and spoile of their neighbors goods, through enuie of long peace and quietnesse, vpon a quarell picked, sue certeine of the household seruants of George earle of Dunbar at the faire of Roxburgh, which as then the Englishmen held. Earle George soze offended herewith, sent an herald vnto the earle of Northumberland, warden of the English marches, requiring that such as had committed the slaughter might be deliuered to receive

Elizabeth pure king Roberts concubine.

How the Dowglas came by the earldome of Murray.

Eufemie the quene deceased.

Fr. Thin. Elizabeth the pure married to king Robert.

The preferment of the kings sonnes to dignitie.

Fr. Thin.

An act for succession of the crowne.

The borderers desirous of warre.

Roxburgh faire.

1370.
Buchanan.
The truce
violated.

Roxburgh
surprised by
the earle of
March.

The English
men invade
Scotland.

The English
men discom-
fited.
Sir John
Lilborne
taken.
Fr. Thin.

Henrie Per-
tie earle of Nor-
thumberland.

A policie to
afright hoyses

Tho. Mus-
graue capteine
of Berwik
taken prisoner

Fr. Thin.

A legat from
the pope.

Fr. Thin.
1375.
Buchanan.

ceuse according to that they had deserved: but when he could get nought but dilatorie answers, full of derision rather than importing any true meaning, he passed over his displeasure till more opportunitie of time might serue. In the yeres following, against the next faire to be holden at Roxburgh aforesaid, the said earle of March, with his brother the earle of Murray gathered a power of men secretly together, and comming to the said towne, took it, slew all the Englishmen found within it, put their goods to the sacke, and after set the towne on fire, and so departed.

Hereupon the Englishmen hostilely after enter with an armie into Scotland, burning and doing much hurt upon the lands of sir John Gordon, for that they ioined to the earle of Marches lands. Sir John Gordon verie desirous to reuenge this iniurie, came into England with an armie, and getting together a great botie of cattell, returned therewith homewards, but being encountered by the way at a place called Carran o' Carran, by John Lilborne and other Englishmen, there was a sore fight betwixt them, the victorie for a time shewing it selfe so variable and vncertaine, that sir John Gordon was sore wounded, and the Scots were five times that day had in chase, and as oft got the like advantage of their enemies. In the end the Englishmen were clearely discomfited, and their capteine sir John Lilborne, with his brother and diuerse other brought prisoners into Scotland [the manner whereof John Maior condemneth and laith the fault of breach in earle Dowglas.]

To reuenge these displeasures, Henrie Persie earle of Northumberland entered into Scotland with seven thousand men, & comming vnto Duns, there pitched downe his tents; but the night following came the herds and other people of the countrie, hauing prepared certeine bagges made and sowed together, of drie leather like to bladders, into the which they had put small peble stones, & running by & downe about the place where the Englishmen were incamped, made such a noise with those bags full of stones, that the Englishmens horses breaking their halters and bridles wherewith they were tied, ran from their maisters and keepers, and were scattered so abroad in the countrie, that the Scottishmen got hold of them, and so in the morning the Englishmen that had watched all night (for doubt to haue bene assailed by their enemies) perceiuing themselves set on foot, returned home without any further attempt.

In the meane time, Thomas Musgraue capteine of Berwik, comming to the succours of the earle of Northumberland, chanced to meet with sir John Gordon vpon the way, by whom he was taken, and lead into Scotland as his prisoner. Neither had the Scots the better thus onelie on the east marches, but also on the west, where sir Jo. Johnston had sundrie skirmishes with the Englishmen, and went euer a waie with the vpper hand. [All which before (vntill the death of Eufemie the queene) Buchanan appointed to the first two yeres of the king, before the death of the queene.] About this time, pope Gregorie the 11 sent a legat from Auignon to king Robert, forbidding him in any wise to meddle with the goods pertaining to the church, after the decease of any bishop, person, or vicar. [About this time happened the death of Edward the third, king of England. And Charles the fifth king of France sent ambassadoys into Scotland, to renew the old leage betwene the two nations, and to perswade him to warre vpon England, to the end the warres might thereby be withdraue out of France: which was performed accordingly.]

On the 22 day of October, in the yere 1378, David Stewart was bozne, which afterwarde was made duke of Rothsaie, and on saint Andrews day next following, towne of Berwik was taken by sir John Gordon, and sir o' seven other knights, but it was not long kept: for a number of Englishmen entering by a posterne of the castell, recovered the towne easilie againe out of the Scottishmens hands. After this, William earle of Dowglas came with twentie thousand men to the faire of Pennire within England, and spoiled all the goods found as then in the same faire, and so returned with great riches into Scotland: but the Scottishmen smallie reioiced at this gain, for with such cloth & other wares as they brought awaie with them from the foresaid faire, they drew into the countrie such a violent and sore pestilence, that the third part of all the people (where it came) died thereof. This was the third time that the pestilence was knowne to haue done any great hurt in Scotland, being in the yere after the incarnation 1380.

The Englishmen [with the number of 1500, under the conduct (as saith Buchanan) of Talbot] to reuenge the displeasure done by the earle of Dowglas at Pennire, raised a great armie, and came with the same ouer Sulway, and invading the Scottish borders on that side most cruellie, spared neither fire nor sword. In the meane time, the Scots gathered to the number of five hundred men, & stood in a streit till the Englishmen should come and passe by them, and then with such huge noise and clamor they set on the Englishmen, that in giuing backe there was foure hundred of them slaine, and a great number of the residue for haist drowned in the water of Sulway, and hereby was all the botie of cattell & goods recovered againe by the Scots, and the most part of it restored to the owners. Charles the first as then French king, hearing of such prosperous aduentures daile chancing to the Scots, sent ouer his ambassadoys vnto king Robert, exhorting him to follow his good fortune, and occasion thus offered to reuenge old iniuries against the Englishmen, now that their hearts seemed to faile them through losses sustained diuerse waies of late at the Scottish mens hands. An other cause of their message was also (as the Scots do write) to renew the old league & band betwixt Scotland and France, which being done in solemne wise according to the maner, they returned into France, & with them went ambassadoys from king Robert vnto their master the said K. Charles, Walter Wardlaw, cardinall & bishop of Glascow, with manie other noble men, who in like maner there renewed the same leage & bond of friendship, to the high contentation of both the princes. This was in the eleuenth yere of king Robert his reigne.

In which yere John Lion chancelor of Scotland was slaine by James Lindesay, earle of Crawford. This John Lion grew into so high fauour with king Robert, that he gaue to him his daughter the ladie Elizabeth in marriage, with diuerse possessions and lands, called Glamis. Of him the surname of the Lions is descended: and in memorie thereof, they beare in their armes the lion & lillies, with the tressle in forme and fashion as the king of Scotland beareth his, saue that their lions are placed in a blacke field. The cause why the earle of Crawford thus slew the chancelor, was onelie vpon enuie and spite, for that after he had married the kings daughter, he attained to such estimation and authoritie, that he might do all things with the king, according to his owne will and pleasure. For this offense the earle of Crawford remained in exile certeine yeres after, and durst not returne home, till finally through ear nest sute made to

1378.

Recoverd a
game out of
their hands.

1380.
The faire of
Pennire.

The third
time that the
pestilence came
into Scot-
land.

1380.
Fr. Thin.

The English
men invade
the Scottish
borders.

Englishmen
slaine and
drowned.

Ambassadors
sent to the
king.

1381. Le
Anno Reg. 11
The renewing
of the league
betwixt Scot-
land and
France.

The chancel-
lor of Scot-
land slaine.

Enuie & spite

The earle of
Crawford in
exile.

to the king by the earles of Dologlas and Sparch, his pardon was begged, and then at length he was reconciled to the kings favour.

In the meane tyme, Edward king of England, the third of that name, departed this life, and Richard of Burdeour, sonne to the blacke prince Edward, that was sonne to the said king Edward, succeeded, in the fourth yere of whose reigne, being after the birth of our Saviour 1381, John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, with other English lordes, came into Scotland in ambassage [to whome were appointed James earle of Dologlas, and John Dunbar earle of Murray] to treat for the appeasing of the discord as then continuing betwixt the two realmes: and in the end the matter was so handled, that a truce was concluded to indure for thre yeres. As the said duke was returning homewards, he was informed of the rebellion and insurrection made by the commons of England against the nobles, having one Jacke Straw and others to their captains, whereby on doubting to passe thorough his owne countrie till things were better appeased, he returned into Scotland, and was conveyed by William earle of Dologlas, and Archembald Dologlas lord of Galloway, to holie rood house beside Edinburgh, where he remained till he heard that the rebels were suppressed, and their captains slaine or taken, and put to execution.

As soon as the truce was expired, Archembald Dologlas lord of Galloway, displeased in his mind that the Englishmen lieng in garison within the castell of Lochmaben, did daile harrie and rob the villages and countrie townes of Galloway and Annandale, raised a great power by support of the earls James of Dologlas, and George of March, and therewith laid a strong siege unto the said castell of Lochmaben, & having lien there at the space of nine daies, they fought with a number of Englishmen that came out of Carleill to rescue this castell, whom having put to flight, they gaue therewith also a sharpe assault to the castell, and put them within in such feare, that sir William Fetherston then capteine thereof, and the residue consented to yeld the house unto the Scots even the same day without more ado, upon condition they might depart with their goods in safetie into England.

But Fourdon writing of the winning of this castell, speaketh not of anie overthrow giuen to those that should come from Carleill, in maner as other write. For thus he saith. When Archembald Dologlas had got knowledge that the same castell was utterly unprouided both of men and vittels necessarie for the defense thereof, he assembled an armie together, with the helpe of the earles of Dologlas and Dunbar, who ioining with him, inuironed the castell about with a strong siege, so that no succour could enter to the reliefe of them within at anie hand. Hereupon the capteine sir William Fetherston knight, sent letters unto the lord wardens of the English marches, requiring aid, and letting them to understand in what danger he stood for lacke of men and vittels. The wardens wrote to him againe, that he should do his best for eight daies to hold out; and if no succour came within that terme, then to do as he should see cause. Hereupon sir William Fetherston requiring a truce of the Scottish lordes for the space of those eight daies, within which terme if no succour came to remove their siege, he would yeld the castell unto them, the liues and goods of them within saved. This was granted, and the Scots ceased further to annoy them within by assaults: and when the ninth day was come, and no aid from England appeared, they received the castell into their possession, according to the covenant. And so the Scots having

thus wonne the castell of Lochmaben, rased it quite before to the earth.

King Richard hearing that the Scots had attained this enterprise, appointed the baron of Graustocke with a certein number of men to go with vittels and munition unto Roxburgh, for doubt least if the Scots came to lay siege to that fortresse, and finding it unprouided, they might peradventure bring it into further danger than would lightlie be remedied. As this baron was come within a mile of Roxburgh, he was taken by the earle of March, and brought to Dunbar with all his prouision. The king of England being informed also of this mishap, appointed two armies, one by sea, and another by land, to invade the Scots; the duke of Lancaster having the generall charge and conduct of them both, who giuing order to them that should passe by sea what they should do, entered himselfe by land, and waisting the countreies of March and Louthian, came to Edinburgh, and took the towne. But theras his souldiers would haue spoiled and burned it, he compounded with the inhabitants for a summe of monie, and so returned without doing anie more damage.

His nauie being as then arrived in the Forth, tarried behind, & first burning the abbey of saint Colmes Inch, a number of the souldiers with their captains landed in Fife, and spoiled diuerse townes and villages there: but in the end, Thomas and Nicholas Erskines being brethren, Alexander Lindsay, and William Cunningham of Kilmorris, set upon them, and slue the most part of them, so that few in number escaped againe to their ships, being pursued hard to the water side. The same yere the earle of Dologlas recovered all the strengths of Tindale out of the Englishmens hands, which they had held ever since the battell of Durham unto those daies. This earle of Dologlas, one of the most valiant personages in those his daies, within the whole realme of Scotland, died within his castell of Dologlas, shortly after he had attained this enterprise, and was buried in the abbey of Melrose.

After his deceasse, his sonne James, or (as saith Buchanan) William succeeded in the earldome of Dologlas, a verie fierce and hardie knight, the which shortly after appointed by the king to haue the guiding of an armie, he passed with the same into England, and burnt the countrie so farre as Herefordshire. But being countermanded home, he returned and came unto Perth, where he found the lord John de Harlan, admerall of France, and earle of Valentinois, who about the same time was arrived in Scotland with two hundred and fortie ships well and perfectlie furnished for the warres, and in them two thousand and five hundred armed men, diuerse of them being lords and barons, besides gentlemen and others. Also there was amongst them 400 haggbutters (as Bellenden saith) and two hundred with crokbowes: the residue bare pikes, halberts, and such like weapons. They were paid their wages for one whole yere aforehand, and had brought vittels with them to serue them as long. They had brought also with them foure hundred paire of white curets, foure hundred halfe long swordes, & fiftie thousand franks, to be giuen among the nobles of Scotland, accordinglie as king Robert should appoint and thinke expedient.

The admerall and other the nobles of France, being thus come into Scotland to make warres on the Englishmen, were highlie feasted by the king and lords of the realme, as then present with him; and when the earle of Dologlas was once come, by common consent of them all there assembled together in counsell, it was ordeined that an armie should be raised with all speed, that ioining with the

The baron of Graustocke taken.

Anno reg 15. 1382. l. Ma.

An armie by sea and another by land, prepared against the Scots.

The duke of Lancaster cometh with an armie to Edinburgh.

The Englishmen discomfited in Fife. The strength of Tindale recovered.

The earle of Dologlas deceased.

James earle of Dologlas.

The Scots invade Northumberland. 1385.

John de Harlan admerall of France.

200. Buchan. 25 barons, 800 men of armes or knights.

I. Fourdon. I doubt whether there were any haggbutts bled in those daies, though guns were some what before that time.

1378.

Berwick taken by Scots.

Recovered againe out of their hands.

1380. The faure of Denhire.

The third time that the pestilence came into Scotland.

1380. Fr. Thin.

The Englishmen invade the Scottish borders.

Englishmen slaine and drowned.

Ambassadors to the French king.

1381. Lef. Anno Reg. 11. The renning of the league betwixt Scotland and France.

The chancellor of Scotland slaine.

Ennise & Spite.

The earle of Crawford in exile.

perdition is begged.

Anno reg. 12. 1381. l. Ma.

English ambassadors sent into Scotland.

Truce taken. Rebellion in England.

Jacke Straw

The truce expired. The garison of Lochmaben Anno reg. 14. 1381. l. Ma.

1384.

The castell of Lochmaben rendered to the Scots.

John Fourdon.

Sir William Fetherston.

Buchanan.

The earle of Fife.
An armie of Scots and Frenchmen enter into England.
Castles won.

The Frenchmen & Scots cannot agree.

They invade Cumberland.

The Frenchmen returne into France.

King Richard invadeth Scotland.

1387.

An armie of thirtie thousand Scots invadeth England by the West marches.
Cokermouth taken vpon the sudden.

The forme of an old deed of gift.

The true meaning of men in old time.

Frenchmen they might passe immediatlie into England. The earle of Fife sonne to king Robert was appointed to be generall of this armie, hauing with him the earles of Dowglas, and March, Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, and diuerse other of the Scottish nobilitie. This armie when they were all togither, amounted to the number of fiftie thousand men, the which entring into England, toke the castles of Marke, Foud, and Cornewall. After this, by robbing and spoiling the countrie betwixt Berwik and Newcastle, they did much hurt in all parts where they came; but through continuall raine which fell as then in great abundance, they were constrained to returne into Scotland, where they pitched downe their field nere to the castell of Rochelburgh, purposing to haue assailed the winning thereof: but forsomuch as they could not agree in whose name it should be kept if it were wonne, they left that enterpryse. For the Frenchmen required that if they won it, that then it might be kept by them, in the name and to the behoofe of the French king, wherevnto the Scots would not agree.

Yet after this, the Frenchmen wishing to accomplish some other enterpryse, went to the west borders, where ioining with Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, they passed ouer Sulway sands; and so entering into Cumberland, did wonderfull much hurt in that countrie. At length they determined to lay siege vnto Carlisle, but being called from thence they returned into Scotland, and then (as some authors write) and not before, they laid siege to Rochelburgh, and raised from thence within eight daies after, by reason of the variance before alledged. At Allhallowentide next ensuing, the Frenchmen returned into France, hauing indured no small treuell and paines, since their first coming forth of their countrie. After they were gotten a shipboard to returne homewards, the Scots againe enter into England with an armie, remaining there for the space of two moneths (as the Scottish writers say.) And in the meane time king Richard assembled a mightie power, and invadeth Scotland, passed through the Shers and Louthian, putting all the towne, countries, and houses vnto utter ruine, as in the English historie more plainlie may appere.

In the yere next ensuing, Walter Wardlaw bishop of Glasgow and cardinall, departed this life. Also within a while after that king Richard was returned backe into England, Robert Stewart earle of Fife, with James earle of Dowglas, Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, entred into England with an armie of thirtie thousand men, coming so secretly thorough the water of Sulway, that they came to Cokermouth in such speedie wise vpon the sudden, that the people had not leasure to conueie away their goods: so that the Scots remaining there for the space of three daies, got a rich botie togither, and returned with the same thorough the countries of Westmerland and Northumberland safe, and without incounter againe into Scotland. Amongest certeine other things, found in rifeling and ransacking of houses in this iourne, there was a charter found of certeine lands given by king Athelstane, in this forme: I king Athelstane giues to Paullane, Odham and Rodham, als guid aud als faire, als euer yay mine waire, and yarto witnesse Mauld my wife. By tenure of which deed it may appere, that our ancestors gaue more credit to the true meaning of a few wordes barelie expressed in their writings, than that there needed so long processe and circumstance as is now used with long studie of penning, nothing being thought sufficient to assure the parties of their couenanted bargaines, and concluded agreements.

In this last iourne against the Englishmen, William Dowglas bastard sonne to Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, won great fame and honor for his high prowes and noble valancie, shewed as well in certeine approaches made vnto Carlisle, as in diuerse other skirmishes elswhere. The king also herevpon began to fauour him in such wise, that he thought him worthy of some high advancement; and therevpon gaue him his daughter in marriage, named Giles, a ladie of such excellent beaultie, as his match in those daies was not to be found: [with whom for his dowrie, he gaue the lands of Piddeldale.] He begat on hir a daughter, which was after married to the earle of Orkenie. This William Dowglas (as Iohn Fourdon noteth) was of a blackish or swart colour, not overcharged with flesh; but big of bone, a mightie personage, byright and tall, valiant, courteous, amiable, full of liberalitie, merrie, faithfull, and pleasant in companie, but herewith he was of such strength, that whom soeuer he stroke either with mace, sword, or speare, downe he went were he neuer so well armed. At one time (as the same Fourdon saith) he hauing with him but eight hundred, fought against three thousand Englishmen, of whom two hundred he slue in the field, & brought five hundred prisoners with him into Scotland.

In the yere 1388, Robert earle of Fife, and Archembald Dowglas lord of Galloway, entered with a proud armie into England, and in the meane time came sundrie Irishmen by sea to the coasts of Galloway, and landing in diuerse places, fetched aboate great booties of cattell, and other goods of the inhabitants: whereof William Dowglas, sonne of the said Archembald being informed, got a conuenient power of men togither, by support of his brother in law, Robert earle of Fife, and by licence of the king passed ouer with the same, shipped in certeine vessels into Ireland, where being got on land, he laid siege to the towne of Carlingford. The towne men doubting to be taken by assault, purchased a truce for certeine daies, promising to giue a great summe of monie to haue their towne saued: but in the meane time, they assembled the number of eight hundred men, through helpe of an other towne not farre off, called Doundalke, and ioining with them, they diuided themselves into two parts. One part set vpon Robert Stewart of Mordue, who hauing the conduct of the earle of Fifes men, was gone abroad into the countrie to fetch in some preie: and the other part assailed William Dowglas, that lay still afore the towne.

Nevertheless, the said Robert and William received the enemies with such manhood, that they put them in both places to flight, and immediatlie after gaue assault to the towne, and entring the same perforce, put all the goods found therein to the sacke, and then set it on fier, and burned it to ashes. This done, they toke threescore ships which they found in diuerse hamens and creeks there on that coast, and straghting fiftene of them with such spoile as they had got, they burned the residue, and then returning homewards, spoiled the Ile of Man by the way as they passed. Shortly after their returne home, the king of England sent an armie into Scotland, which did much hurt in the Shers, in burning and ouerthrowing diuerse towres and houses. King Robert being certified hereof, as then remaining in the north parts of Scotland, assembled the nobles of his realme at Aberdeen: and there by all their aduises it was concluded, that the whole puissance of the realme should be raised with all speed, to reuenge those iniuries done by the Englishmen. Herevpon were two armies assembled: the one, wherein were fiftene thousand men, was committed to the gouernance of the earle of

William Dowglas lord of Galloway for his high prowesse.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.

Cumberland invadeth Scotland.

Cent of the cl men vol carle of glas.

The ab bir of Engl as R.

1388.

Irishmen fetch priues in Galloway. William Dowglas invadeth Ireland with five hundred men, as Iohn Fourdon saith. Carlingford besieged.

The craftie dealing of the towne men.

The Irishmen assaile the Scots in two severall places.

The Irishmen put to flight.

Carlingford wonne by assault.

The Ile of Man spoiled.

Englishmen burne in the Shers.

Two armies of Scottish men assembled.

of Fife, hauing with him the earle of Menteith, Archibald Dowglas lord of Galloway, and Alexander Lindseie of Malcop. The other containing like number of men, was appointed to the guiding of the earles of Dowglas and March, hauing with them James Lindseie earle of Crawford, John Dunbar earle of Murray, and the lord Haie the constable of Scotland, with diuerse other of the nobilitie (both which (saith Froissard) amounted to the number of 40000 men.)

These two armies parting in sunder at Jedworth, the earle of Fife with his people entered into Cumberland by the west marches, and the earles of Dowglas and March with theirs, entered on the other side into Northumberland, passing thorough the countrie, spoiling and wasting the same, till as farre as Durham; and on the other part, the earle of Fife spared neither fier nor sword, all the way as he passed. At length both these armies met together about a ten miles from Newcastle. Here the earle of Dowglas chose forth ten thousand of the most able men that could be found amongst all the numbers, with the which he went to Newcastle, to trie if by anie meanes he might take the towne. There was gathered into Newcastle before his comming thither, the most part of all the chosen men from Forke to the borders, with the earle of Northumberland, who by reason of extreme age was not able to sturre abroad (anie thing to purpose) himselfe, but he had with him two of his owne sonnes, the one named Henrie, and the other Rafe, verie forward and lustie gentlemen. This Henrie being the elder, was surnamed for his often picking, Henrie Hotspur, as one that seldome times rested, if there were anie seruice to be done abroad.

The earle of Dowglas comming to Newcastle, incamped with his people on that side the towne towards Scotland, and betwix the towne earnestlie, which way he might best come to giue assault to win it. Henrie Perie desirous to shew some prooue of his singular manhood, wherein he greatlie trusted, required to fight with the earle of Dowglas man to man; which request the earle granting, together they ran, mounted on two great coursers with sharpe ground speares at the vfferance. The earle of Dowglas in this encounter bare himselfe so well, that in the end he droue the Perie out of his saddle. The Englishmen that stood without the gates, made to the rescue, recovered him on foot, and brought him forthwith backe into the towne. Incontinentlie hereupon, the earle of Dowglas caused the assault to be giuen, and filling the ditches with hate and sagots, came with ladders to the walls; but the Englishmen so well defended themselves, that the Scots were beaten backe, not without great losse and slaughter of their people.

Froissard making mention of this enterprize thus made by the Scots, varieth somewhat from the Scottish writers in this place: for he speaketh nothing that the Dowglas and the Perie should thus run together on horsebacke (as before is specified) but that in giuing assault to the towne, it chanced, that as the Englishmen defended their barriers without the gate, the Dowglas fortuned to be matched hand to hand with Henrie Perie, and there by force plucked the Peries staffe from him, and in returning holsted it vp on height, saying, he would carrie the same for his sake into Scotland: and the next day after, he raised his campe and departed homewards towards the borders, comming to a place called Doterbozne, about twelue or fouretene miles from Newcastle, pitched downe his tents there, that his soldiers might take some rest, & refresh themselves after their great trauell, for they had not rested of all

the day nor night before, nor to anie purpose, since their first entering into England.

In the meane time the English power was highlie increased at Newcastle, for a great number of the countrie came, and entered into the towne the same night that followed the day of the assault. Henrie Perie then perceiving his number sufficient to fight with Dowglas, set them in order of battell, & determined to issue forth upon the Scots, and to giue them an encounter: but when he understood that they were gone homewards, he followed them with all speed, for he would by no means that they should passe into Scotland without battell, trusting to recover the dishonour which he had sustained by losing his staffe at the barriers before the gate of Newcastle. Earle Dowglas aduertised that the enemies were comming to giue him battell, exhorted his people with few words to remember their wonted manhood, that by gaining the victorie, they might win euerlasting fame and honour, with safeguard to themselves and their countrie. The Perie likewise for his part, encouraged his men, willing them to fight manfullie in reuenge of their iniuries done to them and their friends by the Scots, and herewith commanding the trumpets to sound, he gaue the onfet fiercelie.

Here both the armies joining together, a right terrible encounter ensued: but because the night was at hand, before they began to ioine, through want of light to see what was to doe, they were seuered in sunder for that time; but remembering that the morrow would shoulde rise, they determined so sone as the began to giue light, to renew the battell againe. As sone therefore as the morrow began to appeare, they ioined againe with more malice than before. The Englishmen fought so egerlie, that putting the Scots backe, and causing them to giue ground, they had wonne the Scottish standards, and so by all likelihood got the vpper hand, had not Patrike Hepborne with his sonne, & such other of his companie as attended him, come to the rescue, by whome the fight was begun afresh. Here with also came the earle of Dowglas, and with a great mace in his hand laid such sore strokes round about him, that none came within his reach, but downe he went.

The said Dowglas the younger, hauing with him Robert & Simon Glendoure, was (all which notwithstanding) most grievously wounded, whom his friends (comming about to succor) found then cast vpon the ground, next vnto whome lay one named Hart most miserable wounded also. At what time a priest (which by faithfullie assisted this Dowglas in all distresse) did (now the bodie being faint and decayed) defend the same from other hurt of the aduersarie. Dowglas lieng in this estate, his neere friends (John Lindseie, John and Walter Seintclere) came vnto him, demanding how he did. To whome he frontlie answered (as one whome the presence of death nothing dismayed) that he was verie well; for said he, I doe not now die in my bed (by sluggish desinie) but in the field, as almost all my ancestors haue done. Wherefore, this shall be the last thing that I will require of you; first to keepe my death most secret, secondlie that you suffer not my standard to be throwne downe, and lastlie that you reuenge my death; the which if I may before hand by your promise hope to be performed, I shall with more patience indure all other things. Whereupon they first seuered his bodie that it should not be knowne; then they erected his standard, crieng (as the manner is) A Dowglas a Dowglas. At which voice, there was so great a concourse of people, & such a full assault vpon the enemy, that forthwith they drave them from the place of the battell. For at the verie

The English power increased.

Henrie Perie followed the Scots.

The Dowglas exhorted his men to fight manfullie.

The Perie with comfortabable words encouraged his men.

The onfet is giuen.

They were seuered by comming on of the night.

The battell is renewed.

Patrike Hepborne reueth the Scots at point to be overcome. The balaunce of the earle of Dowglas.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

This priest was William archdeacon of Aberdeen, as saith Io. Maior lib. 6. cap. 3. & Lellius lib. 7. pa. 263. calleth him William Loundie archdeacon of saint Andrews, kinsman to Dowglas.

This Dowglas was hurt in the shoulder in the lower part of his breast, and in the thigh with severall arrows, and had a deable blow on his head being encountered, Io. Maior. lib. 6. cap. 3.

William Dowglas honored for his high prowesse.

Thin.

Fr. Thin.

Cumberland invaded. Northumberland invaded.

With thousand of the choicest men with the earle of Dowglas. The assistance of the Englishmen at Newcastle.

1388.

Irishmen fetch prizes in Galloway. William Dowglas invaded Ireland with five hundred men, as John Fourdon saith. Carlingford besieged.

The craftie dealing of the townsmen.

The Irishmen assault the Scots in severall places.

The Irishmen put to flight.

Carlingford wonne by assault.

The fle of Man spoiled.

Englishmen burne in the Myres.

Two armies of Scottishmen assembled.

The earle of Dowglas and Henrie Perie run together. The Perie dismounted while his horse.

Downe the ground to Newcastle.

Froissard some varieth from the Scottish writers.

Dowglas incamped at Doterbozne.

name of Dowglas, not onelie the common people, but John earle of Murray (supposing that the same side was in distresse) prepared in all hast to succour them.]

The English men put to flight.

Rafe and Henrie Perrie taken prisoners.

Fr. Thin.

Other persons taken.

The number of prisoners taken.

Fr. Thin. There were slaine but five hundred Englishmen as Hector Boetius saith. The death of James earle of Dowglas.

See more of this matter in England.

Archemald Dowglas succeeded James the earle of Dowglas.

The first advancement of the Hepburns.

The earles of Bothwell.

1310.

12. kal. Aug.

1388.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan.

Finallie, the whole number of the Scottishmen bare themselves so manfullie, that the Englishmen being broken and put to flight, were slaine & bozne downe. The chase continued till the breake of the day with killing and taking, as in such cases is ever sene, though the more part in deed were taken with their liues saued after they once fell in the chase. Amongest other, Rafe Perrie and his brother Henrie, were taken by Keith, the marshall of Scotland, somewhat before the Englishmen began to turne. [But Lesleus. lib. 7. pa. 263. saith that Henrie Hotspur was taken by Montgomerie, who for his ransom did build the castle of Dounane, which his heirs to this day dwiney. There was also taken besides the two Perries, diuers other men of name, as Robert Ogill, Thomas Halberke, John Lilbozne, William Mauchlut, Robert Heron, the baron of Hilton, John Colwell, and Patrike Louell knights. There were taken in all of Englishmen, to the number of a thousand and fortie, and slaine what in the field and chase (as Froissard recounteth) about an eightene hundred. [But Buchan. saith, there were 1840 slaine, 1000 wounded, and 1004 taken.] But yet the Scottish writers themselves report a lesse number. Neither did this victorie chance to the Scots without great losse and slaughter. For amongst other, the earle of Dowglas himselfe was thise stricken through the bodie, and also wounded so mortallie on the head, that being bozne to his tent a litle before the end of the battell, he died of those hurts immediatlie after, to the great discomfort of all his armie, conceiuing more dolorous grieve for the losse of so worthie a chiefe, than for the gaine of a great victorie. His bodie was conueyed unto Helros, & buried beside his father earle William in the abbey church there. And because this earle James had no heires of his bodie begotten, his cosine Archemald Dowglas lord of Galloway succeeded him in the earldome. The house of the Hepburns (of the which this Patrike Hepburne that fought so valiantlie in this battell at Otterburne did descend) arose in Scotland after this wise.

It chanced in the daies of king David the thirde, there was an Englishman of that name taken prisoner in Scotland, who by chance being in place where the earle of March was got upon a young gelding vnbroken, the which plaieng the unrulie labe, in fetching and flinging aloft, put the earle in great danger of his life; and when all other that were present there gaue backe, and durst not step in to make anie shift to helpe the earle: this Englishman leapt to him, and boldlie catching hold on the bridle reine, held the horse fast, till the earle was safelie got beside him. In reward of which benefit, the said earle gaue unto this Hepburne certaine lands in Lowthian, whose posteritie increased afterwards in such power of lands and surname, that the same inioied not onelie the earldome of Bothwell, but was also diuided into sundrie branches, and manie knights thereof haue risen of right worthie fame and estimation. This battell of Otterburne was fought on saint Oswalds day, which is the first of August, in the yeare 1388.

Amongst those that fled to the battell, was Pathele Kedman gouernor of Berwik, whom James Lindseie (supposing by the beautie of his armor to be of the nobler sort) did behementlie follow by the space of thre miles. At the last, Kedman perceiving that he was not by flight able to escape (and deeming it better to hazard his life, than otherwise

to be slaine without aduenture) alighted from his horse to fight with his enimie on foot, which Lindseie did accordingly; in the end after a long conflict betwene them, the Englishman (being as saith Buchanan inferior to the Scot in armor & weapon) did yeld himselfe to his aduersarie. By whom (after that he had giuen an oth to returne at a certaine day) he was permitted to go at libertie. Such in those daies was the humanitie amongst the bozners, and both nations towards their prisoners, which to this day doth continue betwene the inhabitants of those places. But if anie do not returne at the day appointed, this punishment is set upon him for a perpetuall disgrace. That in the assemblies of true daies (to demand restitution of things and injuries done by the one nation vnto the other) they vse that he which complaineth himselfe to be deceived by his prisoner (on his promise) doth carrie about a hand or gloue painted in a cloth vpon a long staffe or speare to be sene of all men; the which is accounted a singular infamie to the deserters thereof. For they which haue so broken their faith, be ever after hated of their friends and acquaintance; for which dishonestie, they will not afford them good report or intertainment. Lindseie hauing with this condition dismissed his prisoner (and perceiuing a great number of armed men) made directlie towards them, not knowing that they were his enimies, vntill he had ridden so neere vnto them, that he could not withdraw himselfe out of their danger. These men were the bands of the bishop of Durham, who when he came too late to Newcastell (to ioine with Perrie at the battell of Otterburne, because he supposed that the enimies would not ioine vntill the next day) commanded his armie to rest there, and to fall to their supper. Shortly after which, he took his iourne towards the Scots.

But (before he was anie great way marched out of the towne) vnderstanding (by those that fled from Otterburne battell towards Newcastell) that Perrie was ouerthrowne, and had lost the field, he returned with his friends to Newcastell, to consult what he should doe against the enimie. At which time it was declared, that the next day at the sunne rising, they should all be redie in armor to seeke the Scots. According wherevnto in the morning of the next day, the inhabitants bordering thereabouts were assembled, who (with these that the bishop had brought thither) were of all sorts gathered together, to the number of 10000 horsemen and footmen. These stirred the bishops mind; that (with all speed) he should lead them toward the Scots, and trie the successe of battell, for the Scots (saith they) wearied with the former daies fight, and most of them wounded, will not be able to abide the second battell. With which speeches they perswaded themselves of an easie conquest. Whereupon the bishop set forward with his armie, whose comming being vnderstood by the scouts of the Scots, the erle of Murray (whom now all men did follow after the death of Dowglas) called the present nobilitie together to consult what should be done with the prisoners, whom they could not in suffice now kill (hauing receiued them vpon ransome) but it would seme a most cruell part: and to rescue them (being their enimies), and almost an equal number to themselves: it was a thing most dangerous. Wherefore it was concluded, that the prisoners should sweare, that they would not stirre whilst the Scots and English were in fight; and further, that if the Scots were overcome, and they (being now their prisoners) rescued from them, that yet they should still remaine prisoners vnto them as before, and so returne to them at a certaine day. These things thus done, they left the prisoners in

Lindseie had a halberd, and a sword with a buckler which he carried at his backe. lo. Ma. lib. 6. cap. 14. The disgrace of prisoners breaking promise.

lo. Ma. saith if they break promise, the picture of him is tied to a horse's tale and drawn about the borders of the countrey.

The bishop of Durham goeth towards the Scots, accompanied with Thomas Lindseie and Thomas Clifford.

The bishop of Durham goeth against the Scots.

John Maior saith, that some say they tied their prisoners fast with ropes, lib. 6.

The manner of the Scots was, that going to battell they carie a horse about their necks, and in the battell will encourage themselves to fight with that. lo. Ma. lib. 6. cap. 14. The picture of him is tied to a horse's tale and drawn about the borders of the countrey.

Can not be added to the list of the Scots.

The bishop of Durham goeth towards the Scots, accompanied with Thomas Lindseie and Thomas Clifford.

John Maior saith, that some say they tied their prisoners fast with ropes, lib. 6.

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The bishop of Durham goeth against the Scots.

John Maior saith, that some say they tied their prisoners fast with ropes, lib. 6.

In the campe, with a small gard which should execute a present revenge vpon them, if they did at anie time sente to attempt anie thing.

After this the Scots (full of the victories latelie obtained) affresh descended into the battell, defended behind with the marches, and on the left and right side with the dead bodies of the former confidit: at what time it was also commended that euery one (as he did approach the enimie) should blote the honye he carried about his necke (hanging at his backe) as loud as he could, which sound being of it selfe terrible, was in the eecho (by reflection of the hills) so multiplied, that it forced the enimies to suppose the Scots to be of greater number than in truth they were: But before they entered into the battell (as saith Iohn Maior) George of Dunbar earle of Argyll encouraged his soldiers with these words. **W**he haue this night (most noble Scots) sustained the chiefe heat and force of the battell, we haue overcome the youth and strength of Northumberland with their two princes: for which there is no cause to be proud (after such honor obtained against those valiant princes) should not feare this little priest. **W**hat there remaineth nothing now for vs, but that euery one of vs giue but two strokes, because the leade will die at the third, and all the stocke will follow, since the sheepe heard stroken, the sheepe will be disperced: But if they shall so long contend with vs, that (as God most rightlie forbid) we chance to be overcome, then shall we most shamefully lose the glorie which we before haue honorably gained by this night's trauell. But contrarie, if we be men, we must shew such valiant hearts (as the preservation of honor requirith) we shall easily reach this thirtie point, that it had bene farre more honor to him, had he to his, and then committeth to them all, that he had remanent at home, with robes to be worn by the victors, and diligent scholars, than with need to enter battell against greuous and bearded soldiers.

When he had spoken thus, the English nobles came to the place to witte with the aduersarie, the Scots began the battell with their honyes, whereupon the English hearing that terrible noise (vnaexpected to them in the middle of dead carcasses of their friends and kinsmen) late late (a spectacle to discourage most valiant hearts) and somewhat abashed at the fierceness of the Scots charging against them (which they looked not for after the last battell) the English (I say) considering these things, retired towards the place from whence they came, and suffered the Scots to returne without any other persecution against them. In the meane time, when Alexander Lindseie (taken as before, and as yet prisoner in Newcastell) chanced to be there and knowne by Redman (his yeolde prisoner) he was most courteouslie (after congratulation of amitie betwene them) suffered to depart from Newcastell to Scotland.

In the yere following, a parliament was holden at Perth, at the which demonstration was made by King Robert, that forsomuch as he was broken by great age, and might not through feebleness occasion thereof attend to his office in gouernement of the realme: it was necessarie that some gouernor should be chosen; wherefore he required that his second sonne Robert earle of Argyll might enjoy that office, considering his eldest sonne John earle of Carrike (by reason of a strike which he had receiued on the leg by an horse of Sir James Douglas of Walketh) was not able to trauell, but kept his bed, and might therefore way loth abroad: The lords consented to the kings request, and so the earle of Argyll was constituted gouernour of Scotland, by common con-

sent of all the lords of the realme [before which time (as saith Buchanan) they were called wardens and not gouernors.] Also the earle marshall of England was sent by king Richard to the borders, to remaine there as warden in the place of Henrie Percy prisoner in Scotland. It is reported by the Scottish writers, that this earle should make stout brags, that he would fight with the Scots the next time he met with anie power of them, whether he were like in number to them or not. But when it came to passe that Robert Stewart the Scottish gouernor was entered into Northumberland with an armie, he withdrew into places of safegard, and suffered the most part of the countie to be harried and burned. In deed our English writers affirme, that the said earle, hauing with him but five hundred men of armes, was not able to accomplish anie notable exploit available against the great multitude of his enimies.

In the same yere was a truce taken betwixt England and France, the Scots (if they would so agree) being comprised therein. Whereupon there came ambassadors forth of England, to understand what the king of Scots would determine in that behalfe. By whom it was answered, that he would with god will stand to the same truce according as it was concluded. Whilist things passed thus in Scotland, Alexander Stewart earle of Buchquhane burnt the cathedrall church of Murray, the lanterne and ornament of all the north part of Scotland, vpon displeasure conceiued against the bishop of the same place. Whereat his father the king took such indignation, that when his sonne the said Alexander was brought to his presence, he commanded him to be committed vnto streit prison, wherein he remained till after his fathers decesse. The realme being in this manner brought to good tranquillitie, King Robert falling into great infirmittie and feebleness, by reason of extreme age, without any manner of ether accidentall sickness, decessed at his castell of Dundas, the 19 day of Aprill, in the yere after our redemption 1390, being as then aboue 75 yeres of age, and hauing reigned the space of 19 yeres, his bodie was buried at Scone before the high altar.

This Robert the second, though by reason of his great age, he went not forth into the wars himselfe, yet was there neuer prince afore him that had more happe successe by the conduct of his captains which he sent forth as lieutenants vnder him, for they neuer lightlie returned home but with victorie. He was a prince of such constancie in promise, that he seldom spake the words which he performed not. Such an obseruer he was also of iustice, that whensoever he remoued from anie place, he would cause proclamation to be made, that if anie of his men or officers had taken by anie thing unpaid for, the partie to whom the debt was due should come in, and immediatlie he should be satisfied. He willingly heard the complaints of the poore, and was no lesse diligent to see their wrongs redressed.

After the decesse of king Robert the second, his son John Stewart earle of Carrike was admitted to the crowne, which he receiued at Scone on the Assumption of our ladie. And forsomuch as John was thought to be an vnfortunate name for kings, they changed the same, and called him Robert after his father, being now the third of that name. But whether the same was so altered, either for the calamities which happened to the two Johns, the king of England and the king of France, or for the good successe of the two former Roberts (Wife and Stewart) had in the victories and gouernement of the realme: for their vertue in peace and warres: for their vniuersall happinesse in what they attempted:

Fr. Thin.
The earle marshall of England, warden of the marches.

The gouernor of Scotland invaded Northumberland.

A truce taken
English ambassadors sent into Scotland. The king of Scots agreed to the truce.

The cathedrall church of Murray burnt.

The earle of Buchquhane imprisoned.

The decesse of king Robert the second.

2390.

His happe successe in warres.

The constancie of King Robert in word and promise.

His bright iustice.

His diligence to redresse poore mens wrongs.

Robert.
John Stewart earle of Carrike admitted to the crowne.

1390.
Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.

Lindseie had a halberd, and Redman a sword with a buckler which he carried at his backe. Io. Maior. lib. 6. cap. 14. The disgrace of prisoners breaking promise.

Io. Ma. saith if they break promise, the picture of him is tied to a horse's taile and drawn about the borders of the countie.

The bishop of Durham goeth towards the Scots, accompanied with Thomas Lindseie and Thomas Clifford.

The bishop of Durham goeth against the Scots.

John Maior writeth, that some say they tied these prisoners fast with ropes. lib. 6. c. 14.

The manner of the Scots was, that going to battell they carie a yoke about their neckes, with the battell encouragement themselves to fight with the English, which they do by making the noise of the English (as may be by many substantiall reasons apparent.)

John Ma. li. 14. c. 14.

John Ma. li. 14. c. 14.

John Ma. li. 14. c. 14.

John Ma. li. 14. c. 14.

John Ma. li. 14. c. 14.

John Ma. li. 14. c. 14.

I will leaue vncertefne, hauing no certefintie deli-
uered thereof vnto me. This Robert the third rather
lacked vices, than was beautified with anie extraor-
dinarie vertues, for which cause he being king in
name, his brother Robert was king in deed, as one
vpon whome the whole gouernement did depend.
The king Robert did marrie Annabell (the daugh-
ter of John Drummond) whome he receiued into his
bed, rather for hir singular beautie, than the hono-
r of hir parents, or for anie benefit that might grow
to the common wealth by hir or hir alliance. In the
beginning of his reigne, a truce was taken betwene
England and Scotland, for the space of three yeres,
which thortlie after was proroged to the terme of
four yeres.)

About the same time William Droglass of
Mididale was chosen by the lords of Putzen, to be
admerall of a nauie, containing two hundred and
fortie ships, which they had rigged, and purposed
to set forth against the miscreant people of the
northeast parts. But being appealed by the lord Clif-
ford an Englishman (who was there likewise to
serue with the foresaid lords in that iourne) to fight
with him in a singular combat: before the day
came appointed for them to make triall of the
battell, the lord Clifford lay in wait for the Dro-
glass, and vpon the bidge of Danzke met with
him, and there slue him, to the great disturbance and
fay of the whole iourne. Moreover, thortlie after the
coronation of king Robert the third, tidings came
that Duncane [whom some call Daech Stewart]
sonne to Alexander Stewart the kings brother as
foze rehearsed, was entred into Angus with a great
number of men, and slue Walter Ogilvie thirffe of
the countrie, that came forth with a power to resist
him from spoiling the people, whom he miserable af-
flicted; notwithstanding these his insolent doings were not
long unpunished. For the earle of Crawford being
sent against him with an armie, caused him to dis-
perse his companie, and to flee his wates; but being
apprehended with the most part of his said com-
panie, they were punished according to their de-
merits.

At this time also the most part of the north coun-
trie of Scotland, was soze disquieted by two clans
of thole Irish Scots, called Katerans, which inha-
bit the hie-land countries, the one named Clankaites
and the other Clanquhaffans. These two being at
deadlie fude, robbed and waisted the countrie with
continual slaughter and reise. At length it was ac-
corded betwixt the parties, by the aduise of the earls
of Murray and Crawford, that thirtie persons of the
one clan, should fight before the king at Perth, a-
gainst thirtie of the other clans men, with sharpe
swords to the vnterance, without anie kind of armor
or harnesse, in triall and decision of the quarell, for
the which the variance betwixt them first arose. Both
these clans right iofull of this appointment, came to
Perth with their number, where, in a place called the
North inch, a litle beside the towne, in presence of the
king and other iudges assigned thereto, they fought
according as it was agreed, and that with such rage
and desperate furie, that all those of Clankaites part
were slaine (one onelie excepted) who to saue his life,
after he saw all his fellows slaine, leapt into the wa-
ter of Tait, and swam ouer, and so escaped. There
was 11 of Clanquhaffans side that escaped with
life, but not one of them vntwounded and that verte
foze. At their entering into the field or lists where they
should fight the battell, one of the clans wan-
ted one of his number, by reason that he which shuld
haue supplid it, was priuile stolen awaie, not wil-
ling to be partaker of so deare a bargaine. But there
was a countrie-felow among the beholders, who be-

ing soze that so notable a fight should be passed ouer,
offered himselfe for a small summe of monie to fill
vp the number, though the matter appertained no-
thing to him, nor to anie of his friends. This man
(as saith Buchanan) seemed to be a saddle-maker,
who for halfe a French crowne, and his diet during
his life (if he were victor) took the matter in hand, in
which none behaued himselfe more valiantlie than
he, on whose part the said eleven did suruiue, him-
selfe making vp the number. This battell was
fought thus betwene the two clans, in maner as
is before remembred, in the yere 1396.

In the third, or (as saith Buchanan) the second
yere after, a parlement was holden at Perth, wher-
in, besides diuerse constitutions and ordinances en-
acted for the advancement of the common-wealth,
the king made his eldest sonne named David (that
was then about eightene yeres of age) duke of
Rothesay, and his brother Robert (that was earle of
Fife and gouernor of the realme, as before ye haue
heard) he created duke of Albanie. These were the
first dukes that had bene heard of in Scotland, for
till those daies there was neuer anie within the
realme that bare that title of honoz. [Which virgin
title (saith Buchanan of that honoz) gaue neuer god
successe to the maisters]. During the time that the
peace continued betwixt the two realmes of Eng-
land and Scotland, there were sundrie iustes and
combats put in vze, and exercised betwixt Scots and
Englishmen, for proufe of their valiant aduie in
feats of armes, to win thereby fame and honoz. But
amongst the residue, that was most notable, which
chanced betwixt David earle of Crawford Scottish,
and the lord Welles English.

It was agreed betwixt these two noble men, to
run certaine courses on horsebacke, with speares
sharpe ground for life and death. The place appointed
for these iusts was London bidge, and the day the
third, and twentieth of April, being the feast of saint
George. At the place & day thus prefixed, they came
redie to furnish their enterprise, and being mounted
on their mightie courfers, they ran together right
egerlie. At the first course, though they attained,
yet kept they their saddles without anie perill of fal-
ling. The people beholding how stiffelie earle Da-
uid sat without moving, cried that the Scottishman
was locked in his saddle. He hearing this, leapt be-
side his horse, and verie nimble mounted vp a-
gaine into the saddle, as he was, to the great
wonder of the beholders. This done, he took ano-
ther course, & so together they ran againe right fier-
ce the second time; and yet without anie great hurt
on either part: but the third time, the lord Welles
was borne out of the saddle, and soze hurt with the
griuous fall.

And for bicause the earle of Crawford thus van-
quished his aduersarie on saint Georges day, he
founded a chanterie of seven priests to sing in our
ladies church of Dundee, in memorie of S. George,
which they did vnto our time, not without singular
commendation of the said earle. After this, he re-
mained thre moneths in England, in sporting and
feasting amongst the nobles, before he returned into
Scotland, highlie praised of all estates for his no-
ble port and great liberalitie there shewed amongst
them. Not long after, one sir Robert Douglas an
Englishman, came into Scotland to trie his man-
hod in singular battell, with whome neuer would
come against him: he vanquished one Archibald
Comounston, and Hugh Wallace: but at length he
was overcome by one Hugh Traill at Berwick, and
died thortlie after vpon displeasure thereof
conceiued.

In the same yere, Richard king of England,
married

John Ma. lib. 6.
cap. 6.

Buchanan.

William Dow-
glas of Mid-
dale chosen
admerall by
the lords of
Putzen.

He is slaine
by the lord
Clifford.
Duncan Ste-
ward inua-
deth Angus.

Fr. Thin.

The north
parts of Scot-
land soze dis-
quieted by
two clans.

With Scots
called Kate-
rans.
A battell of
thirtie against
thirtie.

A desperate
fight.

Fr. Thin.

1396.

1398.

The first
dukes that
were created
in Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

Justes and
combats be-
twixt Scots
and English-
men.

1400.

The occasion
of the falling
out betwixt
king Robert
and the earle
of March.

The earle of
Crawford of
Scotland, &
the lord Wel-
les of England
iusted for life
and death.

The earle of
March sliech
in England.

The lord
Welles borne
out of his
saddle.

The costell
of Dunbar
knew to the
kings wife.

Fr. Thin.

Daile of the
erie of Craw-
ford.
Sir Robert
Douglas.

King Robert
sliech vnto
the earle of
March.

married Isabell daughter to the French king, and some after went into Ireland, to subdue such Irish rebels, as troubled the quiet state of the countrie. But in the meane time, his lords at home rebelled against him, and determined to depose him from the crowne, so that upon his returne into England, he was apprehended, put in ward, and shortly after constrained to renounce all his right to the crowne, and adiudged therewith to perpetuall prison: yet at length (as the Scottish chronicle telleth) he got forth of prison disguised in womans apparell, and came into Galloway, where he fell in service with a Scottish man named Mahdonald. But at the last, being betrayed and knowen that he was so, and thereupon brought to king Robert, he was right honorable by him interteined: neuertheless, knowing himselfe deposed from his roiall estate, he gave himselfe wholly to contemplation, till finally he departed this world at Sterling, and was buried in the blacke friers there within the same towne, as the same Scottish chronicles butrultie doe report. But to the matter, Henrie the sonne of John of Gaunt, sometime duke of Lancaster, after that king Richard was deposed, was crowned king of England at Westminster, the thirtenth day of October, in the yere 1399.

In the yere next insuing, that is to say, 1400, king Robert, in consideration of a summe of monie to him aforehand paid, contracted covenants of marriage to be had and made betwixt his sonne the duke of Rothsaie, and the earle of Marches daughter. But Archembal earle of Dowglas, hauing indignation that the earle of March should be preferred before him, by support of the duke of Albanie, procured a counsell to be called, in the which he found meanes to assure his daughter the ladie Margerie, or Marie (as saith Buchanan) vnto the said duke of Rothsaie, & with all speed went about to consummate the marriage betwixt them, to put the matter out of all doubt. The earle of March perceiuing this dealing, came to the king, and required to know his pleasure, if he minded to performe the covenants concluded, concerning the marriage betwixt the prince and his daughter, or not; making as it were a great complaint of that which was already done to the breach thereof; and receiuing answer nothing agreeable to his mind, he departed in a great fume, not sticking to say, he would be reuenged on such vnturth per it were long. Shortly after he fled into England, leauing his castell of Dunbar well stocked of all things necessarie for defense, in the keeping of his sisters sonne named Robert Hailand. But when Archembal Dowglas came thither in the kings name, and required to haue the castell rendered into his hands, this Robert Hailand obeyed the kings commandement, and deliuered the house to the said Dowglas.

George earle of March informed hereof, procured all his friends to conueie themselves into England, and determined with himselfe to doe all the displeasure and mischief he might inuent against his owne native countrie. King Robert fore dreeding, least by this earles procurement some trouble might hap to follow amongst his subiects [did first confiscating his goods] send an herald at armes into England with letters vnto him, promising by the tenure of the same, not onelie to pardon him of all offenses committed, but also to redresse all wrongs or injuries which he had any waies forth receiued, if he would returne into Scotland. And forsomuch as the earle of March refused this offer, the same herald according to instructions given him at his departure from king Robert, went immediatlie to Henrie king of England with other letters, earnestlie desir-

ring him to cause the earle of March to depart out of his realme, & not to receiue any rebels out of Scotland into his bounds, whereby the peace might be vniolated, which as yet remained betwixt the two kingdoms.

King Henrie upon reasonable allegations (as he pretended) refused to satisfie king Roberts petitions in this behalfe, by reason whereof the peace brake betwixt them and their subiects, without any further tracting of time. For shortly after, Henrie Perrie, surnamed (as is said) Henrie Hotspur, and the earle of March entered into Scotland, and got together a great bottie of goods and cattell in Louthian about Haddington, at that time they did in vaine besiege the castell of Hais or Hais, who being at Lintone were come upon by the Scots, for (to haue returne of the booties taken) Archembal earle of Dowglas, hauing assembled a powter of men, came with the same towards the enemies, immediatlie whereupon they fled to Berwikke, and left all their bootie behind them, which being recovered by the said earle of Dowglas and his compaignie, he returned backe vnto Edinburgh, where he shortly after being taken with an hot feuer, departed out of this life, leauing behind him an honorable memorie of his name, for his high prowesse and noble ballancie shewed in manie and sundrie enterprises, by him luckilie achieved for the wealth of his countrie. He was named of his terrible countenance and dreadfull loke, The grim Dowglas.

After his deceasse, his second sonne that was called likewise Archembal, was made earle of Dowglas; for his eldest sonne William Dowglas died in the yere before his father. Shortly after, Henrie king of England came into Scotland with an armie, without doing any great damage to the people; for he required no more of them that kept any castles or strengths, but onelie to put forth a banner of his armes as he passed by. At his comming to Haddington, he was lodged in the nurrie there, & shewed much bounteous humantie toward the nuns, and all other of that house, not suffering any manner of thing to be done preiudiciall to the same. The like gentleness he shewed towards them of the Holie rood house, at his comming to Edinburgh, wherein he likewise lodged. It is thought, that in memorie of the friendlie interteinement, which his father the duke of Lancaster found in these abbeies, at the time of his being in Scotland, when the rebellion chanced in England, through Iacke Straw and his complices, he shewed such fauour towards them at this present. To be brieue, it should appere, that king Henrie came into Scotland, as it were enforced, more thorough counsell of his nobles, than for any hatred he bare towards the Scots, as he well shewed in returning backe againe, without doing them any further iniurie.

In the yere after, or thereabout, died Walter Traillie bishop of Saint Andrewes, and the Scottish quene Annabell Drommond, after whose deceasse hir sonne Dauid the duke of Rothsaie, that vnder hir government had bene well and vertuouslie brought vp, hauing now got once the reine at libertie, fell to all kind of insolent outrage, seeking to defile wiues, virgins, nuns, and all other kind of women, in all places where he came. At length, his father perceiuing his sonnes poyntfull nature to rage after that manner in vnbideled lust, beyond the bounds of all measure, to the great reproch of them both, wrote to his brother the duke of Albanie, requirring him to take his sonne, the said duke of Rothsaie into his custody, and to see him so chastised for his wanton behaviour, as he might learne to amend the same. & Here is to be noted, that the duke of Albanie had of long

sent letters also vnto the king of England.

Henrie Hotspur and the earle of March enter into Scotland. Fr. Thyn.

The deceasse of Archembal earle of Dowglas.

Henrie king of England invadeth Scotland.

Fr. Thyn. The death of quene Annabell.

The insolent outrage of the duke of Rothsaie.

W. b. f. time

time before, desired to see the duke of Rothsaie dispatched out of the way, as the person whome he most doubted; & therefore having commission thus from the king to take him, he reioised not a little, trusting thereby to compass his purpose without danger. And hereupon taking the duke of Rothsaie betwixt Dundee & saint Andrewes, he brought him to Falseland, where he shut him vp in streit prison, and kept him without all manner of meat or drinke, so to famish him to death.

The duke of Rothsaie committed to prison.

It is said, that a woman understanding the duke of Albanies intention, and taking ruth of the others pitifull case, found meanes to let meale fall downe thorough a rift of the loft of that tower wherein he was inclosed, by meanes whereof his life was certaine daies sustained; but after this was once knowne, incontinentlie was the woman made awaie. In the same manner, an other woman through a long reed fed him with milke of hir owne breasts, and was likewise dispatched as sone as hir doings were perceived. Then after this, the duke destitute of all worldlie sustenance, thorough verie famine was constrained to eat not onelie all such filth as he could find within the tower, but also in the end he gnawed off his owne fingers, and so finally in this miserable state of martyrdome (as I may call it) ended his wretched life, and was buried in Lundoris, where (as the same went) manie faire miracles were done nere to his graue, till time that James the first began to punish the murderers, for since that time such miracles ceased.

The duke of Rothsaie famished to death.

Miracles.

The displeasures done by George earle of March. The earle of Dowglas gouernour of Louthian.

Thomas Haliburton.

Patricke Hepborne slaine at Peshet.

About the same time, George earle of March did manie displeasures to the Scots, making sundrie rodes into their countrie, greatlie to his profit. The earle of Dowglas that had the gouernement of Louthian in those daies, toke order, that certeine captains of that countrie should euerie one of them for his turne, with a competent number for the time, make a rode into England, to reuenge such displeasures. The first that went, was Thomas Haliburton of Dirlington, who returned in safetie with a great preie taken of Englishmens goods. Next vnto him was Patricke Hepborne of the Valis the younger, appointed to go forth as capteine generall with a certeine number, who entering into England, got a great botie together; but the Englishmen following thereupon to recout it, incountered with him at Peshet in the Pers, and there not onelie slue him, but also distressed his people. Besides them that were slaine with their capteine, there were also manie that were taken, as John and William Cockborne, Robert Latwder of the Bas, John and Thomas Hallburton, with manie other. Almost all the floure of Louthian (as Iohn Maior writteth) perished in this battell, which was fought the 22 of June, in the yere 1402.

1402. Archembald Dowglas inuadeth England.

The nobles of Scotland in this armie.

Henrie Hotspur and the earle of March assaile the Scots at Homildon.

Archembald earle of Dowglas seze displeased, and wonderfullie wroth in his mind for this overthrow, got commission to inuade England with an armie of ten thousand men, and hauing the same once readie with all things necessarie for his voiage, he set forward, and entering into England, burnt and harried the countrie, not stateng till he came as farre as Newcastell. In this armie there was with the Dowglas, Purdoche eldest sonne to duke Robert earle of Fife, Thomas erle of Murray, George earle of Angus, with manie other lords and nobles of Scotland. At the last, when they were returning homewards with a preie of infinit goods and riches, Henrie Hotspur, and George earle of March, with a great power of men met them, and assailed them so with such incessant shot of arrowes, that where the earle of Dowglas with his armie had the aduantage of an hill, called Homildon, he was constrained to

forake the same; and comming downe vpon the Englishmen, was neuertheless put to the sword, the most part of his people being either taken or slaine. It is said, that after the Scots were once put to flight, they gathered againe, and renewed the battell by the exhortation of Adham Gordon, & sir John Swinton, but that did little auaille them, for they were still beaten downe and slaine. Among other of those that were slaine, were the same sir John Swinton, and Adham Gordon; also John Leuiston of Balender, Alexander Ramsaie of Dalhousie, with sundrie other gentlemen & nobles of Scotland.

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Archembald earle of Dowglas, Purdoche Steward eldest sonne to duke Robert the gouernour, George erle of Angus, Robert Erskin of Caloway, the lord Sawilton, James Dowglas master of Dalkeith, and his two brethren John and William, with the most part of all the barons of Fife and Louthian, were taken prisoners. This battell was fought on the Wood day in haruest, in the yere 1403, vpon a Tuesday. Henrie Perrie verie proud of this victorie, came with the earle of March vnto the castell of Cockclaus in Teuidale, and laied siege to the same, but John Greinelow capteine thereof defended it so manfullie, that they got no great aduantage; yet at length he fell to this composition with them, that if he had no rescue within the space of thre moneths (or as Buchanan saith) fiftie daies, the castell should be then rendered into their hands.

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When the gouernour of Scotland was informed what agreement the capteine of Cockclaus had made, he assembled the lords in counsell to haue their aduise for the leauing of an armie against the time appointed. There were manie of this opinion, that it was better to lose the castell, than to leaopard the lines of so manie men as were necessarie to furnish that enterprise for the sauing of it. But the gouernour shewed, that he woted the losse of it so much, that if none of the nobles would passe with him to the rescue thereof, yet he would go himselfe to do what in him might lie to saue it. But in the meane time, such trouble rose in England, that there needed no power to be leaued for the defense of Cockclaus. For by a conspiracie practised against king Henrie, certeine of the English nobilitie were alied together to haue destroyed him; but amongst the residue, the Perries were as chiefe.

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They fought together at Shrewesburie a verie bloudie battell, where the king got the victorie, and slue the lord Perrie, surnamed (as before ye haue heard) Henrie Hotspur. At this battell was also the earle of Dowglas, with a great companie of Scottishmen on the Perries side, for being taken prisoner at the battell of Homildon (as before is said) it was accorded betwixt him and the said Henrie Hotspur, that aiding him & other his complices against king Henrie, if it chanced the said king Henrie to be vanquished and put from the crowne, according to their intent and purpose, then should the said earle Dowglas be released of his ransom, and haue the towne of Berwike rendered vnto him in rewarde of his aid and assistance. He fought (as is reported) with singular manhod, and had the fore ward on the Perries side. He slue that day with his owne hands, thre gentlemen arraied in the kings cote armour; and finally when the battell was lost, he was taken in the chase, and saued aloue, where not one more of all his retinue of Scots escaped with life, but were all slaine out of hand. Neither was this victorie gotten by king Henrie, without great slaughter of those that were on his part, for he lost foure verie valiant knights, as Staluart, Blunt, Spasse, and Pottoke, with seuen hundred other soldiers and men of war (as

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The Scots thought of the English influence in the battle.

The Scots are put to the sword.

Adham Gordon.

John Leuiston.

John Greinelow.

John Greinelow.

John Greinelow.

John Greinelow.

John Greinelow.

John Greinelow.

John Greinelow.

John Greinelow.

John Greinelow.

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John Greinelow.

John Greinelow.

John Greinelow.

John Greinelow.

John Greinelow.

The earle of Douglas in prison.

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(as the Scottish writers haue) but the English authors name a farre greater number, as firste hundred at the least.

King Henrie (as the same Scottish writers doe record) vsed the counsell & aduise of the earle of March, in the obtaining of this victorie, being fled latelie before from the rebels side to him. The earle of Douglas, in respect of his noble parentage and high valiance, was verie tenderlie cherished by king Henrie, who for that he had sene him do so valiantlie in the day of that battell, reputed him worthe of all honours. The earle of Douglas yet was verie infortunate in most of his enterprises, so farre forth, that he neuer wan battell wherein he chanced to be, and was therefore named Archembald Tinneman; though there were no default to be found at anie time in his owne person, for he euer fought with great manhood. At the battell of Homildon he lost one of his eyes, and at this battell of Shrewesburie he lost one of his shoulers. The old earle of Northumberland, hearing that euill successe his sonne and other his kinsmen had found in their rebellious enterprise at Shrewesburie, with one of his nephues (that was his sonnes sonne) and other of his friends and kinsmen, withdrew into Scotland, where he was receiued by Henrie Marlowe bishop of saint Andrews, and lodged with him at his ease and in good surterie within his castell of saint Andrews aforesaid.

About the same time, king Robert was aduertised, that his sonne the duke of Rothsaie was pined to death in Falkland (in manner as before is expressed) which newes were so greuous vnto him, that he grew each day more and more in sorow and melancholie. The duke of Albanie kept it so long as was possible from the kings knowledge, and being now sent for by the king to answer him for such treasonable slaughter of his sonne, he came, and so excused the matter with a faire painted tale, as though he had bene nothing guiltie in the cause, and for further declaration of his innocencie, he promised, if it might please the king to come vnto Edinburgh he would bring in the offenders which were culpable of the murder. The king as then remaining in Wate (where for the most part he euer sojourned) though he were not well able to trauell by reason of long sickness, yet in a chariot he came vnto Edinburgh, vpon the earnest desire he had to see his sons death punished. And at his coming thither, the duke of Albanie deliuered vnto him certaine naughtie persons, & such in deed, as for their heinous acts and vngenerous conditions deserved well to die (though not for this matter) which neuertheless by vntreue suggestions and forged acculements, being brought before corrupt iudges (and such as the duke of Albanie had provided for his purpose) were condemned as guiltie of his death, whome in all their life time they neuer saw.

Though this matter was handled as finclie as was possible, and made so sound and cleare as could be deuised, yet was not the king so satisfied in his mind, but that he had a great suspicion in the duke of Albanie as author of his sonnes death: but for so much as the duke had all the realme vnder his obediens, partlie by policie, and partlie by authoritie of his office, being gouernor thereof, the king durst not attempt anie thing against him, but rather doubted, lest he having an ambitious desire to the crowne, would compasse also to haue the life of his second sonne (named James) as then prince of Scotland; and therefore by the faithfull helpe & good aduise of Walter Marlowe the bishop of saint Andrews, he provided a ship, and sent the said prince forth in the same to passe into France to King Charles the first, deliuering him also a letter written and directed

vnto the king of England in his fauour, if he chanced at vntwares by anie fortune to fall into the Englishmens hands.

Henrie lord Sinclair, the second earle of Orkney, was appointed to haue the conueie of him, who hauing all his puruesance ready, took the ship that was appointed for them at the Balke, where it laie at anchor, and losing from thence, they sailed forward till they came to Flamburgh head; where (as some say) they were taken on the sea by Englishmen, the which hearing how the prince of Scotland should passe that waies, laie in wait for him. Others write, that his desire was to be set on land there, because he might not awaie with the aire of the sea, being brought far out of quiet in his head & stomach therewith. But how soeuer it was, the truth is, taken he was in the ninth yeare of his age, the 33 day of March, in the yeare of our incarnation 1406, and was kept in captiuitie of the Englishmen by the space of eightene yeares. At his coming to the presence of king Henrie, he deliuered to him the letter directed from his father king Robert, the tenor whereof here insueth, as in the Scottish tongue they be written.

James prince of Scotland taken by the Englishmen. H.B. 1404.

The tenor of the said letter as it is written in the Scottish tongue.

Robert king of Scots to Henrie king of England greeting. Thy great magnificence, humilitie, and iustice, are right patent to vs, by gouernance of thy last armie in Scotland; howbeit like things had bene vncertaine to vs afore. For though thou seemed as enemy with most awfull incursions in our realme: sit we found mair humanities and plaisures than damage (by thy cunning) to our subdittes. Speciallie to yame that receiuit thy noble fader the duke of Longcastell the tyme of his exill in Scotland. We may not ceis yairfore, while we are on life, but aye luf and loif thee as mair noble and worthe prince, to ioy thy realme. For yoch realmes and nations contend among themselue for conquests of glorie & launds, sit na occasion is among vs to invade athir realmes or lieges with iniuries, bot erat to contend among our selfe, quhay sall persue othir with mair humanitie and kindnesse. As to vs we will meis all occasion of battell, quare any occures at thy pleasure. Forther, bycause we haue na lesse sollicitude in preferuing our children fra certaine deidlie enemies, than had sometime thy noble fader, we are constrained to seeke support at vncouth princes hands. Howbeit, the inuasion of enemies is sa great, that small defense occures against yame without they be preserved by amitie of nobill men. For the world is sa full of peruersit malice, that na crueltie nor offense may be deuist in erd, bot the samme may be brought be motion of gold or siluer. Heirfore, because we know thy hyelle full of monie, noble vertues, with like puissance and riches, that na prince in our daies may be compared thairto: we desire thy

B. b.

huma-

humanitie and support at this time.

We traist it is not vnknowne to thy maiestie, how our eldest sonne David is flaine miserablie in prison be our brothir the duke of Albanie, quhome we chest to be gouernour (quan we were fallen in decrepit age) to our subdittes and realme, besekand thy hienes thairfoze to be so fauorable, that this bearer James our second and allanerlie sonne may haue targe to liefe vnder thy faith, and iustice, to be some memorie of our posteritie, knaweund the vnstable condition of mans life so dainlie altered: now flourishand, and suddenly falling to vtter consumption. For thir beliefe well, quhan kings and princes hes na other beild bot in thair aboin folks, thair empire is caduke and fragill. For the mind of common people, ar eur flowand and maie inconstant than wind. Zit quen princes ar roborat be amitie of othir vncowth kings thair brethir and nighbours, na aduersitie may occurre to elect thaim fra thair dignitie rall. Forthir gif thy hienes thinke nocht expedient (as God forbeid) to obtemper to thir ovr desires. Zit we request aue thing quhilk was ratiffit in our last trewes and condition of peace, that the supplication made be ony of the two kings of Ingland and Scotland fall staund in manner of sauveconduct to the bearer. And thus we desire to be obseruat to this our allanerlie sonne, and the gracious God conserue the maist noble pynce.

After that king Henrie had caused these letters to be opened and read, he aduised himselfe thereon with great deliberation; but in the end, he determined to state this James pynce of Scotland as his latofull prisoner, for that he was thus taken in time of warres, and that mozeouer, there were diuers rebels of England succored within the bounds of his fathers dominion, to the high displeasure of the said king Henrie. But such was the fauour shewed in his bringing vp, that his captiuitie turned moze to his honor, profit, and commoditie, than anie other wo:zblie hap that might by anie means haue otherwise chanced vnto him. He had such perfect instructo:z to teach him, as well the vnderstanding of tonges as the sciences, that he became right expert and cunning in euerie of them. He was taught also to ride, to run at the tilt, and handle all kind of weapons conuenientlie to be used of such a personage, where vnto he was so apt and readie, that few in anie point of actiuitie might ouermatch him. He had good knowledge in musike, and could plaie on sundrie instruments right perfectlie. To be brieue, it appeared in all his behaviour and maners, in what companie so euer he came, that his bringing vp had bene according to his nature, neither of them differing from his birth, and the qualitie of a noble and most vertuous pynce.

After it was signified vnto his father king Robert, as he sat at supper, that his sonne was thus arrested in England, he made full great and dolorous mone, soze lamenting that euer he matched himselfe in marriage with a woman of so meane degree (to the disparagement of his blood) as was queene Annabell, on whome he begat his sonnes, which (as he toke it) was the onelie cause why as well foraine pynces as his owne subjects had him thus in con-

tempt. He toke this matter so sore to hart, that with in three daies after the newes came vnto him, he departed this world through force of sicknesse, not increased by melancholic, which had bered him a long time before. He died at Rothsaie in the sixteenth yere of his reigne complet, and from the incarnation 1408. His bodie was buried at Ballete, with his wife queene Annabell before rehearsed. He was a man of a mightie stature, verie liberall and gentle, so that if he had not bene maimed with a horse, and thereby grew lame, that he might trauell about the affaires of the realme himselfe, it was thought the common-wealth should haue prospered vnder his gouernement, as much as euer it did vnder anie of his predecesso:z.

The gouernor Robert duke of Albanie, after the deceasse of his brother king Robert, was by newelection chosen, or rather confirmed in his office of gouernor, which he exercised moze by rightlie, & with better iustice now after his brothers death, than before. For (as sayth Buchanan) take away from him, that he was ouermuch blinded with desire to gouerne (wherevnto he cared not by anie means to aspire) there were in him manie other good parts wo:zthie to haue such gouernement: for he was valiant in battell, wise in counsell, he did decide matters of controuersie with great equitie, he was the nobilitie with his liberalitie, and did not sucke the commons dyte by exactions. In the meane time, the castell of Jedworth (which the Englishmen had held euer since the battell of Durham) was taken by the Scotsmen, and raced downe to the earth. Archibald earle of Dowglaste, as yet remaining captiue in England, after he had knowledge of king Roberts death, made shift to agree for his ransome, and so being set at libertie, returned with all speed now at length into Scotland.

Shortlie after, there was a counsell called, where in was a motion made for the restoring of George earle of March to his countrie, lands, and blood. After long debating of the matter, and hard hold to and fro both with him and against him, it was in the end concluded, that he should returne into Scotland, and be receiued as a true Scottishman; but vnder this condition, that he should forgo his lands of Arnerdale, and Lochmaben, which should for euer remaine to the Dowglaste, and to his heires. All his other lands and possessions, it was accorded, that he should inioy as in his former right & estate. And thus was the earle of March pardoned of all passed offences committed against the crowne of Scotland, and returned home, to the great comfort of his friends. Perlie that before was fled into Scotland to the erle of March his old friend, was courteously receiued, interteined, & nourished according to his estate, by the said earle of March: during which time, he solicited his friends in England to find means for returne into his countrie. And amongst other of his friends, with whom he dealt by secret messengers; he directed letters concerning the same, to an old (and as he deemed a most faithfull) friend of his, called Rafe Roksbie, declaring vnto him that he should not want friends, both Scottish & English (though whose helpe he did not despaire to recouer his patri monie) if he might haue his aid also therein, for this Rafe was thiriffe of Wokshire. This man, after he had intised Perlie (vnder the assurance of false hope and trust in him) to come into England, he opened the conspiracie to the king, and secretlie laid wait to intercept the said earle, by which meanes, (getting him into his possession) he cut off his head, and sent it to the king to London. At which time also, there was an Englishman in Scotland, which called himselfe Richard the second: but falslie (as I suppose

The death of king Robert the third.

1406, Buch. 1408.

His buriall.

His stature and qualitie.

The duke of Albanie confirmed gouernor of the realme.

Fr. Thin.

Donald substituted Roffe.

Fr. Thin. Lelles lib. 7. cap. 268.

Jedworth: castell taken.

The earle of Dowglaste released and returned into Scotland.

The earldome of Roffe transferred from the line of Walter Roffe to the Stewards.

The earle of March released home.

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan. 1409.

The earle of Mar.

The battell of Barlow.

Doubtfull booke.

The number same.

James the pynce of Scotland staid as prisoner in England. His bring- ing vp.

An happy captiuitie. His instructo:z in the tonges.

His training in warlike exercises.

His knowledge in musike.

The griefe of his father king Robert.

suppose, saith Buchanan; for when the elder Perrie did often and importunatlie require to talke with him, he could neuer be perswaded by anie mens words to come, or enter speech to, or with the said earle of Northumberland, fearing (belike) least his deceit would be understood by him, which knew his owne and true king verie well. This counterfeitt king yet boasting him to be of the princelie blood, was honozed accordingly; after certeine yeares, and at length (feining himselfe to be far from all desire of gouernement, to the end he might make his effect the more safelie) he died and was buried in the church of the frier Dominicks in Sterling, with a title of the king of England grauen vpon him.)

About the same time, there rose great trouble in Scotland, by the rebellion of Donald of the Isles, who claiming by right of his wife, a title to the earldome of Ross, was defeated of the same, by the practise of the gouernoz, hauing by subtil conuenance, assured the said earldome vnto his second son the earle of Buchquhane named John. The foresaid Donald, by way of supplication, besought the gouernoz to doe him reason; but he receiued nought, except it were froward speech, wherewith he took such displeasure, that raising all the power of the Isles he came into Ross, and subdued the same at his pleasure. * The which to make the matter more plaine, and to deduce his title out of Lesleus (which he forgetteth not to report for the honoz of his owne house) I will set the same downe in this manner. Walter Lesle a noble man, after singular prowesse shewed by him (in externall battell) vnder the Romans, returned with honoz into Scotland, where he married the daughter of William earle of Ross, (slaine at the battell of Haldon) and with hir obtained the earldome of that province, of which wife he raised one sonne called Alexander, after earle of Ross; and one daughter giuen in mariage to Donald of the Isles. This Alexander joined himselfe in mariage with Eufemie the daughter of Robert the gouernoz, and had by hir one onelie daughter and heire christened after the name of hir mother, who (after the death of hir father, being yet a tender maid and vnpractised in the course of things) was partlie by the flatteries, and partlie by the threats of the gouernoz, induced to glue the earldome of Ross vnto him, by whose helpe, as it was reported, she shortly after died. Whereupon, Donald that had to wife the sister of Alexander Lesle (aunt to this Eufemie which sold hir inheritance) demanding the earldome of Ross by right of inheritance (as is said) by his wife, entered Ross, and brought it to his subiection. But not being satisfied with this, he passed through Durey, Boghtuall, and other bounds thereabouts, till he came vnto Garioch, purposing to burne Aberdeen.

But Alexander Steward earle of Mar, hauing gathered a power with all diligence to resist this Donald, met with him at a village called Harlow, & incontinentlie not staing for more aid that was coming towards him, set on the enemies more rashlie than orderlie, and more fiercelie than discretlie, not passing for keeping anie accustomed array of battell, as had bene requisit. By reason whereof, great slaughter was made on either part, the victorie in the end being so doubtfull, that both parts were faine to withdraw out of the field, and flee to the next mounteins, as glad to be seuered the one from the other. There was slaine on Donalds part nine hundred men, with Makelane, and Makinhos. On the earle of Marres side, there died Alexander Ogilvie thiriffe of Angus, with seven knights of name, and diuers other gentlemen, with commons, to the number of six hundred. This bat-

tell was striken on saint James euen, in the yeare 1411. Donald of the Isles, after this bickering wholie granted the victorie to his enemies, in fleeing all the night long after the battell towards Kofse, and from thence with like speed he passed ouer into the Isles.

In the yeere next following, the gouernoz prepared to make a iourne into the Isles, to chastise the foresaid Donald; but he through feare of further damage, submitted himselfe, and was sworne neuer to procure anie trouble to the realme in time to come. Not long after the battell of Harlow, Patrike Dunbar, second sonne to the earle of March, with one hundred of hardie persons, came earlie one morning somewhat before the breake of the day to Fast castle, and wan the same, taking the captiue prisoner, whose name was Thomas Haldon. At the same time was the bridge of Roxburgh broken downe, and the towne burnt by William Dowglas of Dumlamerik, Gawan Dunbar another of the erle of Marches sonnes, and diuerse others. In the same yeere (or rather in the yeere before) the vniuersitie of saint Andrews was first founded, which afterwards was furnished with diuerse notable learned men brought in and placed there by James the first, to the end that by their instructions his people might increase in learning, to the further aduancement of vertue, laudable maners, and all sorts of ciuill customs. Amongest sundrie other expert men in all sciences which he brought into Scotland, there were 18 doctors of diuinitie, & 8 doctors of the canon law.

* From this time by the space of ten yeeres (saith Buchanan) there was almost nothing done worthe of memorie, betwene the Scots and the English, either because the truce occasioned it (which yet I find not mentioned of anie man) either for that Henrie the fourth, king of England, being dead, and his sonne Henrie the fifth reigning in his place, and being all the time of his gouernement busied in the warres of France, the English ceased to offer iniuries to the Scots: or for that the gouernoz of the Scots durst not moue anie thing against the English, fearing least the k. of England would then retorne home the right and true heire of Scotland, who (he was most assured should find fauour against him) in the hearts of his owne people, that would tenderlie pitie the misfortune of his imprisonment, and seeke to establish him in the kingdome. Wherefore if there were anie thing done in that meane time, they were but some few and small excursions within the realme, which more aptlie might be called robberies & spoiles, than anie right wars. For as Pennure in England was burned by Archibald Dowglas, so to (answer the same) Dunfermeil in Scotland was in the like order destroyed by the English. Besides which there was a certeine exchange of prisoners of the one nation with the other: for Morbac the sonne of the gouernoz (taken at Haldon) was returned into Scotland, and Perrie (who was brought out of England by his grandfather into Scotland, and left vnder the protection of the gouernoz) was deliuered to the English, and after by the new king of England was restored to the title & lands of his ancestors earles of Northumberland. This man (though by the vniust detaining of James the sonne of the king of Scots stopped the mouths of the English, that they could not complaine of anie iniurie done in detaining him. The doing whereof so little offended this Perrie, that while he liued, he did (with all kind of courtelie) giue witness of the humanitie shewed vnto him by the Scots. Not much different from this time, came two ambassadoers into Scotland, the one from the councell of Constance (whereof

1411.
Donald of the Isles bath.

1412.
Donald of the Isles submitteth himselfe.

Fast castle wonne.
1410. Buc.
The bridge of Roxburgh broken downe

1411
The first beginning of the vniuersitie of S. Andrews.

Doctors of diuinitie, and of the canon law.
Fr.Thin.

The death of King Robert the third.

1406, Buch.
1408.
His buriall.

His stature and qualities.

The duke of Albanie confirmed gouernoz of the realme.

Fr.Thin.

Rebellion moved by Donald of the Isles.

Donald submitted to the king.
Fr.Thin.
Calculus lib. 7.
cap. 168.

Hedworth castle taken.

The earle of Dowglas released and returneth into Scotland.

A motion made for the restoring of the earle of March to his countrie.

The earle of March restored home.

Fr.Thin.

Buchanan.
1409.

The earle of Mar.

The battell of Harlow.

Doubtfull battell.

The number slain.

the chiefe was the abbat of Pontineac) and the other was from Peter de Luna, who did studie reteine and defend the papasie, whereof he had once gotten possession, which Peter by the trauell and persuation of Henrie Hardine (an English man, and a franciscane frier) had drawne the gouernor of Scotland to follow his faction, which yet succeded to none effect: because the vniuersall companie of the cleargie stiffelie labored against it, and did subscribe to the deposition of Peter, and to the counsell of Constance for the election of Martin the first to the papasie.

Much what about the same time, John Drummond sue Patrike Graham earle of Stratherne, by traitorous meanes, and thereupon fled into Ireland: but as he was about to haue passed from thence ouer into England, the vessel wherein he sailed, was driuen on the coast of Scotland, where hee was taken, and afterwards lost his head for the said offense. Shortly after also, there rose great warres betwixt England and France, as in the histories of those realmes may more plainlie appeare. There was also a great rebellion raised in Wales, against Henrie the first king of England, which was the son of Henrie the fourth latelie deceased. We find in the Scottish chronicles, that this Henrie the first, at his returning forth of France, after his first iourne thither (having in the same towne the towne of Harfleur, & discomfited the whole power of France at Agincourt) was constrained to go against the Welshmen, and encountering with the prince of Wales, was discomfited, and lost ten thousand of his men: but after this, he reinforced his power, and came againe into Wales, not ceasing till he had brought the Welshmen subiect at his pleasure: but the English writers make no mention of anie such matter.

Whilest things passed thus in England, William Haliburton wan the castell of Marke, and sue all such as he found within it, howbeit small while indured the top of this fortunate successe to the Scots: for sundrie Englishmen that knew all the secrets of the house, found means to enter through a gutter, that serued in manner of a sinke, to auoid all the filth of the kitchen into the riuer of Tweed, breaking downe a pane of an old wall, and so made entrie for the residue of their fellows; by reason whereof they easilie recovered the castell, and in reuenge of them that were slaine there when the Scots wan it, they likewise sue all those which were then within it, without anie respect of one or other. After this, in the yere 1419, the third day of September, Robert duke of Albanie, that had bene gouernor of Scotland for the space of fiftene yeres, after the death of king Robert the third, departed out of this life, hauing borne himselfe in all his time as a right valiant and noble prince. [This doth Buchanan attribute to the yere 1420, being the fiftieth yere after the death of Robert the third.]

A little before his deceasse, there came from Charles the French king, the earle of Wandosme, and chancelor of France, both to renew the ancient league betwixt the two realmes of Scotland and France, & also to get some power of Scots to passe into France, to support the said Charles against the Englishmen, which as then soe inuaded his realme. Whereupon shortly after by decree of counsell, it was ordeined, that John Stewart earle of Buchquhane, second sonne to duke Robert, and Archem-bald Douglas earle of Wigton, should passe into France with seven thousand armed men. The king of England informed hereof, to cause the Scots to keepe their men at home, menaced to inuade Scotland with a puissant armie, & that in all hast. Which rumoz being spred ouer all the bounds of his realme,

caused the Scots for doubt thereof to lie all the next summer on the borders: but in the meane time, king Henrie passed into Normandie, to pursue his wars against France with all diligence.

At length, through the procurement of the duke of Burgognie, vnder certeine conditions and covenants of agreement, king Henrie toke to wife the ladie Katharine daughter to the French king. And among other articles of the same agreement, it was concluded, that after the deceasse of Charles the French king, the crowne of France should immediately descend vnto king Henrie, as lawfull inheritor vnto that realme, without all contradiction; by reason whereof, Charles the Dolphin, and sonne to the said king Charles, was clearelie excluded from all claime to the same: but this notwithstanding, the Dolphin did not onelie refuse to surrender his title, but also sought to mainteine the war against king Henrie as his aduersarie, and open enimie to the realme. In the meane while also, the earles of Buchquhane and Wigton, with Alexander Lindsay brother to the earle of Crawford, and Thomas Swinton knights, accompanied with seven thousand well armed men, arrived in France, to the great reioysing of the Dolphin, as he well declared in the thankfull receiuing, and most heartie welcomming of them. Finally, the towne and castell of Chatelon in Touraine was deliuered to them, that they might haue a place at all times to resort vnto, at their owne will and pleasure.

Shortly after they were imployed in the battell of Baugé. For the duke of Clarence brother to the king of England (in whose place he was deputie and generall of the armies in France) after that he had spoiled and ouerrun the countrie of Anjou (which hitherto had remained most stedfast in the obedience of the French) was comming (as it was supposed) to the towne of Baugé, about two daies before Easter: for which cause the Scots (thinking that the duke in that holie feast would, as the maner was, cease from all violence of warre, and attend the church ceremonies appointed for those times; or else as some write, by reason of the truce which was taken for eight daies) did more negligentlie looke vnto their estate than wisdome would they shuld haue done. The which when Clarence vnderstood (either by Andrewe Fregose an Italian, or by the Scottish foragers intercepted by his horsemen) he reioysed that he had so good occasion offered worthilie to performe something. Wherefore rising forthwith from dinner, he commanded his horsemen to arme themselves, with whom he went directlie towards his enimies, at what time he was (besides the beautie of his other furniture) richlie adorned with gobbie diamonds of gold (set with manie pretious stones) and placed vpon a chaplet of iron. At whose sudden approach, those few French which were nere vnto them in a village called little Baugé (amongst whom was John de la Croix) being feared, made their defence in flight; and for safegard entered the steeple of the next church adioining, in the which they were hardlie after besieged.

Whilest these were thus inuironed, the clamor and cries which was now come to the next armie (where in the Scots were assembled) suddenlie caused them with great feare to flee to their weapons. At that time the erle of Buchquhane (whilest the others prepared themselves) sent thirtie archers to possesse the bridge, vnder which the next riuer had his course, and through which they might passe ouer, where (encountering with the English enimie) Hugh Kennedie came vnto them out of the next church (in which he fortified) with a hundred of his companie halfe armed, as it often falleth out in such sudden exploits. These

The king of England marrieth the daughter of the French king. The articles of agreement.

The Dolphin of France maintaineth warre against the Englishmen. Scottish soldiers arrived in France.

Chatelon in Touraine deliuered to the Scottishmen.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 1. 1420. Buc. 1421. NG.

The battell of Baugé.

Heitor Boet.

Buchan. lib. 10.

Nic. Gil.

Buchan. lib. 10.

The earle of Buchquhane created constable of France. Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 10.

The earle of Stratherne slaine.

warres betwixt England and France. Rebellion in Wales.

Henrie the first discomfited by the Welshmen the subduerth them.

The castell of Marke wone.

It is againe recovered.

1419.

The deceasse of Robert duke of Albanie. Fr. Thin.

Ambassadors from the French king.

An armie Scots sent into France.

The king of England menaceth the Scots.

with their arrowes so streitlie kept this streit, that the horsemen could not haue anie passage there, for which cause the duke of Clarence did first forsake horse (as the rest of the companie did after him) began the battell on foot, and with a strong assault made way for his men, beating from them the Scots, who were for the most part unarmed, and the others not verie well armed.

After this, in the meane time whilst Clarence taketh his horse againe, and some of the rest scatterie do passe the bridge, the earle of Buchquhane commeth vpon them, & forthwith (desirous to make trial of his people egerlie seeking after it) there was a bitter battell committed, with like minds of hatred the one against the other: for the Scots did reioise, that they had now obtained cause, time, and place, where they might (after their first arrivall in France) shew some token of their valure, and refuse those talvnts which the Frenchmen laid vpon them, obiecting that the greedinesse of wine & vittells had brought them ouer into that countrie. With which reproch the Frenchmen are wont to vpbraid the English, the Spaniard the French, and the African the Spaniard. But as the Scots were eger in a strange countrie to win honoꝝ, so was the English no lesse desirous of conquest, greatlie disdainig both at home and abroad, to be so infested with that implacable nature of the Scots. In which battell none did fight more ballantlie or egerlie than did the duke of Clarence himselfe. Against whome (so noted for the richesse of his armor) came John Swinton, which greivouslie wounded him in the face, and whome the earle of Buchquhane (striking on the head with his mace) quite overthrew to the ground. Which done, the English fled, and were greivouslie slaine, because the same continued till the night ended the quarrell; which battell was fought on Easter eue, a little after the equinoctiall spring. In this battell were slaine of the English about 20000, amongst whome were 26 of noble calling, whereof were the duke before said, the earle of Riddelsdale, otherwise called the earle of Angus, & the lord Grete were part: but of the Scots and Frenchmen, there were few missing, and they of the meaner sort. All which, as we haue here set it downe, is the common report of the death of the duke of Clarence. But the booke of Pluicart reporteth, that the duke was slaine by Alexander Macell, a knight of Lenox, which took from him the coronet (whereof we spake before) and sold the same to John Stewart of Derrill; for a thousand angels, which he after laied to pawne to Robert Hufstone, to whom he bought five thousand angels; & this saith that booke was the most common report at those dates. The chiefe praise of which victorie remained with the Scots, even by the testimonie of the envious adversaries, as the writer of this storie saith vpon his credit. At this battell also were a great companie of prisoners taken, amongst whome (as principall) were these, the earle of Huntingdon, & the earle of Summerset, with his brother, both of them being brethren to the ladie Jane, that was after married to king James the first, king of Scotland. For the high valiance of the Scottishmen shewed in this battell, the Dolphin created the earle of Buchquhane high constable of France, and gaue him sundrie townes, castles, and lands, therewith the better to mainteine his estate.

King Henrie hearing of the death of his brother the duke of Clarence, did substitute for his deputie his other brother the duke of Bedford, promising that he would shortly after come thither himselfe with an armie of foure thousand horse, and a thousand footmen (which he performed accordingly.) For with all speed he after came into France with a

mightie host, and had with him James the Scottish king, or rather prince of Scotland, for all this while the Scots reputed him not as king, for that he was not as yet crowned: nor set at libertie out of the Englishmens hands, into the which (as before ye haue heard) he chanced to fall by his fathers life time.

The cause why king Henrie did take this James ouer with him at that present into France, was, for that he hoped by his meanes to procure all the Scottishmen that were in seruice with the Dolphin to forsake him, and to returne home into their owne countrie: but when he had broken this matter vnto the said James, and promised, that if he could bring it to passe, he would not onelie remit his rancome, but also send him into Scotland highlie rewarded with great riches: James answered hereto, that he marvelled much, why he did not consider how he had no authoritie ouer the Scots so long as he was holden in captiuitie, and as yet had not receiued the crowne, but (saith he) if it were so that I might be set at libertie, and had receiued the crowne according to the accustomed manner, together with the othes and homages of my subiects, I could then in this matter do as should be thought to stand with reason; but in the meane time I shall desire your grace to hold me excused, and not to will me to do that which I may in no wise performe.

King Henrie maruelling at the high wisdom which appered to be planted in the head of that yong prince, left off to trauell with him anie further in this matter. In the meane time, the warres continuing betwixt the king of England and the Dolphin of France, manie townes were besieged, wone, and sacked, and sundrie light bickeringes and skirmishes chanced betwixt the parties, as occasion serued. But the Englishmen shewed themselves to beare such hatred toward the Scots, that so manie as fell into their hands neuer needed to streine their friends for their ransomes, which crueltie they put not in practice against their enemies, being of an other nation. [For king Henrie, when he had taken the towne of Speldens, hanged twentie Scots which he found therein, laing to their charge that they had fought against their owne king.] At length, king Henrie fell into a greivous disease, which in short time made an end of his life, notwithstanding all the helpe that either by physicke or other waies might be ministered vnto him. The same yeere, that is to say, 1422, the French king Charles, the first of that name, deceased; after whome succeeded his sonne Charles the seventh, before named the Dolphin, as the custome there is. By the death of these kings, the wars were not altogether so earnestlie followed as before, wherevpon the earles of Buchquhane and Wylton returned into Scotland, and shortly after was an armie leuied, and siege laied both to Rocksburgh, and to Berwik, but for that they lay long abroad and did no good, returning home without gaine, this iournie in derision was called The battie rode, or (as the Scots terme it) The dirtie rade.

But now to speake somewhat concerning the order of the common-wealth in Scotland, ye shall vnderstand, that after the death of Robert duke of Albany, his sonne Mordo Stewart earle of Fife and Menteith was made gouernour, continuing in that office for the space of foure yeeres, though (to confesse the truth) he was farre off from thereto, differing much from the wisdom and manhood of his father, for in him remained sundrie vices, greatlie variable and contrarie one to another. In time of anie aduersitie, he shewed himselfe as a man despairing of all comfort or helpe: in prosperitie so list he in carelesse insolencie, that he had no faie of himselfe, by reason whereof

The king of England taketh the prince of Scotland ouer with him into France.

The answer of James the king, or rather prince of Scotland.

King Henrie took it for a sufficient answer.

The cruell dealing of the Englishmen towards the Scots.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 10.

The death of Henrie king of England.

1422. The death of Charles the French king.

Rocksburgh and Berwik besieged.

The dirtie rade.

Mordo Stewart earle of Fife elected gouernour of Scotland. The repugnant vices reigning in Mordo Stewart.

The king of England marieth the daughter of French king. The articles of agreement.

The Dolphin of France maintaineth warre against the Englishmen. Scottish soldiers arriveth in France.

Chatelion in Touraine delivered to the Scottishmen.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 10. 1420. Buc. 1421. N. G.

The battell of Baugy.

Robert Boet.

Buchan. lib. 10.

Nic. Gil.

Pluicart's tale.

Earle of Buchquhane created constable of France. Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 10.

whereof, sometimes he suffered heinous offendours through dread of their puissant friends (a thing not to be suffered in Scotland) to escape unpunished; and at other times againe, he shewed himselfe more seuerer & cruell in executing of iustice, than the matter required.

This negligence in chastising his sonnes.

An insolent part of one of his sonnes.

The swordes of duke Moris do to his son.

Duke Moris traueileth for the redeming of James the first.
Fr.Thin.
Buchan.lib.10.

Lesleus lib.7.
pag.272.

The earle of Buchquhane returneth into France.

Fr.Thin.
Lesleus lib.7.
pag.270.

The earle of Dowglas made duke of Couraine.

Thus was he still in extremities, keeping no temperance nor laudable meane in anie of his doings. Hereunto was he so negligent in chastising his sons Walter, James, & Alexander (whether through softnesse & lacke of wit, or by reason he bare such a fond & tender fatherlie loue toward them) that they hauing him in small regard, plaied manie outrageous parts, to the sore offending of a number. At length, one of them taking displeasure with his father, for that he would not giue him a falcon, the which he had long before greatlie desired, stepped to him, and plucking him beside his fist, wong his necke from his bodie euen presentlie before his face. Whereupon the father somewhat kindeled with this presumptuous deed of the sonne: Walter (said he, for so was his name that had thus misused him) sith it is so that thou and thy brother will not be ruled by my soft and gentle gouernement, I shall bring him home per it he long, that shall chastise both you and me after an other manner. And after this, he rested not to trauell still for the redeming of James the first out of captiuitie, till at length he brought him home in deed, to the great wealth, ioy, and good hay of all the Scottish nation. & For calling together a parlement of the nobilitie at Perth, they consulted of receiuing home their James imprisoned in England, and at length willinglie agreed (either for fauour they bare to the lawfull heire, or being wearied with the lothsomnes of the present gouernement) to send an ambassage to the king of England, to demand the restitution of king James. Whereupon they dispatched into England (to execute their deuise) Henrie Lichon bishop of Aberdeen, Archembald Dowglas (the third earle of that name, and fift of that familie) the sonne of Archembald Dowglas, duke of Touraine, William Heie constable of Scotland, Richard Cornall archdeacon of Londane, and Alexander Jarraine a Dum, knight.)

In the meane time, the French king, Charles the seuenth, being sore vexed with wars by the Englishmen, sent to the earle of Buchquhane his constable, requirring him to returne againe with all speed into France, and to bring so manie Scottishmen with him, as he conuenientlie might. This earle therefore found meanes to persuaide Archembald earle of Dowglas, father to the foresaid earle of Wigton, to passe with him into France, which two earles with an armie of five thousand men, or (after some writers) ten thousand, toke the seas, and arriued with prosperous wind and weather at Rochell, and coming to the French king, were receiued of him with all ioy and gladnes. With this companie also was sent ambassado, Gilbert Grenlatw bishop of Aberdeen, a man of great authoritie amongst the nobilitie of Scotland, for his singular wisedome, and such a person as with great dexteritie executed the office of the chancelorship of the realme. The effect of whose message was, to comfort Charles the seuenth, then king of France, and to assertheine him, that not onelie they which were now allanded in France, but also all the inhabitants of Scotland would remaine so firme in his faith & friendship, that they would spend both liues and goods in the defense of the crowne of France, as the following experience should well trie. Whereupon the earle of Dowglas was by the king for his further advancement, honored with the title of the dukedome of Touraine. But that glorie of the Scots was some diminished (as saith Lesleus)

by the infortunat successe which they had through the English at the battell of Veruole. In which (besides all the hired or common souldiers which were also most slaine at that time) there perished of the nobilitie, the two brethren of the gouernour, the earle of Buchquhane constable of France, Archembald Dowglas duke of Touraine, with James his sonne and heire, Alexander Lindseie, Thomas Swinton, Robert Stewart, and manie other, as in the French and English histories more largelie may appere.

Lesleus lib.7.
pag.270.
1424.N.C.

And here a little to step out of the way, because in this place Buchanan giueth at the English (as he doth in all the parts of his booke, with most bitter taunts) I will a little shew that he hath forgotten himselfe in the same: as well against vs generallie (as appereth in manie places) as against Grafton, Humfrie Lhoid, and Hall, especiallie in manie other places thereof. And therefore (readers) giue me leaue in milder sort to speake of him (being dead) than he doth of others. For although (against all humanitie) he do most bitterlie with words of heat inflame his pen against Humfrie Lhoid, departed the world manie yeeres (as it appereth) before he toke the later penne in hand (after the ouersieing of his old fragments) as himselfe in his epistle confesseth, to write an historie: yet I will spare him in better sort. And therefore I much muse, that he a man so learned and graue, would now in his later age, when reason should most rule him, so dip his pen in gall, as forgetting himselfe, he should be of these rough conditions (contrarie to all learning, which *Emollit mores, nec sinit esse feros*) he would call men impudent, immodest, vnlearned, liars, vnbridled, malicious, backbiters, euill tonged; and that he can rather proue the Britains to be made of dogs and brute beasts, better than to be descended of Brutus. All which speeches are to be found in his booke: for (if there were a fault in Lhoid) as there was none, because it seemes he did not well conceiue his mind: could not he either reprehend error, or disproue men, but with such bitter taunts, when they but onelie shew their opinion, dissenting in orderlie sort from others, as it is lawfull for all learned men to do? Where learned he that rhetorike, to reiect the opinion of men with dogs eloquence, and sooner to deduce that creature (formed to the image of God, and lord of all beasts) to be rather made of dogs than of men, and for one or two priuat persons to inueit, against a whole state?

But Humfrie Lhoid imputeth a note of infamie to his nation (as he supposed) in disprouing Hector Boetius, who arrogantly (beside all truth) hath transferred to his Scots, both places, persons, and deeds, which neuer belonged to them. And is this so great a fault in Lhoid, when himselfe and Lesleus bishop of Ross (secretlie milking Boetius) haue in silence passed ouer a great manie imperfections in the historie of Boetius, and placed manie other things after an other sort, referring them to other times than Boetius doth? And why should he maligne Lhoid for reprehending him, whome himselfe condemneth, & of whome he saith that *In descriptione Scotie quaedam parum uere prodidit, & alios in errorem induxit*, and whome for manie faults (by Boetius escaped) he further saith in the later end of his second booke, that he will not defend him in such errors, as no reason there is why he should? But if, from the abundance of the hart the tong and hand do speake and write, I can not see but that by his dissemperat speeches, I must condemne him of secret grudge, not so much to the person of Lhoid, as to the whole nation, against which the chief part of his booke seemeth to be a Romping inuestiue. And yet such as it is, they must of necessitie follow that interest of the historie of his nation, as he will exclaim against them (as he doth in this place

A digression against Buchanan.

Entie misce.

Robert bluche
line of
of Sh
men sen
France

Robert
bluche
Leper
Gulcoig
Fr.Thin.

place of the battell of *Terroille*) that they maliciouslie obscure the glorie of the Scots, following the authoritie of the aduersarie, and not the truth of the historie written by him, of the French nation.

And in this place of his booke, rather than he will want occasion to talent and disgrace vs by his cholericke pen, he will seeke a knot in a rush, and make a mountaine of a molehill, in so vehement inuading against the English, that say that the Scots were not able to mainteine such titles of honor as were giuen them by the French: a simple matter to make such discourse vpon, and to step so much aboze out of the course of the storie. But thinke you Buchanan hath committed no such (nay greater) faults against vs: *per trulie*, and that I suppose will be well proued at another time, in another treatise vpon his booke now iustlie forbidden in England, and (as I heare) more iustlie in Scotland. And here remember I praise the gentle reader, that in one place of his booke he saith that he ment to haue obserued this course from the beginning, that he would not seeke to digresse by bypaths out of the course of the historie. And hath he so sone forgotten that in the first forehead of his booke, almost three leaues togither, & also in manie other parts of the same (as well as in this place of the battell of *Terroille*) he hath leapt manie miles out of the way, with bitter words to talent *Humfrie Lhoid*, *Grafton*, *Hall*, & all the English histories, and by manie whole pages (in manie parts of his worke) with much spence of powder and shot, to batter the credit of the English writers. These trulie were not parts of such a person, as the place (which he had about the prince whilest he liued) required. But enough of this by me (who am not *Honorarius arlter*, and will be no seuerer censurer of other mens writings at this time (whereunto I was occasioned by Buchanans digression in this place) since the same will be more substantiallie touched by others in other works (whereunto I refer my selfe) and so returne to the order of the historie.)

The Scottish chronicles declare, that the losse of this field chanced speciallie through enuie and discord, which reigned amongst the chieftains. For the duke of *Alanson* craving that the Scots should bailie rise in honor within France, kept himselfe backe, till time the Scots were overthrowen and brought to bitter destruction. Againe, even vpon the ioining, there rose great strife and contention betwixt the constable & the duke of *Touraine*, who should haue the supreme rule of the Scottish legier, the one disdainig to giue place to the other. Thus ye may perceiue, how the Scots with losse of manie of their liues, and much bloudshed, supported the side of Charles king of France, against the Englishmen. And though there came bailie newes of diuerse great overthrowes giuen by the Englishmen to such Scottishmen and other, as serued the said king Charles, yet did not the Scots therefore staie at home, but at sundrie times, and vnder sundrie capitains repaired into France: as amongst other, one *Robert Wastilocke* of *Dunbar* with a new power of Scots went ouer to king Charles the seventh as aforesaid, shewing such proue of his singular manhood and balancie in those wars, as in recouerie of the realme of France out of the Englishmens hands, his seruice stood king Charles in notable stead. Whiche his diligence and polidesse well appeared, in reducing the parties of *Gascoigne* vnto the French subiection, which had remained a great number of yeeres vnder the domination of the English kings. And here vpon was he called by the inhabitants euer after, *Le petit roy de Gascoigne*.

* But to returne to the businesse of Scotland and of the Scots, as they passed in the meane time. We

say, that the French reioicing of this conquest of *Gascoigne*, would not seeme to be vnthankfull to the Scots therefore: for which cause they erected a statue or image of this *Wastilocke*, in the hall of the king of France, as a perpetuall memorie of this conquest, and as a singular testimonie of their good will towards the Scots, which they placed there to remaine a monument to all posteritie. Beside which, he confirmed and increased the number of the gard of Scottish archers (which they were wont to be in peace and warre) first instituted by Charles the king of France, ouer all which he made this *Wastilocke* chiefe capteine, which office the Scots did then and since so well discharge, that the same continueth yet in our memorie. Besides which (a little before this) Charles the first appointed an other companie of Scottish horsemen to be in wages with him, being commonlie called the trap of the Scottishmen at armes. Of whome the chiefe gouernour was *Robert Steward* (borne of the familie of the earle of *Lennox*) who was honored by the king with the title of the lord de *Aubignie*, with other lands and great possessions bestowed vpon him. All which (being of long time possessed of the Scots of the same surname, by continuall order of blood & descent, that is, by *Bernard* the famous capteine of warre, then by *Robert*, and to conclude, by *John Steward*, brother of the earle of *Lennox*) is at this day also in possession of the worthie young gentleman (the sonne of the said *John*) who giueth forth a rare hope that he will not degenerat from the nobilitie of his ancestors. The ambassadoys sent as before is shewed) into England for *James*, behaued themselves so sagelie therein, that in the end, they brought it to good conclusion: as thus. First it was agreed, that king *James* should be set at libertie, and also pay for his ransome the sum of 100000 marks sterling, the one halfe to be paid in hand, and for the other halfe to leaue sufficient pledges behind him, till it were paid. Albeit some writers alledge, that leauing pledges for the payment of the one halfe, he was discharged of the other, in consideration that he toke to wife the ladie *Jane*, daughter to the earle of *Summerset*. The said earle and the cardinall of England his brother, conueied him with his quene their niece, vnto the borders of both the realmes. And at their taking leaue each of other, there was presented vnto king *James* and to the quene his wife, besides a caphood of maslie plate, sundrie faire cloths of rich and costlie arras by his wiues friends, with manie other iewels and things of great price & balure.

King *James* then departed on this wise from his wiues brethren, and other such his deere friends, as his vertue and princelie behauiour had procured him during his abode here by the space of sixtene or eightene yeares in England, entered into Scotland, and came to *Edenburgh* on Care sundae, & therwise called *Ballion* sunday in Lent, where he was receiued with all honor, loy, and triumph that might be deuised. * At what time as the nobles came to giue him their dutifull welcome into his native soile and inheritance, there began to be manie complaints by them, who since the death of their last king (partlie by negligence, and partlie by the default of the gouernors) had bene molested with diuers kinds of iniuries; where vpon, *Walter* the son of *Spordar*, *Malcolme Fleming*, and *Thomas Boib* being gréuoullie accused, were (to pacifie the exclamation of the common people) committed to diuers prisons till the next parliament, which was appointed the first halends of June following, where is more intreated of this matter, as after shall appear, Buchanan hauing thus placed it before the kings

Lesleus lib. 7.
pag. 271.

Lesleus lib. 7.
pag. 271.

The ransome
of *James*.

Jane daughter
to the earle
of *Summerset*
set married to
king *James*
the first.

Gifts giuen
to *James*
by his wiues
friends.

King *James*
cometh to
Edenburgh.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.
lib. 10.

Deus lib. 7.
3270.
24. N. G.

Digression
aint Bu-
anan.

Emie and
ship.

Robert Wastilocke cap-
tured a power
of Scottish
men sent into
France.

Robert Wastilocke called
Le petit roy de
Gascoigne,
in France.

James.
He is crowned at Scone together with his wife.

1423, Buch.
1424, Less.

Andrew Graie.

The surname of the Graies in Scotland.

King James keepeth an audit.

A parliament at Edinburgh.

A tax leuied.

The commons grudge at payments.

Bills of complaint exhibited against the sonnes of duke Morz.

Walter Stewart put in prison.

The oath of James.

kings coronation.]

And after that, as sone as the solemnitie of the feast of Easter was finished, he came to Perth, and thortlie after to Scone, where he was crowned king, and his wife queene, by duke Morz the gouernor, and Henrie bishop of saint Andrews, the one and twentieth day of Maie, after the incarnation 1424. There came forth of England with this James the first, diuerse English gentlemen, which remaining euer after in seruice with him, were advanced to certeine lands, possessions, and liuings in Scotland. Amongest whome (as one of the chiefest) was Andrew Graie, who afterwards by the kings aid and god furtherance, got in marriage the daughter and heire of Henrie Mortimer of Foulis, named Helen, and by that means came the lordship of Foulis vnto the hands of the Graies, whose surname and posteritie continueth yet in Scotland, inuested with great lands and dignities, both in Cotwrie and Angus.

King James after his coronation returned from Scone to Edinburgh, where he called before him all those that bare anie authoritie in the administration of the common-wealth, during the time of the gouernors duke Robert and duke Morz, namely the chancelor, the tresoror, the clerks of the register, the controller, the auditors, and receiueurs, with all other that had borne offices, or had anie thing to do concerning the kings rents. At length, when he perceived by their accounts made, that the most part of all the lands, rents, and reuenues pertaining vnto the crowne, were wasted, bestowed, alienated, and transported by the two foresaid gouernors, vnto their friends and fauours, contrarie to all right or good consideration (the customs of burrowes and good townes onlie excepted) he was not well content herewith, though for the time he passed ouer his displeasure, in the twing outwardlie no semblance, but as if he had liked all things well.

In the meane time, he aduisedly perused all endences, rols, and charters pertaining to the crowne, and thortlie thereupon called a parliament at Edinburgh, in the which, by aduise of the thre estates, a generall tax was ordeined and granted, to be raised through the whole realme; as twelue pence of the pound to be paid of all lands within Scotland, both spirituall and temporall; and foure pence for euerie cow, ore, and horse, to be paid for the space of two yeares together. This payment was leuied the first yeare without anie trouble, but the second yeare there rose such murmur and grudging amongst the poore commons about the payment thereof, that he remitted the residue that was behind, & toke neuer anie tax after of his subiects, vntill he married his daughter with the Dolphin of France. Amongst other bills put vp in this parliament, there was diuerse complaints exhibited by the people, for sundrie oppressions used and done by the sons of duke Morz, and other great peeres of the realme, before the kings returne into Scotland.

Whereupon Walter Stewart, one of the sons of the said duke Morz, was arrested, and sent to a castell situated vpon a rocke within the sea called the Bass, there to remaine in safe keeping. Also Malcolme Fleming of Cumeruall, and Thomas Boyd of Kilmaroke, were committed to ward in Dalkeith, but these two at the intercession of diuerse noblemen were pardoned and forgiven of all offences for an easie fine, with condition, that they should satisfie all such persons as they had in anie wise wronged. In the foresaid parliament also, James took a solempne oath, to defend as well the liberties of his realme, as of the church, during the course of his naturall life. The like oath by his example did

all the residue of the barons take at the same present time. Not long after, an other parliament was called and holden at Perth, in the which duke Morz, with his sonne Alexander, were arrested and committed to ward. So was also Archibald earle of Douglas, with his brother William earle of Angus, George earle of March, Adam Hepburne of Hales, and manie other great barons of Scotland, euerie of them being put in sundrie castles and strengths, to remaine there in safe keeping. Duke Morz was sent to Carlarocke, and his duchesse was put in Temptalloun.

In the yeare following, on the Holie rood daie, called the Inuention of the crosse, James Stewart the third sonne of duke Morz moued with great ire, for that his father and brethren were holden in prison, came with a great power to the towne of Dunbarton, and burnt it, after he had slaine John Stewart of Dondonald, and two and thirtie other persons, which were found in the same towne: but the king kindled in great displeasure for this attempt, pursued this James so fiercelie, that he was faine to flee into Ireland, where he afterwards deceased. [And Finelaw (which was sometime one of the order of the frier Dominicks) which fled with him into Ireland, & was author that the said James committed all these outrages, died there also. Besides which, there fled into Ireland the wife of Walter, hir two sonnes, Andrew and Alexander, with Arthure the bastard: who (in the end) returning home, was after by James the third aduanced to great honors.] In the next yeare ensuing, James called a parliament at Sterling, in the which he sitting with scepter, sword, and crowne in place of iudgement, Walter Stewart with his brother Alexander were condemned, and incontinentlie were lead forth to a place before the castell, and there beheaded.

On the morrow after, duke Morz himselfe, and Duncan Stewart earle of Lennox were conducted of high treason, and beheaded before the castell in semblable manner. [It is a constant fame (saith Buchanan) though I find it not written in any place, that the king sent the heads of the father, husband, & children, to Isabell the wife of his cosine germane, to trie whether she being a fierce woman, would (as it fustlie happened) by dissemperance of griefe discover the secrets of hir mind. But she (notwithstanding all which grievous and vnlooked for spectacles) did not inordinatlie burst out into anie bitter words, but onlie said; If the fautes be true which are laid against them, the king hath done but right and iustice vnto them.] Thus by the attainder of duke Morz and his sonnes, the earldome of Fife, Perth, and Lennox came into the kings hands. The residue of the lords and barons remaining as then in prison, and adding the kings pleasure, were soe afraid, when they heard what rigorous iustice had bene executed on duke Morz and his sonnes: notwithstanding, within 12 moneths after they were all set at libertie, and receiued into the kings favor, on promise of their loiall demerit & dutifull obedience euer after to be shewed, during their naturall lines.

The parliament being ended, John Mountgomerie, & Humphrie Cunningham were sent by the king to the castell of Bonnington, which was kept against him by the vnting of James Stewart, whom in short time they forced to surrender the said castell. Not long after, John Stewart of Dornie (who was master of the Scottish garrison of horsemen in France, the rest of the former captains being consumed) came into Scotland with the bishop of Reims, as ambassador in the name of Charles, to re-

A parliament holden at Perth. Duke Morz do with his sonne Alexander, and diuerse other peeres of the realme arrested.

1425.

The towne of Dunbarton burnt.

Fr. Thin, Buchanan, lib. 10.

A parliament holden at Sterling.

1426.

Walter and Alexander the sonnes of duke Morz beheaded.

Duke Morz and Duncan Stewart earle of Lennox beheaded.

Fr. Thin.

1426.

1428.

1427.

Alexander the third of the kings arrest.

He is set at libertie.

He rebellet.

The towne of Dunbarton burnt.

Fr. Thin, Buchanan, lib. 10.

Alexander the third of the kings arrest.

He is set at libertie.

He rebellet.

new the old league betwene the two nations, and to conclude matrimonie betwene Lewes the sonne of the said Charles the seventh, and Margaret the daughter of R. James, both being yet verie yong. Which thing so dispatched, in the next yeare being the 1426 he determined (having pacified all Scotland betwene the mounteins of Granzeben) to subdue the further parts beyond it also. Wherefore to begin the same, he commanded the castell of Inuerness (set in a convenient place in the furthest borders of Murray) to be repaired. Whither when he came two yeares after, to sit in iudgement upon misdemeanors of the inhabitants, and to suppress their robberies, he called before him the chiefe of all the families of that countrie, especiallie such as being accompanied with great traines, were wont to fetch prizes from their next borders, did set tribute on the quieter sort, and did compell the common people to minister sustenance to those idle loiterers, of which capitains; some had a thousand, some two thousand, & some far manie more redie at their call to obeye their comandement: with which they ceased not to keepe the good in danger unto them for feare of hurt, and made the euill (amongest whome they were assured of refuge & defense) the bolder to commit all kind of wickednesse. Which persons when the king had gotten in, and drawn to come before him, partly by flatteries, and partly by threats: he committed about fortye of their leaders to generall prisons: whose euill being throughe known, he hanged two notable fellows amongst them, called Alexander Macroz and John Macarcure; at what time also he beheaded James Campbell (for the murder of John of the Isles) a man deerie beloued of his people. The rest which remained (being of the common sort) they likewise dispersed into diuers prisons, whereof some were after executed, and some were permitted frelie to depart to their owne. The capitains of the factions thus slaine (or for the most part restrained in prison) the inferior sort durst not attempt anie thing, being destitute of leaders. Whereupon the king calling them before him, did giue them a long admonition to embrace iustice, because there was no surer or certeine hope of safetie in anie thing, than in the innocencie of life, the which if they would determine to do, they should alwaies find him readie to honor and reward them; if not, they might learne by the examples of others what they should hope to receiue themselves.)

In the yeare next following, which was after the incarnation 1427, Alexander lord of the Isles was arrested by the king at Inuerness, for that he was accused to be a succorer & maintainer of theues & robbers in the countrie: but forsomuch as he promised in time coming to reforme his former misdemeanors, he was pardoned and set at libertie; wherof ensued great trouble immediatlie after. For shortlye by his deliuerance, he gathered a power of wicked scapethifts, and with the same comming into Inuerness, burnt the towne, and besieged the castell, inforcing with all diligence to win the same, till he was aduertised that the king was comming towards him with a great power, whereupon he fled incontinently to the Isles. Finally hauing knowledge that a great number of people lay daile in wait to take him, that they might present him to the kings hands, he came disguised in poore arate to the holie rood house, and there finding the king on Easter daie deuoutlie in the church at his prayers, he fell downe on his knees before him, and besought him of grace, for his sake that rose as that day from death unto life.

At request of the queene, the king pardoned him

of life; but he appointed William Dotinglas earle of Angus to haue the custodie of him, and that with in the castell of Temptallon, that no trouble should rise by his meanes thereafter. His mother Eufemie daughter to Walter sometime earle of Ross, was also committed to ward in saint Colmes inch; because it was knowne that she solicited hir sonne to rebell (in maner as is afore said) against the king. Not long after, Donald Balloch, brother to the said lord Alexander of the Isles, came with a great power of men into Lochquhaber. The earles of Mar and Cathnes came with such number of their people as they could raise, to defend the countrie against the invasion of those Islandmen, and fought with the said Donald at Inuerlochty, where the erle of Cathnes was slaine, and the earle of Mar discomfited. Here with did Donald returne with victorie, and a great preie of goods and riches into the Isles. The king fore moued with the newes herof, came with a great armie vnto Dunstaffage, purposing with all speed to passe into the Isles. The clans and other chiefe men of the said Isles aduertised herof, came to Dunstaffage, and submitted themselves vnto the king, excusing their offense, for that (as they alledged) the said Donald had constrained them against their willes, to passe with him in the last iourne. All those clans vpon this their excuse, were admitted to the kings fauour, and sworne to pursue the said Donald vnto death.

Shortlye hereupon, this Donald fled into Ireland, where he was slaine, and his head sent by one Odo a great lord of Ireland (in whose countrie he lurked) as a present to the king that laie as then at Sterling. There were also thre hundred of his adherents taken, and by the kings commandement hanged for their offenses within thre weekes space, after his first fleeing into Ireland. This trouble being thus quieted, king James passed through all the bounds of his realme, to punish all offenders and misruled persons, which in anie wise wronged and oppressed the poore people. He allowed no pardon granted afore by the gouernor, alledging the same to be expired by his death. For he thought indeed it stood neither with the pleasure of God, nor wealth of the realme, that so manie slaughters, reiffes, and oppressions, as had bene done afore in the countrie, should remaine unpunished through fault of iustice. It is said that within the first two yeeres of his reigne, there were thre thousand persons executed by death, for sundrie old crimes and offenses.

And though such extreme iustice might haue bene thought sufficient to giue example to other to reforme their naughtie vices, yet one Angus Duffe of Stratherne nothing afraid thereof, came with a companie of theues and robbers, and toke a great preie of goods out of the countrie of Murray and Cathnes: for recouerie wherof, one Angus Murray followed with a great power, and ouertaking the said Angus Duffe nere to Strachnauerne, fiercelie assailed him. Who with like manhood made stout resistance; by reason whereof there ensued such a cruell fight betwixt the parties, that there remained in the end but onelic twelve persons aliue, & those so wounded, that they were scarce able to returne home to their houses, and liued but a few daies after. About the same time, there was also another notable theefe named Makdonald Rose, which grew with spoiles and robberies to great riches. This wicked oppressor thod a woman with horse shoes, because she said she would go to the king, and reueale his wicked doings. As soone as she was whole, and recouered of hir wounds, she went vnto the king, and declared the cruelties done vnto hir by that vngracious person Makdonald. The king (who before had heard the

Donald Balloch inuadeth Lochquhaber.

The earle of Cathnes slaine Donald Balloch returneth with victorie & spoile into the Isles.

The clans of the Isles submit themselves to the king.

Donald fled into Ireland. His head is sent as a present to the king. Thre hundred of Donalds accomplices hanged.

Pardons granted by the gouernor are void.

Thre thousand offenders put to death within two yeeres space.

Angus Duffe

A cruell fight.

Makdonald Rose a notable robber.

He had a widow.

Fr. Thin.

same

same of others, and had gotten Makdonald in prison, determining to see due punishment for that wicked fact comforted the sillie woman, promising hir thortlie to behold a iust reuenge thereof. Whereupon Makdonald being brought out of prison with twelue of his companions, the king commanded that they (by the talion law of Moses that yeldeth an eie for an eie, and a toth for a toth, and by the example of Phalaris, who burnt him first in the bull that was the author thereof for others) should likewise be shod with iron shodshoes, in that sort as they before had serued the woman, and then to be carried thre daies togither about the citie for a spectacle to the people, to feare to attempt such extraordinary wickednesse; the king proclamation that euerie one might see this new kind of punishment. After which, at length (doubting if he liued he would not cease to commit the like, or else reuenge the same) he chopped off Makdonalds head, & caused his twelue fellows and partakers to be hanged in the high waies.)

1430.

The quene deliuered of two sonnes at one birch.

Fiftie knights dubbed.

Archemald earle of Douglas arrested and put in prison.

Fr.Thin.

King James desirous to purge his realme of vnrallie persons.

Fr.Thin. Buchanan.li.ro.

An ordinance for measures.

Castles repaired and munited.

In the third yere after, which was from the incarnation 1430, on the eleuenth daie of October, Jane the quene of Scots was deliuered of two sonnes at one birth, Alexander and James. The first deceased in his infancie. The other succeeded after his fathers deceasse in the kingdome, & was named James the second. At the baptisme of these two infants, there were fiftie knights made. Amongst the which, and first of all other, was William the sonne of Archemald Douglas, that succeeded his father in the earledome of Douglas. His father the said Archemald Douglas, somewhat before this time, or (as other authors say) in the yere next ensuing, was arrested by the kings commandement, and put in ward, remaining so a long time, till at length by supplication of the quene, and other peeres of the realme, the king pardoned him [with John Kennedy] of all offenses, and set both them And Alexander earle of Ross at libertie. King James in this sort did what in him lay to bring the realme of Scotland in such quiet tranquillitie, that (in purging the same of all offenders, and such as liued by reisse and robbing) passengers by the high waies might trauell without dread of anie euill disposed persons to molest them.

Having thus with diligence suppressed the robberies (practised through all parts of his realme) he forgot not to looke into small offenses which were less cretillie done, and of lesse danger; determining to take awaie all euill customes which had continued in the realme. For custome, being an other nature doth bring to passe, that a common error (by manie ages continued) maketh a perfect law, and therefore (because the inferior iudges would the better administer iustice, if they had persons of high authoritie that might punish their false sentences) he chose forth speciall persons of the better sort (commended for their wisdom, grauitie, and holinesse of life) and made them iustices, whom he sent ouer all the realme giuing them full authoritie to heare and determine all quarels and lutes (if anie were brought vnto them) whereof the ordinarie iudges either (for feare) durst not or (for hatred or fauor) would not, or (for strength of others) could not giue anie perfect iudgement.)

He caused also the bailiffes and prouosts of good townes, to see that iust measures were used by all manner of buiers and sellers, and none to be occupied, but such as were signed with the note & marke of the said bailiffes or prouosts. Moreover, he repaired and fortified the castles and fortresses of his realme, and stuffed them with such ordinance and munition as was thought expedient. He granted al-

so sundrie priuileges and great liberties to the vniuersitie of saint Andrews, to the high advancement thereof, and was oftentimes himselfe present at their disputations, taking great pleasure therein. Such as were knowne to be learned men, and were presented to him by the vniuersitie, he preferred to great benefices and other ecclesiasticall livings, till as the same chanced to be vacant. [Wanting for that cause made a law in the said vniuersitie, that none should enjoy the ronne of a canon in anie cathedrall church, vnles he were a batcheller of diuinitie, or at least of the canon law.] By which meanes all manner of vertue and good learning increased daillie through the realme during his time, and namelie musike was had in great price, which he appointed to be used in churches with organs, the which before his time were not much knowne amongst the Scottismen.

Much what about the same time, there was a parliament holden at Perth, in the which Henrie Wardlaw bishop of S. Andrews, in name of all the thre estates there assembled, made a long and right pithie oration to this effect; that where by the high policie and prudent diligence of the kings maiestie there present, iustice, and all due administration of lawes and good ordinances were so reuiued, that nothing seemed to be ouerpast, that might aduance to the profit and commoditie of the common-wealth; yet was there one wicked vlsage crept in of late, increasing so fast, that if speedie remedie were not had in time, all those commodities brought into the realme by his coming, should be of small auail, and that was, such superfluous riot in banquetting there, and numbers of costlie dishes, as were then taken by and used after the English fashon, both to the great hinderance of mans health, and also to the vnprofitable waisting of their goods and substance. If the laudable temperance used amongst the Scottish men in old time were well considered, nothing might appeare more contrarie and repugnant thereto, than that new kind of gluttonie then used, by receiving more excelle of meats and drinks than sufficeth to the nourishment of nature, through prouocation of such deintie and delicate dishes, confectioned sauces, and deuised potions, as were now brought in amongst them. As for such gentlemen as the king had brought with him forth of England, they were worthy in deed to be cherished and had in high fauour; neither was this abuse to be so greatlie imputed vnto them, considering it was appropriate to their nation. But the Scottishmen themselves were chieflie to be blamed, that had so quickly yelded to so great an inconuenience, the enormitie whereof appeared by the sundrie vices that followed of the same, as excelle, sensuall lust, sloth, reisse, and waisting of goods. For if temperance be the nourisher of all vertue, then must the contrarie, that is to say, intemperance, be the bringer forth and prouoker of all vice. If it might therefore please the kings highnesse, to shew his accustomed wisdom and prouidence in repressing this abuse of costlie fare, so much damagable to his people, he should do the thing that was meritorious before God, and no lesse profitable and necessarie for the publike weale of all his subjects.

By these and manie other the like persuations, bishop Wardlaw used to dissuade the king and his people from all superfluous courses of delicate dishes and surfetting bankets. Insomuch that euen then there was order taken, that fewer dishes and more spare diet should be used through the realme, licensing gentlemen onelie, and that on festiuall daies, to be serued with pies, the vse of them not being knowne in Scotland till that season. Neuertheless, such intemperance is risen in proceesse of time following.

Fr.Thin. Lellus lib. pag. 174.

Organs brought into Scotland.

Parliament at Perth.

Bishop Wardlaw inuictly against superfluous fare.

John of Perth.

John of Perth.

John of Perth.

John of Perth.

Fr.Thin. Lellus lib. pag. 175.

The abbey of Chartreuse.

The 10th of December.

The office of the King.

The office of the King.

The office of the King.

The office of the King.

The office of the King.

following, that the greedie appetite of gluttons in this age may be satisfied with no competent feeding, till their bellies be so stuffed with immoderate good mandise, that they maie scarce fetch breath, through which their noisome surfeiting, they fall daile into sundrie strange and lossome kinds of diseases, being oftentimes killed by the same in their flourishing youth, as by daile experience plainlie appeareth.

In the same yeere the seventeenth day of June, 1520, was a terrible eclipse of the sunne, at thre of the clocke after none, the day being darkened ouer head for the space of one halfe houre together, as though it had bene night, and thereupon it was called the blacke houre. At the next Lammis, the king raised an armie, & came with the same to Norburgh, besieging the castell for the space of fiftene daies together. He had in this armie (as the report went) the number of two hundred thousand men, accounting cariage men & all other such as followed the campe: yet notwithstanding all this huge multitude, hauing wasted his powder and other munition, before he could doe anye great hurt to his enemies, he was constrained to raise his field, and leaue the castell in the Englishmens hands as he found it. After this king James perceiuing how the knowledge of handicrafts and manuell occupations was decayed in Scotland, though continuall exercise of wars, since the daies of Alexander the third, to the further advancement of the common-wealth, and that his subjects might haue occasion to auoid sloth and idleness (the root of all mischiefe) he brought a great number of cunning craftsmen out of Germanie, France, and other parties, to instruct his people in their arts and faculties.

Not long after, one Paule Crawl a Bohemian borne, was burnt at saint Andrews, for preaching and setting forth the doctrine of John Hus, & John Wicliffe. John Fogo being one of them that helped chieflie to condemne him, was made (for his great and earnest diligence therein shewed) abbat of Melrosse. [After which, the said king James began to take vpon him the person of a private man, sundrie times associating himselfe to the companie of others (but especiallie of the merchants) in changed apparell, according to the state of such persons with whom he would companie, to the end he might thereby learne what men did say and iudge of him, and so vnderstand what was to be corrected in the gouernment of the common-wealth.] About the same time was the abbie of Charturur monks founded besides Perth, by king James, with great cost and magnificence.

Also the lord Scrope and other associats with him, came in ambassage from Henrie the first, king of England. The effect of whose message was, to haue the ancient league betwixt the Scots and Frenchmen dissolved, promising that if the counsell of Scotland would consent thereto, and ioine in league with the Englishmen; that both the towne and castell of Berwik, with all the lands lieng betwixt Tweed and the Hecrosse (as the Scots write) should be deliuered into the Scottishmens hands. King James hauing small credit in such faire promises, persecuted the same to tend onlie to this end, that the league betwixt the Frenchmen and Scots might be once clearelie broken, and then to vse the matter as occasion should serue their turne. This matter therefore being proponed before the counsell, it was concluded, that in no wise the said league betwixt the Frenchmen and Scots should be dissolved, and so thereupon the English ambassadors were dispatched without moore talk concerning that matter.

In the same yeere, that is to say, 1433, the king

caused George Dunbar erle of March, sonne to that earle which rebelled against his father king Robert the third, to be arrested and put in safe keeping within the castell of Edenburgh. He sent also the earle of Angus with his chancelor William Creighton, and Adam Hepborne of Hales to the castell of Dunbar, deliuering them letters signed with his hand, and directed to the keepers of the said castell, that they shuld deliuer vp the house immediatlie vpon sight of those letters vnto the bringers of the same. The keepers durst not disobey his commandement, but suffered them to enter according to their commission. Within twelue moneths after, a parlement was held at Perth, where the foresaid George earle of March was disherited of all his lands and linings for his fathers offense committed against king Robert the third. Thus the house of the Dunbars lost the earldome of March, wherein the same had flourished so manie yeeres together, to the great defense and safeguard of the realme of Scotland on that side, against both ciuill and foreine enemies.

The king yet moued with some pitie toward so noble a linage, within short time after gaue the earldome of Buchquhan to the said George; and after the kings deceasse, the lords of the counsell thinking the same to litte, assigned forth to him and his son Patrike, the summe of foure hundred marks yeerlie, to be receiued out of a parcell of his owne ancient inheritance of the earldome of March, to inioy the same till James the second came to full age. In the yeere 1435, Alexander Steward earle of March departed out of this life. This Alexander was a bastard sonne of the earle of Buchquhan, that was one of the somes of king Robert the second. He was a man of right singular prowesse, and in his youth following the warres, was with Philip duke of Burgonie at the siege of Liege, or Luike, where he bare himselfe so manfully, that few wan the like honor at that iournie. Not long after, to his high aduancement, he got in marriage the ladie Jacoba countesse of Holland: notwithstanding, he continued but a while with hir, being forced to forgo hir companie, either for that he had another husband, or else for that the inhabitants would not suffer a stranger to reigne ouer them.

After his returne into Scotland, he sent messengers into Holland, requiring to haue the issues and profits of such lands as were due vnto him in right of the said countesse his wife; but receiuing nought saue a froward answer, he provided him of ships, and made soe warres on the Hollanders by sea: first being put to the worse; but at length he took a number of their ships laden with merchandize, as they were returning homewards from Dantzicke. The mariners were drowned, and the ships burnt. Through which losse the Hollanders being soe abashed, fell to a composition with him, and took truce with the Scots for an hundred yeeres. This earle of March so long as he liued had the gouernance of the north parts of Scotland under king James the first, for he was a right prudent person, as well in warlike enterprises, as in ciuill administration. He brought forth of Hungarie sundrie great horses and mares for generation, that by such meanes the countrie might be provided of great horses of their owne race, where till that time there was none bred within Scotland, but small nags, more meet to serue for iournieng hacknies, than for anye seruice in the warres.

Not long before this time, there came an ambassage from the king of Denmarke to king James, requiring him to make payment of such yeerlie tribute as was due to the said king of Denmarke, being also king of Norway for the westernne Isles, according

George eric of March arrested and put in ward.

A parlement at Perth.

The earle of March disinherited,

The earldome of Buchquhan given to George Dunbar.

1435. The death of Alexander Steward erle of March.

Leodium.

warres betwixt the earle of March & the Hollanders.

Truce twixt the Scots & Hollanders for teame of 100 yeeres.

God mares brought out of Hungarie into Scotland for breed.

Ambassadors out of Denmarke. Their request

corbing to the promise and agreement made by Alexander sometime king of Scotland, the third of that name, unto his predecessor Magnus, at that time king of Norway. The ambassadoes that came with this message were honorable received, and in like sort intertained by king James, who at their departure gave to them sundrie rich gifts, and appointed sir William Creighton to go with them into Denmark, ambassador to him, to the king there, who sed himselfe so sagelie in this business which he thus went about, that renewing the old league betwixt the two realmes of Denmarke and Scotland, sed fast peace and assured amitie without anie more adu therof insured. Much about the same time, there came ambassadoes from the French king, Charles the seventh, not onelie desiring to haue the old league betwixt France and Scotland to be ratified at that present by a new confirmation, but also to confirme the same with better assurance. Margaret eldest daughter to king James, at request of the said king Charles, was giuen in marriage unto Lewis the Dolphin, and eldest sonne to the said king Charles.

Many great lords of Scotland were appointed to haue the conueiance of hir into France, and great pouision of ships made for that voiage, because the king was aduertised that the Englishmen had a fleet abroad on the seas, to take hir if they might meet with hir by the waie. But as the hap fell, it chanced the same time, as the Scottish ships should passe, there appeared on the coast of England, a great fleet of Spaniards, which the Englishmen supposing to be the Scots, they came vpon them with foure score vessels of one and other, thinking verelie to haue had their wished preie, euen according to their expectation: but being receiued with as hot a storme as they brought, they quicklie vnderstood how they were in a wrong boe, and so they wolie amazed (as Hector Boetius saith) they sustained great losse both in men and ships, and in the meane time the Scottish naue passed by quietlie without damage, encountering not one ship by the waie that sought to impeach their passage. There went 140 ladies and gentlewomen with of Scotland, to attend this ladie Margaret into France, amongst which number there were siue of hir owne sisters.

In the meane time, whilst such things were a doing, Henrie Persie of Northumberland invaded Scotland with foure thousand men, not being known whether he had commission so to do from the king of England, or that he made that enterprise of himselfe. William Dowglas earle of Angus, to resist this inuasion, gathered a power of chosen men, amongst whome were Adam Hepburne of Hales, Alexander Ramsie of Dalchoules, and Alexander Elphinston, with others. The earle of Angus being thus associat, met the Persie at Piperden, where a sore battell was foughten betwixt them, with great slaughter on both sides; but at length the victorie fell to the Scots, though there were slaine together with Alexander Elphinston, two hundred gentlemen and commons of Scotland: and of the English part there died Henrie of Cliddesdale, John Wgill, and Richard Persie, with sixteen hundred other of gentle men and commons, of the which gentlemen, fortie were knights. There were taken also and brought home by the Scots as prisoners, to the number of foure hundred.

Shortly hereupon, king James raised a mightie armie, and besieged the castell of Rocksburgh, but when he had almost brought his purpose so nere to passe, that those within began to fall to communication, for the rendering of the place, the quene came to the campe in great haste vnto him, signifieng that there was a conspiracie begun against him, so that

if he toke not the better heed, he was in great danger to fall into the hands of those that sought his life. The king doubting the matter, raised his siege and returned home to prouide the better for his owne safety, but that preuailed little: for Walter Steward earle of Atholl, and head of the whole conspiracie, pretending euer a right to the crowne, by reason that he was procreat by king Robert the second on his first wife, procured his nephew Robert Steward, and his cosine Robert Graham, to flea the king by one meane or other, which finally they accomplished in this wise. This Robert Graham, for diuerse wicked acts before committed, contrarie to the lawes and ordinances of the realme, was giuen to an outlawrie, so that if he were taken, he looked for nothing but present death, and therefore hated the king most deablie. And though by the quenes diligence both his and other of the conspirators purposes were now disappointed, hauing contriued to dispatch the king at the siege of Rocksburgh; yet for so much as their names were not knowne, they hoped still to find occasion to atchieue their detestable intention, sith they were no more mistrusted than the others.

Hereupon the said Steward and Graham came one euening to the blacke friers of Perth, where the king as then was lodged, and by licence of the porters comming into the house, entered vp into the gallerie before the kings chamber doze, minding to haue staied there till one of the kings seruants that was priue to their diuelish purpose should come, by whose helpe they were promised to haue entrie into the chamber. But before the comming of this Judas-like traitor, an other of the kings seruants named Walter Straiton came forth of the chamber doze to haue fetched wine for the king: but being aduised of these two traitors standing there at the doze, either of them hauing a long sword girded to him, he slept backe, and cried, Treason: but per he could get within the doze to haue made it fast, they leapt vnto him, and slue him there outright.

Whilst this was a doing, not without great noise & rumbling, a young virgin named Katharine Dowglas (that was after married to Alexander Louell of Wolunnie) got to the doze, and shut it: but because the barre was alwaie that should haue made it fast, she thrust hir arme in the place where the bar should haue passed: she was but young, and hir bones not strong, but rather tender as a gristle, and therefore hir arme was sone crast in sunder, and the doze broken vp by force. Herewith entering the chamber, they slue such of the seruants as made defense, and then the king himselfe with manie cruell and deablie wounds [at 28 feuerall blowes.] The quene was also hurt as she was about to saue hir husband. Patrick Dunbar, brother to George sometime earle of March, was left for dead on the floze, by reason of such wounds as he receiued in the kings defense, doing most manfullie his uttermost deuoir to haue preserved him from the murderers hands. Thus was James the first murdered the 21 day of February, the 44 yere of his age, the 13 of his reigne, and from the incarnation of Christ 1436. His bodie was buried in the house of the Chartarars at Perth which he founded in his life time, but had not as yet thoroughlie finished.

Of this James I find written in his singular commendation, that he was for proportion of bodie of the middle stature, with broad shoulvers, hauing the other parts also answering therevnto, as they neither seemed monstrous big to be wondered at, nor extreme small to be scoffed at; but carried the maiestie of a person, whome Aeneas Syluius (expressing the most excellent conformitie of members in this our king) doth terme to be squared or of euen proportion

Sir William Creighton sent into Denmark. Peace and amitie betwixt Scotland and Denmarke. Ambassadoes forth of France. The old league renewed betwixt France and Scotland. The Dolphin marieth Margaret daughter to king James.

Englishmen lie in wait for the Scottish fleet.

The Englishmen encounter a fleet of Spaniards.

The arrivall of the ladie Margaret of Scotland in France.

Henrie Persie invadeth Scotland.

The battell of Piperden fought betwixt Henrie Persie and the earle of Angus. The Scots get the victorie. The number of Englishmen slaine. Prisoners taken.

Rocksburgh besieged.

The king the sonne of a conspiracie made against him, raiseth his siege. The earle of Atholl heard of the conspiracie.

Robert Graham.

Robert Steward and Robert Graham murdereth the king.

Walter Straiton is slaine.

Katharine Dowglas.

The murderers enter the kings chamber, and slay the king. The quene is hurt. Patrick Dunbar wounded and left for dead in the kings defense. James the first murdered.

1437. Buchan. 1447. 1. M. 1226. Lellie. His stature and forme of bodie. Fr. Tim. Lellieus lib. 7. cap. 271.

Buchan. also with he wrote Latin verses with such good grace, as the rudeness of that age permitted.

tion, as the parts of a quadrangle or iust square do answer each other, so that nature seemeth not to have framed a creature more apt or excellent than he, either for shape of bodie, or for kinglie maiestie. He did manie times embrace iustice more streialie and seuerelie, than well became a king, which ought to be called (and so in truth to be) the father and nourisher of the common wealthe. For he learned so exactlie to measure all things by the rule of iustice, that he is said within the space of three yeeres) to have executed three thousand persons for their committed offences. Although this may rather seeme to be a slander (than otherwise) grounded vpon no foundation, since all things seeme to haue bene performed by him in respect of sincere zeale of iustice, whereof this may be a sufficient argument, that he was of so mild and sweet nature, that we read not of anie of our princes that did more reuerentlie embrace peace at home amongst his subjects, or more willinglie conclude the same abroad with strangers. What shall I say of his wisdom, which in manie and the greatest affaires did so manifestlie appere, that the kings of other nations did toine in league and friendship with him: Of which wisdom, and of other his vertues (although he obtained part by the benefit of nature) he got the greatest summe by the learning & instruction which he purchased in England, when he was prisoner: at what time he was by the commandement of Henrie the king most diligentlie instructed. For he was there by the kings beneuolence so well trained in all sciences and gentlemanlie activitie, with the diligence of good scholemasters, that it is not easie to iudge what science he best vnderstood: for beside that he had skill in all kinds of musike (but most excellent in plaieng on the harpe) he was so good an orator, that nothing might be more artificall than that which he spake: againe, he was a rare poet, in which he seemed not so much cunning by art, as furthered by nature, which is sufficientlie proued by verses of diuerse kinds (at this day remaining) composed by him in Scottish meter with that singular art, as he is thought fullie to equall the sharpenesse, grauitie, and wisdom of the ancient poets.

It is strange that I saie, and far beyond the diligence of the princes of our time, yea and almost beyond the opinion of men: but yet most true and confirmed by the testimonie of them which knew him well: and therefore to be written to his perpetuall praise. He did so exactlie in mind and memorie comprehend the depth of diuinitie and law, that therein he excelled manie, & in his time gaue not place to anie: to conclude, there was nothing wherein the commendation of wit consisted, or wherein anie shew of the liberrall arts appeared, that he would not with great diligence applie his induror for the knowledge thereof, yea and that sometime to all mechanicall or handie-craft labors which were meet for a free man, which he is said most studiously to haue followed. But in the end, iudging it ouer base for kinglie maiestie to be exercised in these meane & inferior: knowledges, he caused artificers of all sorts to be brought out of England, Flanders, and other nations, which should instruct our people therein: for by that means he persuaded himselfe he should in the end calme the rough manners of his nation, and that with these mild arts they would also receiue a mild and sweete condition of life & manners. Wherefore I may well say, & most happie common-wealthe which was gouerned by so worthy a prince: & may iustlie exclaime; O you most fierce and wicked rebels, that would by murder take away such an honor, beauntie, and pillar of the common-wealthe. Now, besides manie other things by him done, I will here (being better late than neuer) set downe

this (not touched before) which is, that he was not onlie a beauntie to his countrie, in prouiding for his people to liue at quiet within dore; but he also sought for the defense of his realme against his enemies without dore: by artillerie, and other necessaries required for the warres. For the invention of guns hapning about his time, or not much before, he caused certeine pæces of artillerie to be made beyond the seas in Flanders, of which, there was one most especiall and great peece called the Lion, on the circumference whereof were these verses ingrauen, testifieng the antiquitie in like manner of the same:

*Illestri Jacobo Scotorum principi digno,
Regi magnifico, dum fulmine castra reduco,
Faciunt tum subito, nuncupor ergo Leo.*

The nobles and pæces of the realme right sorrowfull for the death of this James, assembled together, and made such earnest & diligent search for the traitors before mentioned, that at the length they were apprehended and brought to Edinburgh, where they were executed on this manner. The earle of Atholl, which was not onlie principall in practise of this treason concerning the kings death, but also in times past was chiefe of counsell with Robert duke of Albanie, in making away of David the kings eldest brother, and after the kings returne south of England did most earnestlie solicit him to put duke Morde to death, with all other of his linage, trusting that when they were dispatched, he should find means to rid the king also, and his children out of the way, & so at length attaine to the crowne without anie obstacle. This earle I say was first stripped of all his clothes, saue onlie his shirt: and then was an instrument of wood, made like to the dialler of a well, set fast in a cart with a frame: at the end of which instrument, was the earle fastened and bound, and so caried about the towne, sometime hoisted on high, that the people might see him aloft in the aire, and sometime let fall againe with a swate

done vpon the pavement. After this, being brought to an open place, where most resort of people was, they crowned him with an hot iron, for that (as was said) a witch had told him, that before his death he should be crowned openlie in sight of the people. Through whose illusion being deceived, he liued vnder vaine hope to attaine the crowne, directing all his imaginations to compass the means thereto. Thus was he serued on the first day. On the second day, he was drawn with his complices laid on burdels, round about the towne at an horse taile. The third day, his bellie was ript, and his bowels were taken forth, and throught into the fire sickerling before his eyes, & then was his heart pulled forth of his bodie, and throught likewise into the fire: and last of all, his head was cut off, and his bodie diuided into foure quarters.

His nephew Robert Stewart was not altogether so cruellie executed. But Robert Graham, for that it was knowne that he lue the king with his owne hands, was put into a cart, the hand that did the deed being fastened to a paire of gallows, which were raised vp in the said cart; and then were three persons appointed to thrust him through in all parts of his bodie with hot irons, beginning first in those places where it was thought no hastie death would thereof insue, as in the legs, armes, shighes, & shoul ders. And thus was he caried through euerie street of the towne, and tormented in most miserable wise, and at length had his bellie ript, and was bowelled and quartered as the other were before. Christopher Clawn also, and other that were of counsell in the conspiracie, were put to most shameful kinds of deaths, as they had iustlie deserued, few or none lamenting their case. [Touching whose death, and

John Maior
lib. 6. cap. 13.

The search
made for the
traitors.

The execution
of the
earle of Atholl.

The prophetic
of a witch.

Robert Stewart
executed.

The ordering
of Robert
Grahams
execution.

Christopher
Clawn.

Fr. Thin.

The king in
formed of a
conspiracie
made against
him, raiseth
his siege.
The earle of
Atholl heard
of the conspiracie.

Robert Stewart
and Robert
Graham
murderers of
the king.

Robert Stewart
and Robert
Graham
murderers of
the king.

Walter Stewart
son is slain.

Katherine
Dowglas.

The murthe-
rers enter the
kings cham-
ber, and slaue
the king.
The queene is
hurt.
Datrike Dun-
bar wounded
and left for
dead in the
kings defense.
James the
first murthe-
red.

1437. Buch.
1447. I. Ma.
1326. Lelle.

His stature
and forme of
bodie.
Fr. Thin.
Lellous lib. 7.
cap. 271.

ular
bodie
uing
they
d at,
ma
sing
this
opo-
tion

Lesleus lib. 7.
pag. 279.

Strange
lights.
Dogs with
heads like to
Dogs,
A calfe with
a head like a
colt.
A blasing star.
A great frost.
Ale and wine
sold by the
pound weight
A sword scene
in the aire.

James the
second.
1436

Buchan, 103.

The daugh-
ter of the duke
of Gelderland
married to
James the
second.

Sir Alexan-
der Leuing-
ston governoz.
Sir William
Creichton L.
chancelloz..

Disobedience
in the Dow-
glas.

1437.

A pollicie
brought by
the queene.

the reuenge thereof, it is reported, that Aeneas Syl-
uius (being then ambassadoz in Scotland for pope
Eugenius the fourth to the said king James, con-
sidering the cruelnesse of such a wicked fact, with the
spedie reuenge, therefore executed by the nobilitie)
should say, that he much doubted, whether he ought
with greater praise to commend them which reuen-
ged the kings death, than by sharper sentence pu-
nish those that had committed such parricide.] In
the daies of king James the first, sundrie strange
and monstrous things chanced in Scotland. At
Perth there was a sow that brought forth a litter
of pigs with heads like unto dogs. A colt also
brought forth a calfe, hauing a head like a colt. In
the haruest before the kings death, a blasing star
was scene with long streaming beams. And in the
winter following, the frost was so belement, that
ale and wine were sold by pound weight, and then
melted against the fire. A sword was scene gliding
vp and downe in the aire, to the no lesse dread than
wonder of the people.

James the first made away through the traitorous
practise of the earle of Atholl (as before is speci-
fied) his eldest sonne James the second of that name
being as then but six yeares of age succeeded to the
crowne, as lawfull heire to the same, and by his mo-
ther and the nobilitie of the realme was brought to
Scone, where, by the vniuersall consent of the three
estates he was crowned king of Scotland, being
the 102 king of that realme from Iferguse the first.
He was surnamed James with the stier face, by
reason of a broad red spot which he had in one of his
cheekes. This James at his comming to mans state
proued a stout prince, and married the daughter of
the duke of Gelderland, as after shall appeare. In
the beginning he had some trouble and businesse, by
reason of the great authoritie and rule which the high
barons of the realme sought to beare & mainteine,
as the Dowglas, and other, but in the end he sub-
dued them all.

Shortlie after his coronation, because he was not
of himselfe able to gouerne, by reason of his tender
age; the nobles and estates of the realme chose sir
Alexander Leuingston of Calender knight, gover-
noz of the king and realme, and sir William Creich-
ton knight was confirmed in his office to inioy the
same as he before had done, the king being committed
to his keeping, together with the castell of Eden-
burgh. Archembald earle of Dowglas remained in
his countreies of Dowglas & Annardale, and would
neither obeie governoz nor chancelloz, wherby great
trouble was raised within the realme. Within a
short tyme also, the governoz and chancelloz were di-
uided. The governoz with the queene remained at
Striueling, but the chancelloz had the king still with
him in the castell of Edinburgh; and what the one
commanded to be done, the other forbade: wherby
neither of them was obeyed, nor any execution of
iustice put in practise, so that through all the countrie,
reiffe, spoiles, and oppression were exercised with-
out feare of punishment. The queene perceiuing
such mischief to reigne throughout all parts of the
realme, deuised a meane to aduance the gouernozs
side, and hereupon with a small companie repai-
red to Edinburgh, where she to bring hir purpose to
passe, did so much by great dissimulation, that she
persuaded the chancelloz to suffer hir to enter the ca-
stell, and to remaine with the king; but within three
daies after, she feigned one morning to go on pil-
grimage vnto the White kirke, and caused the king
hir sonne to be handsomlie couched in a trunke, as
if he had bene some fardell of his apparell, and so
packed vp, sent him by one of hir trustie seruants
laid vpon a sumpter horste vnto Leth, from whence

he was conueied by bote vnto Striueling, where, of
the governoz he was isollie receiued, commen-
ding the queene highlie for hir politike working, in
deceiuing so wise a man as the chancelloz was. Then
raised he a great power of his friends and well-wil-
lers, and besieged the chancelloz in the castell of E-
denburgh.

The bishop perceiuing in what danger he stood
through the womans deceit, sent to the earle of
Dowglas, desiring his assistance against the queene
and governoz. But the earle refusing either to helpe
the one or the other, alledging that they were both
ouer ambitious in seeking to haue the whole govern-
ment of the realme in their hands. The chancelloz
then perceiuing himselfe destitute of all helpe, made
agreement with the governoz, vnder certeine con-
ditions, that he should retaine still the castell of Eden-
burgh vnder his possession, and likewise continue
still in his office of chancelloz. Shortlie after the earle
of Dowglas deceased at Lethelricke, in the yeare
1439, against whom aswell the governoz as chan-
celloz had conceiued great hatred. He left behind
him a sonne (begot of the earle of Crawford's daugh-
ter) named William, a child of fourtene yeares of
age, who succeeded his father in the earldome of
Dowglas, appearing at the first to be well inclined
of nature, but afterwards by euill companie he
warded wild and insolent.

About this season, James Stewart sonne to the
lord of Lozne, married the queene Dowager, and fa-
uored the earle Dowglas in his vnrulie demean-
our: whereupon, both the said James and his bro-
ther William, with the queene, were committed to
pison in the castell of Striueling by the gouernozs
appointment; but shortlie after they were released
by the sute of the lord chancelloz, sir William Cre-
ichton, and Alexander Seton of Curdon, who be-
came suerties for their good abearing, vnder great
forfeiture of sufficient band. About the same time,
or rather somewhat before, Alane Stewart lord of
Dernlie was slaine at Palmatis thorne, by sir Tho-
mas Boyd. And in the yeare following, the same sir
Thomas was slaine by Alexander Stewart of
Holmet and his sonnes; where through there rose,
great troubles in the west part of Scotland. Wil-
liam earle of Dowglas sent Malcolm Fleming
of Cumernald, and Alane of Lodow, vnto Charles
the seventh, king of France, to obtaine of him the
duchie of Towzaine, which was giuen to Archem-
bald Dowglas at the battell of Veruouil in Perth;
and the last earle, father to this earle William, had
intoied the same all his life time, whereupon that
sute was the sooner obtained: which made the young
earle more insolent than before.

He kept such a port, and vsed to haue such a traine
attending vpon him, speciallie when he came to the
court, that it should seme he had the king in small
regard; for he thought himselfe safe enough in main-
teining the like state and port, or rather greater than
euer his father at any time had mainteined before
him: insomuch as he would ride with two thousand
horste, of the which number there were diuerse errant
thieues and robbers, that were bozne out in their
vniuersall and wicked practises by the same earle.
Certeine capteins of the Fles, as Lachlane, Spake-
laine, and Murdac Wipson, with a wicked number
of the inhabitants of the same Fles, haried, spoiled,
and burnt the countrie of Lenor, and slue John Col-
quhoun lord of Lute vnder assurance. They also
slue women and childzen, without respect to age or
sex. In this yeare chanced a great dearth in Scot-
land, the like was neuer heard of before, and such a
death by pestilence, that few escaped that were tak-
en therewith, and so the realme was plagued with
reiffe,

The king
conueied vnto
Striueling.

An agreement
made.

The earle of
Dowglas
departeth the
life at Lethel-
ricke.

1439.

The queene
imprisoned.

Alane Ste-
ward is slaine

The great
port of the
earle of Dowglas

Lenor is har-
ried.
John Colqu-
houn, of
Cognaham
slaine.

A dearth.
Pestilence.
reiffe.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan lib. 11.

The king
sent with
the chancelloz
to Edinburgh.

The gouernoz
and chancel-
loz are made
friends.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 8.
pag. 294.
Buchan lib. 11.

Lenor is har-
ried.
John Colqu-
houn, of
Cognaham
slaine.

A dearth.
Pestilence.
reiffe.

reife, oppression, dearth, and death of people. This reare also the gouernor take the whole administration upon him, wherewith the chancello: was displeased, and leauing the king and him in Striueling, repaired to Edenburgh, where he deuised the way how to recover the king from the gouernor, and so on a morning took foure and twentie men with him and rode to the parke of Striueling where the king was then hunting, and the gouernor absent at Perth.

At what time the chancello: with great courtelie drawing towards the king, did salute him, being in some feare to see such companie come vnto him, hauing so few in his traine. Which when the chancello: perceiued, he praised the king to be of good comfort, and in few words fit for that time, exhorted him that he should looke to himselfe and the kingdome, and deliuer himselfe from the imprisonment of Alexander the gouernor, liuing free from henceforth after a haughe manner; that he should not accustome himselfe to obay the pleasure and courtousnes of others, that he should vse to command his subiects in all iust and lawfull causes; and that he should deliuer his people from those euils which increased vpon them, by the ambition and courtousnesse of the rulers, which he could not now well remedie or resist, except the king would take on him the gouernement, the which to doe, he had without all danger or trouble prouided a meane. For he had in a readinesse sufficient number therefore, which should attend vpon the king where so euer he would go, or to vse any other matter as need should require. Which the king taking with a pleasant countenance either because the matter liked him well, or to dissemble the feare he had of the chancello:, did fullie approue, and went with his small vnarmed companie and the chancello: toward Edenburgh.)

The chancello: as Hector Boetius saith had caused the number of foure thousand hoisemen of his seruants, tenants, and friends, secretly to be readie that morning about the town of Striueling, to resist his aduersaries if they should haue used any force against him: and now vnderstanding of the kings going thus with the chancello:, they came to him on the way, and attending him, brought him safelie and without further trouble vnto Edenburgh, where he was iustfullie receiued. The gouernor when he was aduertised herof, was grieuouslie displeased; but because he knew not how to remedie the matter, he went to Edenburgh, and there got John Junes bishop of Murray, and Henrie Lichon bishop of Aberdene, to labor some agreement betwixt him and the chancello: which they did in this wise: the king to remaine in the keeping of the chancello:, and the gouernor to continue his office. And so by this accord they were made friends.

During which turmoiles, William Dowglas (that with a certeine pride of mind had highlie borne himselfe, disobeying the rule of the gouernor, & disdainning to ioyne in societie of the chancello:) did betwixt the dedlie hatred of them both against him; for which cause they seek by all means vtterlie to take him awaie. For the doing wherof (to the end it might be performed without any tumult) they appoint a parliament to be holden at Edenburgh; whither came not a few (as at other times in such assemblies it alwaies happeneth) but almost the whole countreies came flocking thither, to complaine of the iniuries which they had receiued: of which sort, there was such a miserable shew, that men could not behold the same without great motion of a pitifull mind: when euerie one for himselfe, the father for the children, the children for the fathers, and the widows for their husbands, did complaine that they were by the robbers spoiled of all their substance. Wherevpon (as

it happeneth alwaies through pietie of gentle hearts, to rue the afflicted) there arose great enmie against the captiues and leaders of the wicked doers of such spoile, whose euils were now growne to such excessse, as by no means they might be suffered; whose factions were so largelie spread ouer the realme, that none could defend their life or liuehood: but such as did yeld themselves to their actions, and whose riches were so increased, as the weak could not well find any helpe (in the authoritie of the magistrate) against their violence.

Wherevpon it liked the wisest sort (since their force seemed not almost able to be broken, or their parts to be seuered) to sit to policie and leaue strength, not daring openlie to call the earle Dowglas by that name of captiue of them, although they well knew him to be the chiefe author and santon of those people. Wherefore the gouernor and the chancello: (for a time dissembling the hatred which they harboured against Dowglas) persuaded the whole parliament, that it were more conuenient with faire speeches to pacifie Dowglas, than with shew of suspicious and euill words to stirre him to further heat: especiallie considering that he was of that great wealth and power, that he alone, if he stood against them, might binder all the decrees of the parliament: but if hee ioynd with the nobilitie, there might be easie remedie found to salue all these present euils. Through which wise and subtil persuasion of Alexander the gouernour, it was decreed amongst them, that there should be honourable letters directed to him in the common & speciall name of all the nobilitie, which should admonish him, that being mindfull of the honorable place which he possessed (and of his worthie ancestors, by whom the common-wealth of Scotland had receiued many singular benefites) hee should repaire to the parliament, which well could not, and willinglie would not, either keepe or determine any thing in the same without his presence. In which assemble, if hee would complaine of any wrongs or griefes offered vnto him, hee should be satisfied so fullie as they might lawfullie.

And if he or any of his friends or familie had committed any disordered part, the nobilitie there met would fullie remit the same, as well for the nobilitie of his, and the worthie memorie of the deeds done by his ancestors; as for that they rather attributed such actions to the iniurie of the times, and the frailtie of his age, and the persuasion of others, than vnto him, of whome there was conceiued a singular hope of great towardnesse, for the advancement of his name and benefit of his countreie. Therefore if he would come and ioyne with them, he should receiue in gouernement what part, place, and office of the common-wealth pleased him, to the end that as in times past, their countreie had bene manie waies deliuered out of most heauie dangers by the hand of the Dowglases, so at this present, the same might also by his presence and furtherance, be againe advanced and strengthened from and against those intestine euils wherewithall it now fainted. The young man (by nature and age greedy of glorie) being moued with these flatteries, and the other persuasions of his friends (whereof euerie one was blinded with a certeine hope of good to happen to himselfe) they now deemed it best (forgetting all former dangers) to thinke vpon their private commodities, and with that resolution took their iourne to come to the parliament.

The chancello: when he vnderstood they were on their way, rode south of Edenburgh manie miles to meet the Dowglas, and courteously invited the earle to his castell of Creichton, which laie in his

waie as he should ride, at which place he was most honourable intertained by the chancelloz. Where, when they had remained two daies, the chancelloz (after hee had shewed manie tokens of a friendlie mind vnto him) bicause he would vtterlie banish from the earle all suspicion of him, that he had any mislike in the said earle) began familiarlie to persuade him, that (remembzring the kings dignitie, and the office of him whome the lot of inheritance, thei countrie lawes, and the consent of the parliament had aduanced to the gouernement and administration of all things) he should in all humilitie acknowledge him for his chiefe lord and king; that he would permit the large patrimonie obtained by the blood of his ancestors to descend to posteritie by lineall inheritance as he himselfe receiued it; that he would clearelie deliuer the name and familie of the Dowglasses (no lesse famous for their dutie, than their deeds) not onelie from the filthie spot of treason, but also from all note of suspicion thereof; that he would refraine himselfe and his from offering iniuries to the weake and common people; that he would remoue from him all such as were giuen to robberie and spoile; that he would from henceforth applie himselfe to the defense of iustice, to the end that his former offenses (if there were any) might rather be attributed to euill counsell of the wicked, than to the naturall disposition of himselfe: for so the repentance of his yong yeeres might be taken for prooue of his innocencie in such evils. With these and such like speeches, declaring the faith of a well-willing mind, he allured the earle to come to Edinburgh with David his brother partaker of all his counsels and actions.

This faire tale of the chancelloz, more than in times past or then besemed the place which he possessed, with the manie messengers sent to him from Alexander the gouernoz (to meet him on the way) almost euerie houre, draue a deepe suspicion in the heads of the earles companie riding with him to Edinburgh, of some trecherie to be ment towards him. Whereupon the same began to be blundered from one to another of the traine, and came so fast to the friends of Dowglasse, that some of them did boldlie and liberallie admonish him, that he should remaine in that purpose (which once he did) to staie, to returne, and not to go forward with the chancelloz: and at the least (if he would aduenture himselfe) to send home his brother David, to the end that hee might not hazard the whole familie vnder the fortune of one stroke, as his father had before admonished him when he died. Whereat the vnadvised youth of this man, being moued to anger against his friends, did by the voices of some of his men (as it were by one that should make proclamation therfore) pacifie the secret murmurings that were amongst the companie; and answered such of his friends as found fault therewith, that he sufficientlie knew, that it was the common plague of all great families, alwaies to haue such men about them, as being impatient of quiet and ease, respect not the danger and miserie of their patrons, so it maie be commoditie vnto them: who bicause (they would not be restrained within the bounds of peacefull lawes) are authors of sedition, in which (when all things are in turmoile) they may the better wander abroad to satisfie their euill humors: whose speeches hee regarded not, since hee rather respected and trusted the approued wisdom of the chancelloz and the gouernoz, than the slouthfull & rash minds of such seditious persons.

After which (to cut awaie occasion from the rest to answer) he set spurres to his horse, and hastned his iourneie more than he did before, with his bro-

ther and a few of his other friends, taking his right course into the castell, and (as it were by a certaine destinie) casting himselfe he dloug into the snarcs of his enemies. At such time as he came to the castell, the gouernoz (according to his promise) was ready there to meet him, to the end the matter might come to be wrought by common consent, and the weight of so great enuie might not light vpon the head of one man. Dowglasse being honorable and friendlie by the gouernoz receiued into the castell, was for dinner placed at the kings table. But in the midst of this sweet meat (sower saluice being prepared) there was a bulles head set before him, which in those daies was a signe of death. Wherewith the yong man amazed (and greatlie troubled in his mind, inwardlie repenting that he followed not the aduise of his followers) was about to rise from the table: but being apprehended by armed men (appointed to that function) he was caried into the court next to the castell, and was there (in reuenge and punishment of his vnbrideled youth) beheaded, with his brother David, and Malcolme Fleming, who (next vnto his brother) was in greatest credit with him. Whose death the king now entring into his adolescencie or yeeres (as we tearme it) of discretion, is said heauilie with teares to lament, which the chancelloz (griuing to see) did greatlie rebuke in the king such vntimelie and inordinate mourning, for the death of his and the common-wealths enimie, whose life (said hee) would haue taken awaie all peace and tranquillitie in the realme.)

After the death of the said earle, the state of the realme became more quiet: for his vnkle James Dowglasse baron of Abircorne that succeeded him, being a man of great stature, and verie fat, gaue himselfe to quietnesse, and liued but thre yeeres after. The foresaid William had but one sister, that was called the faire maiden of Galloway, and was married to one William Dowglasse, sonne to this earle James before his decesse, that the heritage should not be diuided: bicause the earledome of Dowglasse was intailed vpon the heires male, and the lands of Wigton, Saluanie, Annardale, and Dymont remained to hir as heire generall. This earle William, after the decesse of his father earle James, began to war vnrulie, and to follow the vntoward maners of the other William Dowglasse lastlie beheaded (as before ye haue heard) so that by support manie disobedient persons would not obeie the gouernoz and chancelloz, wher vpon sundrie great slaughters and oppressions were committed.

* Againe (by the marriage of this earle William with his rich kinswoman) he did (besides his vnrulie behaviour) aduance himselfe in pride, wherof grew secret enuie, and of that rose open malice: but he in countering sufficientlie with them, partlie by force, & partlie by subtiltie, mainteined his people in those oppressions and robberies, in despite of the proudest: which occasioned the nobilitie to iudge, that the said earle was priuie of their misdemeanor. Amongest which euill disposed companie, there was one John Gormacke of Atholl, who (when he had infected all the countrie about him with this miserable plague of robberie) did set vpon William Ruwen (thristie of Perth, and had almost killed him) because he had led a theefe of Atholl to execution. But at the length (true men being alwaies better than theues) the thristie recovered the battell, and killed the capteine Gormacke, with thirtie of his companie, and put the rest to flight into the mounteins.

In the yeere 1443, not manie daies after, the castell of Dunbreton (which is not by strength to be subdued) was twise taken within a few daies: for Robert Sempler that was capteine of the castell,

1444.
The king wil
rule himselfe.

1445. Lesle.

Fr. Thin

Buchanan,
lib. 11.

1443.

well, and Patrike Galbith captaine of the higher castell, did so diuide their gouernement of the said castell (being a thing of great circuit) that euerie one had a peculiar and seuered entrance into his owne part without offense of the other. But yet these two (as most part of the realme of Scotland then was, and as it alwaies, or most commonlie happeneth in the minoritie of the prince, when euerie one will be a king) wanted not their factions, whome they did follow: for Patrike was secretlie thought to fauour Dowglass, for which cause Semplier, or (as some haue Simplicie) the other captaine perceiuing the part of the castell wherein Patrike ruled to be more negligent¹⁰ kept, than due to the state of the time required, found opportunitie to expell Patrike from thence, and to cause all his furniture to be caried out of the same, conuerting the said castell to his owne vse. In the end (the next day after) Patrike vnderstanding thereof, and coming with foure vnarmed persons (to fetch awaie his furniture and household stuffe) entered into the castell; and first finding the porter alone, turned him awaie, then taking armor, expelled the others out of the higher castell: after which, calling aid out of the towne next adioining, he shut them also out of the inferior castell, and got possession of the whole castell to himselfe.)

1444.
The king sent
him himselfe.

The king, after he came to the age of fouretene yeres, would not anie longer be vnder the gouernement of others, but took the rule vpon himselfe. The earle of Dowglass informed thereof, came to him at Striueling, and put himselfe and all he had to remaine at his pleasure: wherevpon the king receiued him, pardoned all his passed misdemeanors, and admitted him to be one of his speciall friends and priuie counsellors in all his affaires. By his perswasion shortly after, sir Alexander Leuingson, & William Creighton being discharged of their offices, were also put off from the counsell, and all their friends banished the court, and they themselues were summoned to appeere before the king: which because they refused to do, they were proclaimed rebels, and put to the horne. The earle Dowglass then for the old grudge he bare them, raised an armie, and harried their lands. In reuenge wherof, sir William Creighton spoiled the earle of Dowglass his lands, so that great trouble was raised through the whole countrie, and the lands of Strabroke, Abircorne, & the towne of Blackneth were burnt and destroyed.

1445. Lelle.

The earle of Dowglass ruled wholie about the king, & made Archembald his brother earle of Murray, by ioining him in marriage with a ladie of the house of Dunbar inheretrix therof. Porouer, Hugh Dowglass was made earle of Dymont. Thus the earle of Dowglass aduanced his name, and ioined in friendship with the earle of Crawford, with Donald earle of the Isles, and with the earle of Ross. To the end that ech of them should be assistant to others. In this meane time, the earle of Crawford at the request of the earle of Dowglas, took a great preie of goods out of the bishop of S. Andrews lands in Fife, which bishop was called James Benedie, sisters son to king James the first: where through the earle of Crawford on the one part, and the earle of Huntlie with the Ogilvies on the other, met at Arborth in set battell, where the earle of Crawford was slaine, and diuerse barons on his side, although the victorie and field remained with his sonne, the maister of Crawford, who succeeded his father, and was called earle Weirdie. On the earle of Huntlies side were slaine, John Forbes of Petsteege, Alexander Berkleie of Gartulie, Robert Martwell of Teline, William Gurdun of Burroisfield, sir John Oliphant of Aberdage, and fine hundred more on their side, and one hundred of the victors were also slaine, as Hector

Boetius saith.

The same writer reporteth that the occasion of this battell did chance, through the variance that fell out betwixt the earle of Crawford eldest sonne Alexander Lindseie, and Alexander Ogilvie or Ogilvie (as some write him) about the office of the bailiffewike of Arborth, the which the maister of Crawford inueng, was displaced and put out by the said Ogilvie. Wherevpon the maister of Crawford, to recouer his right (as he took it) got a power together with helpe of the Hamiltons, and with the same seized vpon the abbete, and Ogilvie with helpe of the earle of Huntlie, came thither with an armie to recouer the place againe out of his aduersaries hands, and so vpon knowledge hereof giuen vnto the earle of Crawford, he himselfe coming from Dundee vnto Arborth, at the verie instant when the battells were ready to iaine, caused first his sonne to staie; and after calling forth sir Alexander Ogilvie to talke with him, in purpose to haue made peace betwixt him and his sonne, was thrust into the mouth with a speare, by a common souldier that knew nothing what his demerment, so that he fell downe therewith, and presently died in the place: wherevpon together the parties went incontinentlie without more protracting of time, and so fought with such successe, as before ye haue heard. The earle of Huntlie escaped by flight: but Alexander Ogilvie being taken and sore wounded, was led to the castell of Fineluin, where shortly after he died of his hurts. This battell was fought the 24 of Januarie, in the yere of our Lord

1445.

* The king thus ruled by the trope of the Dowglasses, the earle Dowglass sent to sir William Creighton knight, to deliuer by the castell of Edinburgh. But Creighton (saing that the castell was committed to his gouernement by the whole realme, and that the king had not anie thing to do therewith vntill he came to his full age) had all his goods shortly confiscated to the kings vse, with his castell of Creighton, which the kings people entered into and possessed. But least they should seeme to offer anie manifest wrong to the said Creighton, they gaue out the same edict (as a veile of their malice and enuie) which Creighton had before caused to be established and proclaimed. For he first of all others made a law, that whosoener did denie or resist the king, demanding the deliuerie of anie castell, should be in danger of treason: the breach and execution of which law did first come and fall by and vpon him, by whome that might be worthilie said (which is vsed to be spoken in common prouerbe) He is fallen into the snare which he prepared for others. Wherevpon the Dowglass (since the castell would not otherwise be deliuered) harpeltie besieged the same by the space of nine moneths, which in the end Creighton surrendered into his hands, on certeine conditions to be performed. At which time also the said Creighton was reiuued with the honor of the chancellorschip, although he neuer after intangled himselfe with affaires of the kingdome, hoping that in time to come (when the darke clouds of the wicked men, which had now ouerspread all things, were overblown) a better forme of gouernement would be brought in, as a certeine light to giue shine to the common-wealth.

James Steward a worthie knight (not he that was surnamed The blacke) was slaine at Birkepartrike, two miles from Dunbreton, by Alexander Lillie, and Robert Boid, whose crueltie not being satisfied with his bloud, they laboured to bring his wife (great with child, & vpon point of deliuerance) with in their danger. For the performance whereof, they sent a priest vnto hir, that (in haste and as it were troubled) should tell hir in what distress the now re-

Fr. Thin.

1445. I. Ma.
1446. Lelle.
Buchanan.
lib. 11.
Lellous lib. 8.
pag. 279.

1446. Lelle.

Buchan. lib. 11.

sted, and that there was no meanes to relieue hir selfe by anie waie (since euerie place was beset with horse and footmen) vnlesse she escaped by boote to Robert Boid at Dunbretton, who further vpon oth promised hir, that he would safelie bring hir backe to hir owne house.

The woman being credulous (and ignorant that Robert Boid was present at the death of hir husband) and caried out of Cardrossie, into the Dunbretton castell, might easilie perceiue hir selfe hardlie beset on euerie side by the deceipt of hir enemies, who (being so deceiued and overcome with feare & griefe) was deliuered of child befoze hir time, and (together with hir sonne) died there within few houres after. Almost at the same time, Patrike Hepburne (gouernour of Hales) held the castell of Dunbar, where he had Jane Seimer the quene with him, to whome she fled for succour in the times of these tumults. Archibald Dunbar (supposing this to be a iust cause of anger) in the night did set vpon Hales the castell of Hepburne, which he toke at the first assault, by slea-
10 sing of the watch, who being stroken with a great feare for the same, did (in few daies after) restore the same to earle Dowglaste, with couenant that all they which were within, should depart in safetie without anie danger.)

Sir James Steward surnamed the Blacke knight, husband to the quene the kings mother, was banished the realme for speaking words against the mis-
30 gouernement of the king and realme, therewith he offended the earle of Dowglaste. As he passed the seas towards Flanders, he was taken by the Flemings, & shortly after departed this life. The quene his wife being aduertised of his death, died also with-
40 in a while after, and was buried in the Charterhouse of Perth the fifteenth of Iulie, in the yeere 1446. Her name was Jane Summerset, daughter to the earle of Summerset. James the first married hir (as befoze ye may read) in England. She had by him eight chil-
50 dren, two sonnes, and six daughters, which were all honorable mariages: the first named Margaret, to the Dolphin of France: the second Cleane, to the duke of Britaine: the third, to the lord of Terner in Ze-
land: the fourth, to the duke of Austria: the fift, to the earle of Huntley: and the sirt, to the earle of Mor-
ton. And by James Steward hir second husband, she had three sonnes: John earle of Atholl, James earle of Buchanane, and Andrew bishop of Murray.

After the death of the quene, Hepburne deliuered the castell of Dunbar (to the king) being emptie, and without companie. In August, Alexander earle of Crawford did put to death at Toadune John Leon-
50 ton, as an ingratefull person to him, since by his fa-
thers helpe he had bene advanced to great riches, and to the kings affinitie and kindred. Some after, Sir William Creichton, with the bishop of Dunkeld, and Nicholas Aberburne a canon of Glascow, were sent in ambassage vnto the duke of Gelder-
60 land, for his daughter called Marie, to be ioined in marriage with king James. Their sute was obtained, and the ladie sent into Scotland noblie accompani-
ed with diuerse lords both spirituall and temporall. At hir arrivall she was receiued by the king with great triumph, and the marriage solemnized by the as-
sistance of all the nobles of Scotland, with great banquetting, ioyfull mirth, and all pleasant intertain-
ment of those strangers that might be.

In the yeere 1447, there was a parlement holden at Edenburgh, in the which Sir Alexander Levingston of Balenbar late gouernour, James Dundas and Robert Dundas knights, at the pursute of the earle of Dowglaste were forsaken and condemned to perpetuall prison in Dunbretton, and James Le-
ningston his eldest sonne, Robert Levingston trea-

suro, and David Levingston knights, lost their heads. James befoze his execution made a verie
10 wise declaration to the standers by, declaring the in-
stabilitie of fortune, and change of court, exhorting
all persons to beware thereof, with enuie euer follow-
ed high estate, and wicked malice neuer suffered good
men to gouerne long. In the same parlement, Sir
William Creichton was also forsaken for diuerse
causes, but principallie for that his seruants would
not deliuer the house of Creichton to the kings he-
rals, who charged them so to do. This forsalture was
concluded in parlement by vertue of an act which the
said William (when he was chancelor) caused to be
made, and so being the first inuentor, was also the
first against whome it was practised.

The yere next insuing were sundrie incursions
made betwixt Scots and Englishmen on the bor-
ders, Dunfreis was burnt, and likewise Anwik in
England: but shortly after a truce was concluded
for seven yeres, great offers of friendship made by
the Englishmen for to haue the wars cease on that
side, because the warre betwixt them and France
was verie hotlie pursued, and ciuill dissention disqui-
eted the state of England, which was raised betwixt
the two houses of Lancaster & Yorke. This yere
there were manie meetings or parlements of the no-
bilitie, in which were lawes established for byideling
the wicked facts of such as applied themselves to spoi-
ling of other men; whereupon a long peace follow-
ed in Scotland: beside which, there were other lawes
made for auoiding of treasons, and chieflie of such as
touched the kinglie maiestie. This lawe of treason
was afterward executed first vpon Dowglaste, which
was author thereof. In this parlement were manie
earles and lords created, thereof the chiefe were A-
lexander Seton baron of Gordon, who was made
earle of Huntley, and George Leslie baron was
made earle of Rothsaie, both men singularlie famed
for their wisdome and valure.)

The English borderers of the west marches set-
40 ched a great botie of cattell out of Scotland, not-
withstanding the truce, in reuenge wherof the Scots
inuaing England, waiked the countrie, burnt
townes and villages, slue the people, & with a great
preie of prisoners, goods, and cattell, returned home
into Scotland. Wherewith followed dailie rodes and
forraies made on both sides betwixt the Scots and
Englishmen, and that with such rage and crueltie,
that a great part of Cumberland was in manner
laied wast: for on that side the Scots chieflie made
their inuasions, because that from thence the first oc-
50 casion of all this mischief might seme to haue had
the beginning. When such things were certified to
the king of Englands counsell, an armie was ap-
pointed forthwith to inuaide Scotland, vnder the lea-
ding of the earle of Northumberland, and of one
Magnus surnamed Redberd, a capteine of great ex-
perience, as he that had bene trained by from his
youth in the warres of France. The Scots, because
60 of his long red berd, called him in scoyne and deris-
on, Magnus with the red mane.

The Scots hearing of the approach of this armie
towards their borders, leuied a power: George, or
rather Hugh Dowglaste earle of Dymont by the
kings commission, hauing the conduction thereof,
who vnderstanding that the enemies would enter in-
to Annardale, drew thither with the said armie to re-
sist their attempts. The Englishmen passing ouer
the riuer of Sulweie and Annand, came to another
riuer called Sarr, & there pitched downe their tents.
And on the next day they began to rob and spoile the
countrie on ech side: but aduertised that the Scots
were at hand with an armie, they that were thus
gone forth, were with all speed called backe to the
campe

James Le-
uington made
an oration.

W. Creichton
condemned.

Incursions
made.
1448.

Fr. Thin.
Lectus lib. 2,
pag. 300.

1446.

Englishmen
fetch booties
out of Scot-
land.
1450.

The Scots
inuaide Eng-
land.

A knight na-
med Magnus

The earle of
Dymont ge-
nerall of the
Scottish armie

The English
armie inua-
deh Scot-
land.

Sir John
Dymont

Wallace of
Craigie.

The earle
Dymont
hosted by
armie.

The batt-
began.

Magnus
name.

The
men put
flight.

The
name.

Eden-
burgh.

Buchan, lib. 11.

James Ste-
ward is bani-
shed the
realme.

He died.
The quene
died.

1446.

Fr. Thin.

1448. Lecte.

King James
married a
daughter of
the duke of
Gelderland.

1447.
1448. Lecte.

campe by found of trumpet, and forthwith their armie was brought into order of battell. Magnus with the red mane was appointed to lead the right wing, and sir John Penneinton a verie skilfull warriour governed the left wing, in the which the Welshmen were placed. The battell of middle ward the earle of Northumberland himselfe ruled.

The earle of Dymont on the other side ordered his battels in this wise. He appointed a verie valiant knight called Wallase of Craggie, with an hardie number of souldiers to encounter with Magnus. And against the Welshmen he placed the lord Sparwell, and lord Johnstoun, with a chosen companie of lustie Scottishmen, and commanding himselfe in the battell of middle ward, had farse set his people in a raie, when the trumpets in the English armie began to sound to the battell. He therefore exhorting his men to doe valiantlie, put them in remembrance that they had put on armor, being thereto prouoked by iniurie which their enemies had first offered them, whereupon they might conceiue good hope of victorie by the fauour of the righteous God, who giueth the vpper hand (for the most part) to that side that hath iust cause to make warre. He willed them then to put all feare out of their harts; and as they had force enough to vanquish their enemies that came thus to brag and threaten them with viter destruction: so he besought them to shew no lesse manlike stomachs to deliuer their countrie by hardie fight from iniurie of the same enemies.

He had no sooner made an end of his speech, but that the arrows came so thicke from the English archers, that the Scots began to looke about them, as it were to see which waie they might best escape by flight. But Wallase perceiuing their faintnesse of courage, with loud voice repproued their cowardise, and with most pithe words exhorted them to remember their duties, and to follow the example of him their leader, whome they should perceiue to haue fullie botowed to spend his life in defense of his countrie. The Scots heerewith seemed to be so encouraged, that they rushed forward with great egerneesse vpon the right wing of the Englishmen where Magnus stood, and so laied about them with speares, axes, and such like hand weapons, that with great slaughter they brake the Englishmen to breake a raie and to flee: Magnus heerewith being more chafed than afraid, as should appere, pressed forward vpon Wallase with great violence, and seeking to approach vnto him that he might haue broken his grieve vpon him, was inclosed among the Scottish troopes, and slaine with a few other of his friends and seruants that followed him.

The slaughter of this man, in whome consisted no small hope of victorie on the English part, put the residue of their armie in such feare, that they were not able longer to resist the Scottishmens violent impression, but turning their backs fled amaine, whom the Scots pursued in chace verie fiercelie, so that manie of the Englishmen died in the battell, but more now in the chace: for the tide being come in, staid manie of them that made their course to haue escaped thorough the riuer, whereby diuerse that ventured into the water were drowned; & other that durst not take the water, were oppressed by the Scots that followed them. There died in this battell of Englishmen, to the number nere hand of three thousand, and amongst other, Magnus (as before ye haue heard) with eleuen other knights of no small account and estimation. Of Scots were lost somewhat about six hundred. There were taken prisoners of Englishmen sir John Penneinton, and sir Robert Hartington knights, and the lord Perrie, sonne to the earle of Northumberland, who helpe his father to pay backe,

whereby he escaped by flight: & besidethis, a great number of other were by the Scots taken prisoners, whome the sword and water had spared.

The earle of Dymont having got this honorable victorie, conueied the chiefest of the prisoners to the castle of Lochmaben, and after repaired to the court, where he was of the king iustlie receiued, honorable feasted, and highlie rewarded: After this, the Scots that dwelled vpon the borders, liued for a season in better quiet: for though the Englishmen wished to haue bene reuenged for this losse and ouerthrow of their people, yet by reason of ciuill wars that shortly after followed, they were constrained to forbear to make anie further wars against the Scots, till better occasion might serue. And for the auoiding of danger that might insue in time of this intestine trouble by forren enemies; they sued to haue a truce with the Scots, which for the terme of three yeares was granted. In this yeare, William earle of Dowglas, with a great companie of nobles and gentlemen, as the lords Hamilton, Grate, Salton, Seiton, and Elphinstoun; also, Calder, Argyll, Cambell, Fraser, and Lauder, knights, went into Italie, and was at Rome in time of the Jubile which was kept there that yeare. He left behind him to gouerne his lands in Scotland, Hugh earle of Dymont that was his brother: but in his absence (by counsell of such as were about him) the king, summoned the erle to appeare before him within 40 daies; & because he came not within that set time, he was put to the horne, & his lands invaded & spoiled.

Whereupon the king sent William Sentclaire earle of Orkades at that time chancelor first into Galloway, and then into Dowglas; where he appointed collectors to take vp (to the kings vie) the revenues of the Dowglas. But when Sentclaire was not of sufficient strength to performe what he thought, because some of the most part refused (though others embraced) him, he returned home without doing anie thing. Wherevnto the king greatlie moued (because he saw his authoritie contemned) called all the Dowglases vnto law, and declared them publicke enemies and detractors of his gouernement. And therevpon (providing an armie against them) he goeth into Galloway; where at their first coming (since their captains were all in prison) a small part of the armie (seeing the enemies dispersed) fled to rougher parts of the countrie to hide themselves: turned backe to the king without anie thing done. Whereat the king highlie offended, in that such transgreding theues should so lightlie dare to contemne his power, followed them into their starting holes and caues, and with no great labor, took the castle of Lochmaben, reducing the countrie of Dowglas (with extreme labor of his souldiers) to his subiection, at what time he leuelled the castle thereof equall with the ground.

The earle advertised hereof, with all speed returned home through England; and sent his brother James vnto the king, to know his pleasure: who commanding the earle to see his countries (namelie Angusdale) purged of theues and robbers, pardoned him of all offences, and receiued him into fauor againe, so that he was also at some time proclaimed the kings lieutenant; but shortly after going into England without the kings licence, to common with the king of England about the recovery of losses suffered by the Englishmen by certene inuasions (as he alleged) the king took the matter in verie ill part, for that he should thus be so to be had in contempt of the king: and to that he mistruied also, least there were some secret practises in hand to the prejudice of him, and his realme: so that he deemed not a little to be the earle, who being thereof advertised, came

The earle of Northumberland escaped by flight.

1448. Buch. 1450. Less. A truce for three yeares betwene England and Scotland.

The earle of Dowglas goeth into Italie.

Fr. Thia. Buchanan. The earle of Dowglas goeth into Italie.

The earle of Dowglas goeth into England without licence of the king of Scots.

Sir John Penneinton.

Wallase of Craggie.

The earle of Dymont exhorteth his armie.

The battell is begun.

Magnus is slaine.

The Englishmen put to flight.

The number slain.

Prisoners taken.

3. Ke. On made mon.

reichon mmed.

48.

in. lib. 2.

46.

Englishmen duties Scot.

50.

Scots & Eng.

ght na Magnus

earle of ont ge of the ish armie

English Scot-

The earle of
Dowglas
suech for par-
don.

came in humble wise to the king, & besought him of pardon, if he had in ante wisse offended him, assuring him that from thenceforth, he would neuer commit ante act that might tend to his maiesties displeasure.

The enuie
thole that
bare rule a-
bout the king.

Herewith the quene also and other noble men made sute to the king for the earles pardon, so that in the end he was receiued againe into fauor, but yet discharged of bearing ante publike office, which pinched him so sore (namelie for that his aduersaries William Cheynton lord chancelor, and the earle of Mearne seemed to beare all the rule about the king) that he sought to dispatch the chancelor, procuring certeine of his seruants and friends to assault him on a morning, as he was comming forth of Edinburgh, but yet he escaped to his castell of Cheynton, although wounded in ded right sore, and with in few daies after, gathering a power of his kinsmen, friends, & allies, he returned againe to Edinburgh, and had destroyed (as was thought) the earle of Dowglas at that present, if he had not shifted away the more speedlie, who being thus to his great greife, and no small dishonor chased out of Edinburgh, devised which way he might best be reuenged; and for the more easie accomplishment of his purpose, he procured the earles of Crawford and Ross to ioyne with him in that quarrell against Cheynton and other his complices, by force of which confederacie they covenanted to assist one another against the malice of the said Cheynton, and all other their aduersaries.

The seeketh to
destroie the
L. chancelor.

The Dow-
glas con-
strained to
flee out of
Edinburgh.
He maketh a
part.

The earle of Dowglas having concluded this bond of confederacie, bare himselfe verte high, in presuming further thereof than stood with reason: and this was one great cause of the kings displeasure now pasingly increased against the said earle. An other cause was this: a sort of theues and robbers brake into the lands of the lord John Herres, a noble man, and one that had continued ever faithfull to the king, taking with them out of the same lands a great boord of cattell. And whereas the said lord Herres complained unto the earle of Dowglas of that wrong, because the offenders were inhabiting within his come; and yet could haue no redresse; he attempted to fetch out of Annandale some prey, wherewith to satisfie in part the wrong which had bene offered him by those thimners and robbers. But such was his euill hap; that taken he was with his retinue, and committed to prison; and shortly after by commandment of the earle of Dowglas he was hanged as a felon, notwithstanding that the king by an herald commanded the contrarie.

The Lord
Herres han-
ged.

The king being sore offended herewith (as he had no lesse cause) passed over his displeasure with silence; till he saw time and opportunitie to reuenge the same: but in the meane season marie an honest man bought the bargain right deuile, being spoiled of that he had, and other wise well intreated, and yet durst not the meane sort once complaine for feare of further indignite: where the higher powers also forelamented the great disorders daily increasing, and yet were not able in anie wise to reuenge the same, inso much as it was greatly doubted, least the earle of Dowglas, Crawford, Ross, Mearne, and other of that faction might put the king before his seat. Which doubt being put into the kings head, by doing him into no small perplexitie, wherupon by courteous messages he sent for the earle of Dowglas, willing him to departe to his place, forourning then in Strueling castell, which he refused to do, till he had assurance vnder the kings great seale for his safe coming and going. And thus he came to the court at Strueling, where the king

The confeder-
acie mis-
trasted.

The king sent
deth for the
earle of Dow-
glas.

toke him aside, & in secret talke moued and requested him to forsake the league and bond of friendship betwixt him and the earle of Crawford, and other such his confederats.

There was a secret murmuring amongst a number, that this earle of Dowglas purposed to make a pwoe on a day to get the garland beside the kings head. In ded by reason of his kinsmen and allies, he was of more puissance in the realme, than (as it was thought) stood with the suertie of the kings estate, vntill he were the more faithfull. He had at the same time two brethren that were also earles, as Archemald earle of Murray, and Hugh, or (as other haue) George earle of Dymont, beside the earle of Angus, and the earle of Morstoun, that were of his surname and blood, with a great number of other lords, knights, and men of great possessions and linings, all of the same surname, and lincked in friendship and alliance with other the chiefest linages of all the realme. Hereto (by reason there had bene so manie valiant men and worthy captiues of the Dowglases one after another, as it had bene by succession) the people and commons of Scotland bare such good will and fauour towards that name, that they were readie to ride and go with them, they cared not whither, nor against whome. It is said, that the earles of Dowglases might haue raised thirtie or forty thousand warlike persons readie at their commandement, whensoever it had pleased them to call. In ded the Dowglases had enen the gouernement of all matters pertaining vnto the defense of the realme, so that the men of war had them still in all the estimation and honor that might be.

But now to the purpose, touching the conference had betwixt king James the second, and the earle of Dowglas: it chanced in the end (vpon that occasion I know not) that the earle answered the king somewhat ouerthwartlie, wherewith the king toke such indignation, that the earle hereupon was slaine by him, and such other as were there about him, on Shous euen. Then after the earle was thus made awaie, his brethren made open warre against the king, and slue all such of his friends and seruants, as they might incounter with: insomuch that those which travelled by the high waies, were in doubt to confesse whether they belonged to the king, or to the Dowglases. The Lord of Cadzow being in the toterne of Strueling, with a great companie of the earle of Dowglases friends, in reuenge of his death the continentlie burnt that toterne, and did mane other great displeasures to the king and his subiects, setting forth proclamations against the king and his counsell, for the violatng of the assurance granted (as before is said) to the earle of Dowglas.

And that with such despite, as in the 6 kalends of Aprill, binding a wooden truncheon to an horse talle, they fasten thereto the safe conuol of the king and the nobles, which they forbore not to traile vp and downe the streets (not sparing to reuile the king) with bitter and heauie words of contumelie and exclamation. With which not satisfied, when they were come into the market place, they did with the noise of fine huihozed hornes, and by the mouth of a crier, proclame the king and all such as were about him, faithbreakers, perjurors, and such persons as were to be denounced enemies of all godnesse and good men. And yet supposing this not a sufficient reuenge to quench the furie of their rebellious minds, they run with like rage, and with like order do spoile the countreys & possessions of all such as took part with the king, and did still remaine in the execution of their obediēt dutie. For they besieged the castell of Dalkeith, binding the nobles (as consured and periares enemies of all vertue) not to depart from thence,

Carles of the
surname of the
Dowglases.

The linage
and great al-
liance of the
Dowglases.

The tone that
the people
bare toward
the name of
the Dow-
glases.

The earle of
Dowglas an-
swereth the
king over-
thwartlie, and
is slaine.

1442. Buch.
His brethren
make warre
against the
king.

Strueling
is burnt.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. li. ii.

The king
would haue
him.

Collare of
Bannanwin
betrath the
rit of Craw-
ford.

The earle of
Huntlie
indogert.

1452.

Lands giuen
to the earle of
Huntlie.

The earle of
Murray.

The earle of
Crawford
poised.

Lords cited
to appeare.

Writings set
up in contempt
of the king.

thence before they had taken and spoiled the same, being grievously offended with John the lord of that place, because that he with the earle of Angus had severed themselves from the opinion and faction of the Douglasse, whose furie growing still to extremitie, found such support by the inclining multitude that the king was put to his shifts that he was determined to have left the realme, and to have fled by sea into France, had not James benedic the bishop of saint Andrews caused him to staie, on the hope he had of assistance onelie by the earle of Huntley, which earle hearing that the Douglasse had gathered an armie in the south against the king, raised an other armie in the north to aid the king.

On the other side the earle of Crawford, having assembled a great power, encountered him at Bietthune, in purpose to stop the earle of Huntleys passage, where betwixt them was fought a fore battell, and the earle of Crawford chased into Finlwin, so that manie noble men, gentlemen, and commons were slaine, and amongst other the earle of Crawford's brother was one. Hector Boetius writeth, that John Cullace of Bannanwin, whome the earle of Crawford had appointed to lead them that bare the battell ayes, or (as I maie terme them) the bilmen, in the left wing of his armie, fled of purpose in the hottest of the fight, so left the middle ward naked on the one side of the chiefest aid that the said earle had, and so the victorie by that meanes onelie inclined to the kings standard, which the earle of Huntley had there with him. But howsoever it was, the said erle of Huntley had the honor of the field, who neuertheless lost diuerse of his men also, though nothing so manie as his aduersaries did. This battell was fought the eighteenth of Maie, being the Ascension day, 1452.

The earle of Huntley the same day before the battells ioined, gaue lands to the principall men of those surnames that were with him, as to the Forbesses, Melies, Jouings, Ogilues, Grants, and diuerse other. Which bountyfullnesse of the earle made them to fight more valiantlie. In recompense whereof the king gaue to the said earle the lands of Badzenot & Lochquhaber. In the meane time, Archembald Douglas earle of Murray burnt the peill of Straboggie, pertaining to the erle of Huntley, and haried the lands thereabouts. In reuenge whereof, the erle of Huntley at his returning backe, burnt & haried all the lands of the earldome of Murray. In the meane time, at a parlement holden at Edenburgh, the earle of Crawford was denounced a traitor, and all his lands and goods deemed to be forfeited into the kings hands. James earle of Douglas, James Lord Hamilton, the earles of Murray, and Dymont, the lord of Baluay, and manie other of that faction, were by publike proclamation made by an herald, commanded to appeare by a day to vnderlie the law. But in the next night that followed the day of this proclamation, certeine of the Douglasse servants that were sent priuie to Edenburgh, to vnderstand what was done there, fastened writings vpon the church doores, sealed with the Douglasse seale in this forme. The earle from henceforth will neither obeie citation, nor other commandement. Beside this, in the same writings, they charged the king with manie heinous crimes, calling him a murderer, perjured, false, and a bloudsucker.

The king therefore assembled an armie, and went forth against them: but because the time of the yere was contrarie to his purpose, he could do no great hurt to his enemies, although he burnt vp their corne, and droue awaie their cattell. But the Douglasse seemed to passe little for the kings malice, and the erle himselfe married his brothers wife the coun-

tesse Beatrice, & sent to Rome for a licence to haue that marriage made lawfull: but by the kings agents in that court, the earles suite might not be obtained. Wherefore he kept hir still in place of his wife, and continuing in rebellion against the king, the next spring, and for the more part of the tearme of two yeeres next ensuing, he haried and spoiled the kings possessions; and the king on the other part wasted Annandale, and all other the lands and possessions that belonged to the said earle of Douglas & his friends: but shortly after, as the king passed through Angus, to go into the north parts of the realme, the earle of Crawford came and submitted himselfe vnto him, craving mercie in most humble and lamentable wise, and obtained the kings pardon through mediation of James benedic bishop of saint Andrews, and sir William Creighton; but the said earle liued not past sir moneths after, departing this life by force of an hot ague in the yere 1454.

The same yere, the king called a parlement at Edenburgh, in the which James earle of Douglas, and his brothers wife the countesse Beatrice (whome he had taken to him by waie of a pretended & feined marriage) Archembald Douglas earle of Murray, George Douglas earle of Dymont, and John Douglas baron of Baluay, were forfeited & condemned of treason. The earldome of Murray was giuen to sir James Creighton, or rather restored to him from whome it had bene longfullie taken by the vniuersall sentence of William earle of Douglas, who had procured it to be assigned vnto his brother the said Archembald, though the right remained in the said sir James Creighton. But yet when the said sir James Creighton could not keepe that earldome without enuie of diuerse and sundrie persons, he handled the matter so, that shortly after it returned againe to the kings hands. Whereupon at this parlement, George Creighton was created erle of Cathness, & William Haie constable of Scotland was made earle of Erroll. There were also diuerse created lords of the parlement, whose titles were as follow: Darlie, Halls, Boid, Lile, and Lorne. After the breaking vp of the parlement, the king made a iourne against his aduersaries into Galloway, and with small adu brought all the castles of that countrie into his possession, and then turning into Douglasdale, because the inhabitants thereof would not obeie him, he abandoned the spoile thereof vnto his souldiours, who practised no small crueltie against the inhabitants.

Whereupon the Douglasse being diuised to their shifts, the lord James Hamilton of Cadzow was sent from them into England to sue for aid, but in vaine, for none there would be granted: whereupon returning to his friends, he counselled the earle of Douglas to trust to his owne forces; and sith the same were farre superior in number of men to the kings power, he gaue likewise counsell without delay, to set vpon the king, that the matter might be tried by chance of battell, the onelie meane to assure them of their liues and estates, for otherwise he saw not how anie vnfeined agreement might be concluded, the matter being now passed so farre forth to an extremitie. But the earle of Douglas offerlie (as some write) refused to fight against his soueraigne and true liege lord, if any other meane might be found. Whereupon diuerse great lords which were with him there on his side, being men of great wit, and no lesse experience, aduised him yet to keepe together his host, till by their trauell and assistance a peace were concluded, and pardon obtained for all parts: for if the armie were once broken vp, all hope was then past (as they alledged) for anie indifferent conditions

The earle of Douglas married his brothers wife.

The earle of Crawford submitted himselfe to the king, and was pardoned. He departed this life. 1455. Buch.

1454. A parlement.

The Douglasse forfeited, or (as I may say) attainted.

Creations of noble men.

Douglasdale giuen in spoile to the men of warre.

The counsell of the lord Hamilton.

Io. Maior.

The king would haue fled.

Cullace of Bannanwin betwixt the erle of Crawford.

The earle of Huntley's weapon.

1452.

Lands giuen to the earle of Huntley.

The earle of Murray.

The earle of Crawford's parliament.

Lords cited to appeare.

Writings set vpon the church doores.

conditions of peace to be obtained.

Herewith also, the lord Hamilton being wiser than the rest, had the Dowglas fidelewell, and so departed, concluding that he should never see so faire a day againe, therein he might haue cast the dice for the whole kingdome. And being thus departed from the Dowglas, he repaired to the king as then lying at the siege of Abircorne, who sent him to the castell of Roselaine, there to remaine under safe keeping with the earle of Orkente, to whom the said castell belonged: but at length, the king did not onlie pardon the lord Hamilton of all passed offenses, but also receiued him into such fauor, that he gaue him his eldest daughter in marriage, as after shall appeare. But now vpon the withdrawing thus

of the said lord Hamilton from the Dowglas, because the king had set forth an open proclamation of pardon to all those that would forsake the earle of Dowglas, the most part of the same earles compaignie departed from him, by reason whereof he fled into England, together with his brethren. The king lying at the siege of Abircorne, lost diuerse of his men, besides manie that were wounded; but yet taking first a strong tower, being one of the chiefest finnes of that fortresse, shortly after hee wan the rest.

The earle of Dowglas being withdraue (as yee haue heard) into England, within a while after got together certeine companies of men, and with the same returned againe into Scotland by the west borders, in hope to find friends in those parties: but such as the king had appointed there to defend the countrie, assembling themselues together, and setting vpon him, discomfited his people, slue his brother Archembald, and toke the erle of Dumont prisoner, being first sore wounded. The baron of Baluay escaped into a wood, and so got alyue. The earle himselfe also (as Hector Boetius saith) escaped by flight, and got vnto Dunstaffage, where finding Donald earle of Ross and lord of the Isles, he procured him (being of nature inclined and readie inough to follow such counsell) to make warre in his fauour against the king. And after he had once let him on worke, he got him backe againe into England. Donald wasted not onelie the kings possessions that lay nere to Dunstaffage, but also passing through Argyle, did much hurt in all places where he came. He inuaded also the Ile of Arrane, and chased the bishop of Lismore, constraining him to take sanctuary. This done, he entered into Lochgabair, & so into Murray land, where he burnt the towne of Inuerness, and wan the castell by a guilefull traine.

In the meane time, the earle of Dumont after he was recovered of his hurts (as the said Boetius writeth) was presented to the king, and after he had remained in prison a certeine time, he was at length beheaded. Moreover the countesse Beatrice, after she saw no hope left that the earle of Dowglas should recover his former estate, came to the king, and submitted herselfe, laiting all the blame in the earle, who had procured hir vnto such vnlawfull marriage with him, being hir former husbands brother. The king receiued hir right courteously, and gaue to hir the baronie of Baluay, to mainteine therewith hir estate. Shortly after also the countesse of Roselaine fled from hir husband, & came to the king for feare of hir husbands crueltie, wherof partlie she had alreadye tasted. The king because he had made the marriage betwixt hir and hir husband, assigned hir forth sufficient reuenues also for the maintenance of hir estate. About the same time Patrike Thoznton one of the kings seruants, but a fauourer of the Dowglas, slue John Sandlands of Calder the kings cousine, and Alane Stewart at Dunbretton, so that

they added the contrarie faction: but the king getting the latter into his hands, caused him and his complices to die for their wicked offense committed. The vniuersitie of Glasgow was founded about this tyme by and within, bishop of that see. In the yere following, died William Hare earle of Erroll, and constable of Scotland: also George Creichon earle of Carnes, and William Creichon chiefe of that familie.

In this meane while, the earle of Dowglas remaining in England, procured the Englishmen diuers times to make rodes into Scotland, wherby he lost (as the Scottish writers affirme) the loue of his owne countremen, when they saw him thus ioine with the Englishmen; to the damage of his native land. At one time, Henrie earle of Northumberland, and the said earle of Dowglas inuaded the Pers, but taking little heed to themselves, and suffering their people to ride abrode to harie the countrie without order; Dowglas earle of Angus with a mightie armie of Scottishmen set vpon them, and put them to flight, sleaing diuers, and taking to the number of seuen hundred prisoners. Thus (as should appeare) the earle of Dowglas in vaine sought to disquiet his countrie, for all his friends in Scotland continued faithfull to the king, who had granted peace to all other of the Dowglas and their complices: for it was Gods will the matter should be taken vp without more bloodshed, that the right line of the Scottish kings might be preferred. [For (as it appeareth) he was amongst the English inuading Scotland, subdued and taken by the barons Johnston and Colpull, who presented him vnto the king, wherupon the king after a sort banished him into the monastirie of Lendoze, where he was bountifullie and honorable receiued (according to his nobilitie) of the religious persons, in which place he liued manie yeres, and then died.]

And though the almighty God might haue brought that to passe by other meanes, according as it should haue pleased his good will and omnipotent power; yet he chose this way, whereby the effusion of much blood might be avoided, which by still battell had bene spilled, if the parties hauing their hearts filled with rancor & ire, had buckled together in battell. But the king, vnto the aduise of his kinsman James Benedie archbishop of S. Andrews, compassed his purpose in the end, dispatching out of the way such as he anie waies forth mistrusted, of which number namelie were the Dowglas, whose puissance and authoritie not without cause he euermore suspected. Many haue reported (as before is said) that in the beginning king James the second, though feare of the great power of these Dowglas, was in mind to haue fled the realme, but being recomforted by the counsell and authoritie of the said bishop James Benedie, he aduanced his studie to matters of greater importance.

The said Benedie turned the earle of Angus, being of the surname of the Dowglas, and brother to him by his mother, to take part with the king. He procured also diuers other of the same blood and surname, to revolt from the other confederats, and to submit themselues vpon promise of pardon vnto the kings mercie; and so infolding the forces of such as were aduersaries to the king, in the end he had them all at his pleasure. It was thought, that forso much as the Dowglas had their lands lying so vpon the west and middle marches of the realme, (that no man might beare anie rule in those parts, but onelie they themselues) if they had happlie joined with the Englishmen, considering the great intelligence betwixt them, which they had in all other parts of the realme, that by kinned and alliance, the realme might

The vniuersitie of Glasgow founded.

1455.
Death of noble men.

The lord Hamilton departeth from the Dowglas.

The earle of Dowglas his compaignie shrinketh from him.

He withdraweth into England.

He inuadeth Scotland.

The earle of Dowglas discomfited. Archembald Dowglas earle of Murray slaine. Earle of Dumont taken. Donald earle of Ross.

The earle of Dumont beheaded.

The countesse of Dowglas Beatrice submitted hir selfe to the king. The countesse of Ros.

Patrike Thoznton.

Fr. Thin.

1454.
Lectus lib. 8.
pag. 305.

Laws of the king.

A general pardon granted.

1455
Parliament holden.

The Isles & highland quietie governed.

Donald earle of Ross, and lord of the Isles.

James Benedie archbishop of S. Andrews, chiefe chancellor to the king.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.
lib. 11.

The practice of bishop Benedie.

Great power cause of suspicion.

might haue fallen into great perill: for trulie it is a dangerous thing (as Io. Maior saith) for the estate of a realme to haue men of great power and authoritie inhabiting on the borders and vitermost parts thereof. For if they chance (vpon anie occasion giuen) to renounce their obedience to their naturall prince & supreme gouernor, the prejudice may be great and irrecoverable, that oftentimes thereof insurth; as well appeareth in the earles of March, and other before mentioned in this historie: and likewise in France by the duke of Burgognie, Britaine, and Normandie: for till those countries were incorporated and annexed vnto the crowne of France, the kings of that realme were oftentimes put to great hinderance through rebellion by them, whome they accounted for their subiects.

But now to returne where I left. After the Dowglas was once dispatched, and things quieted, King James the second began then to reigne and rule reallie, not doubting the controlment of anie other person. For then he ordeined lawes for his people as seemed best to his liking, commanding the same to be kept vnder great penalties and forfeitures. And being counseled chieflie by the bishop of saint Andrews, James Benedicte that was his vncle, and the earle of Arkenie, he passed through all the parts of his realme, granting a generall pardon of all offenses passed. And so he ruled and gouerned his subiects in great quietnesse, and caused iustice to dwelle to be ministered on all sides, that it was said in his daies, how he caused the rath bush to keepe the cow.

In the yere 1455, the king held a parlement, in which were manie good lawes made and established for the weale of all the realme, as in the booke of the acts of parlement is contained. He used the matter also in such wise with the principall capitaines of the Isles, and of the hie lands, that the same were as quietlie gouerned, as anie part of the low lands, shewing all obedience as well in paying such duties as they owed to the king for their lands, as also in readinesse to serue in the warres with great companies of men, as became them to do: speciallie Donald lord of the Isles and earle of Ross, who had before joined himselfe in confederacie with the earles of Douglas and Crawford against the king, and had taken into his hands the kings house, and castell of Inuernesse (as before ye haue heard) naming himselfe king of the Isles.

Nevertheless, he was now at length reconciled to the king, and gaue pledges for his good demeanour, and afterwards brought to the king three thousand men in aid at the siege of Roxburgh, whose reconciliation was after this maner. When this Donald perceived aduerser fortune to besiege him on euerie side, he sent messengers to the king, craving peace and pardon for himselfe and for his offenses. When comming before the king (and with manie humble speeches, remembering the manie parts of clemencie which the king had used to the earle of Crawford, and such as followed his faction) they did so purge the fault of Donald (by transferring the same to the fatall rage and iniurie of the present times, and by promising in his behalfe that hereafter he should liue most quietlie in dutifull obedience) that they moued the kings mind to haue compassion vpon him.

But yet the king answered in a meane sort betwene both, not vterlie pardoning, nor flatlie reflecting him: for (saith he) there be yet manie shewes extant of his wickednesse, and he hath not giuen forth anie one token of a changed mind. Wherefore, to the end that we may beleue the same to be true (which you haue promised in his behalfe) hereafter to become a dutifull subiect and lo-

uing neighbour to vs, and to those which are about him, he must with repentance (proceeding from an vnfeined tong) craue pardon from vs whome he hath grauoullie offended, and (with sufficient restitution) recompense those whome (by wronging) he hath injured: besides which also, he must with some worthy exploit wipe awaie the memory and blot of all his former committed wickednes. And although I well know that no vertue doth moze besmeare a kinglie maiestie than clemencie, yet we ought so to provide, that (measuring all things by the line of reason) the wicked war not so proud and rebellious (by ouermuch lenitie and losse gouernement) as the god may be excited to the honest performance of their dutie by fauour and iustice. Wherefore I will inioine a time to Donald, and the rest of his associates, wherein they may openlie shew some deeds of an altered disposition, and from henceforth we will so account of him, as his works and not his words shall iustifie him to be. But in the meane time, I will him to rest in quiet, leaving it in the power of him and his, whether he, and they, will hereafter be accounted (by due deserts) happie or miserable. Which said, the messengers departed, and Donald rested satisfied.)

In the meane while great dissention rose in England betwene the two houses of Lancaster & Yorke; the king being principall of the house of Lancaster, was taken himselfe at the battell of saint Albons. But the queene with hir sonne the prince, and Henrie the yong duke of Summerset, with diuers other fled into the north parts of England, and sent to the king of Scotland to desire him of aid, who vpon good aduise taken with his counsell, for that king Henrie had euer kept well the peace with the realme of Scotland, and also for reuenge of his vncle the duke of Summerset his death, prepared an armie of twentie thousand men to passe into England: and in the meane time all the north parts of England, hearing that king James was ready to support the queene of England, joined with hir, and passed forward into the south parts, constraining the duke of Yorke to flee the realme, and so king Henrie intored the gouernement of his realme againe, and for that time concluded an agreement with the duke of Yorke his aduersarie, which lasted not long.

The duke of Yorke remembering how ready king James was to prepare an armie in support of his aduersarie king Henrie, procured the borderers to make incursions vpon the Scottish subiects, & would suffer no rebelle to be had, nor daies of truce to be kept on the borders, as in time of peace the custome was. Whereupon king James raised a power, and in person entered with the same into England, doing great hurt by destroing diuers towne, castles and peiles in Northumberland, the bishoprike and other parts, till at length vpon faire promises made by the Englishmen, he returned into his owne country. [At this time, the art of printing was first invented in the citie of Mentz in Germanie, but whether to great commoditie or discommoditie of learning, I leaue to the iudgement of others, saith Lescus.]

After this, king Henrie of England, perceiving that the duke of Yorke by the counsell of the earle of Warwick, ceased not to practise conspiracies against him, sent estones to king James, requiring him of aid against them, and promised therefore to restore vnto the king of Scotland the lands in Northumberland, Cumberland, the bishoprike of Durham, and such like, which the kings of Scotland had held before. This offer was accepted, and by treaties and contracts accorded, sealed, and interchanged betwixt the two princes (as the Scottishmen alledge.) The yere next following, at the queene of Englands desire

Dissent in England.

King James invaded England.

Fr. Thim Lescus lib. 8. pag. 308. The art of printing first invented.

1458.

1459.

D. J.

desire

1460.

desire to support his against the house of Poike, king James with a great armie entered England, but after that the queene in the meane time had slaine the duke of Poike, & got the upper hand of his enemies, at the same queenes request, he retired into Scotland againe. Nevertheless shortly after, when the earles of March and Marwick sought still to mainteine their quarrell against the queene of England, she was constrained to withdraue into the north parts, and to desire king James to approach closenes with his armie vnto the borders: which he did, meaning to win the castles of Rockburgh and Marke, which were amongst other things promised to be deliuered vnto him by king Henrie, and so comming to Rockburgh, laied his armie round about that castle, and planted his siege in full warlike manner.

Where the king hauing great experience in knowledge of shooting great artillerie, departed from his campe, accompanied with the earle of Angus, and others, and came to the trenches where the great ordinance was planted, which he caused to be shot off. And here by great misfortune, this worthy prince James the second, was slaine by the slice of a great peece of artillerie, which by ouercharging chanced to breake, and slue not onelie the king standing somewhat nere it, but also hurt the earle of Angus, with other: being a notable president from henceforth, how such great princes approach so nere within danger of such peeces of ordinance, when they are shot off. He was thus killed the thirde day of August, in the yere of his life 29, of his reigne 24, and after the incarnation 1460. His bodie was buried with all funerall obsequies according to his estate, within the monasterie of Holie rood house at Edinburgh, the people generallie lamenting his death with no lesse sorrow and dolefull mone, than as is seene in a priuat house for the decesse of the welbeloued master and owner thereof.

In time of warre, amongst his subjects in the campe, he behaved himselfe so gentlie towards all men, that they seemed not to feare him as their king, but to reuerence & loue him like a father. He would ride vp and downe amongst them, and eat & drinke with them, euen as he had bene fellowlike with the meanest. He had issue by his wife queene Marie three sonnes, and two daughters. His eldest sonne named James, succeeded him in the kingdome; the second named Alexander, was created duke of Albanie; and his third sonne called John, was made earle of Mar. The eldest of his daughters the Hamilton had in marriage (as before is said) and also after shall be mentioned.

* All the time of the reigne of this king, christian religion did greatlie flourish amongst the Scots: for there were amongst them twelue notable and famous bishops, whereof the chiefest were James Kennedy bishop of saint Andriwes, Carnebull bishop of Glasgou, Thomas Spenser bishop of Aberdeen, and Henrie Lichon bishop of Murray. At what time likewise there were manie religious abbats that kept such great houses, as both the nobilitie and communalitie traouelling through out the kingdome, did neuer almost lodge in ante publicke hosterie, but in the monasteries: which were neuer vered or spoiled, during the time of the ciuill warres of the kingdome. Beside these men of eminent learning, there flourished also Nicholas Widdone, and John Eldmaire, singular diuines, with manie other doctors laudable seene in all kind of learning. In the reigne of which king also, Charles the 7, king of France, for singular service done vnto him by the Scots, in the warres (betweene the English and the French) did honorable indowmant of the Scots (for recompense thereof) with manie rich possessions in

quitaine, who by that meanes (settling themselves in that countrie) were the originall of manie worthie families of that prouince, amongst which is that famous kintred of Calbell de la Campana in Tolouse, at this time greatlie flourishing, which had his beginning from Calbell a thane (or baron) being knight in the north parts of Scotland: for the grandfather of him which is now liuing, head of that house did insoy the place of magistrat or ruler of the Capitolline in that citie, hauing that title confirmed to his posteritie. This mans sonne Peter Calbell being a senator in the high court of Tolouse (commonlie called the parlement) was for his singular learning and wisdom had in great honoz of all men during his life, which stretched to extreme age. In whose place came John (the eldest sonne of the said Peter) who both at this day possesse the roome of his father, as a senator of the said court of Tolouse. And his other children with great honoz are indued with other offices of gouernement in the said citie.)

Some strange sights there appeared before the death of this king James the second: for the day before he was slaine, a blazing star was plainlie seene, which signified (as was thought) the death of the said king. In the yere before the siege, there was in Dundee an herimophodyt, that is, a person with both shapen, but esteemed for a woman onelie, till it was proued, that lieng with his maisters daughter night where she dwelt, she had got the young damsell with child; for the which act, because she had counterfeited hir selfe a woman, and yet had wrought the part of a man, she was condemned to be buried quicke, and suffered according to that iudgement. At the same time, there was a certelie these, that with his familie liued apart from the companie of men, remaining secretlie within a den in Angus called Fenisden, who vsed to kill young persons, and to feed on their flesh, for the which abhominable offense, being apprehended with his wife and all his familie, they were burnt to death. One of his daughters that was scarce twelue moneths of age, onelie excepted, the which being preserved and brought vp in Dundee, before she came to the age of twelue yeres, she was taken in the like crime for the which her father died, whereupon she was iudged to be buried quicke: and going to execution, when the people in great multitudes followed hir, in wondering at so horrible an offense committed by one of hir age and sexe, she turned to them that thus detested hir wicked doing, and with a countenance representing hir cruel inclination, said to them: What need you thus to raile vpon me, as if I had done an heinous act contrary to the nature of man? I tell you, that if you knew how pleasant mans flesh is in taste, there would none of you all forbear to eat it. And thus with an impenitent and stubborne mind she suffered the appointed execution.

After the death of James the second, his sonne James the third a child of seuen yeres of age succeeded, and forthwith was sent for to the siege of Rockburgh, whither he was conuited by the queene, a woman of a stout stomach, representing the manlike race of his countrie Gelderland, of the which she was descended. For comming with his sonne thus to the siege, she spent not time in lamenting and womanish bewailing the irrecoverable losse of his husband, but rather in comforting the lords, whose part had bin to haue comforted hir: and about all things she exhorted them with all diligence to imploye their whole indowments and forces to the winning of that castle. Whose words so encouraged the capteins and whole armie, that the siege was continued till the castle was wone, rased, and beaten downe flat to the ground: and the young king was crowned at

King James the second is slaine.

Alias 17.
22. Buchan.

1460.
The buriall of James the second.
The lamentation of the people.

The amiable conditions of James the second.

The issue of James the second.
James the third king of Scotland.
Alexander duke of Albanie.
John earle of Mar.
Fr. Thin.
Lefseus lib.8.
pag.310.

Lefseus lib.8.
pag.300.

A blazing starre.

An herimophodyt, that is, a person being both man and woman.

A wicked these that used to kill young persons and to eat them.

This daughter saileth to the like practise.

His words going to execution.

James the third.

The stout stomach of the queene.

Rockburgh castle taken and broken downe.

1461. I.M. at
1460. Lefse.

works belie-
pro and down.

men go-
arnops cho-
in.

Donald of the
Jus effones
nobility.

Donald be-
come man.

Whitherto hath
Rector Boc-
tus continued
the Scottish
history.

He was killed
1461.

Henrie king
of England
by late con-
tract commeth
into Scot-
land.

1461. I. M.
1460. Lelle.

warke belie-
ged and wonn.

Heuen go-
urners cho-
sen.

blasing
rrc.

hermo-
zodpt, that
a person
ing both
an and wo-
an.

Swicked
hefe that b-
d to kill
ong persons
nd to eat
em.

his daughter
alleth to the
ike praife.

hir words
going to ex-
ecution.

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James the
third.

The stout fo-
mach of the
queene.

Roxburgh
castell taken
and broken
downe.

Donald of the
Fles effraines
willeth.

Donald de-
come miad.

Hitherto hath
Hector Boe-
tus continued
the Scottish
hystorie.
He was killed
1461.
Henrie king
of England
by false con-
suet cometh
into Scot-
land.

at Kelso, with the vniuersall consent and great re-
tolling of all the noble men, and other being there
present in the armie.

This done, they besieged the castell of Warke,
which likewise they took, and threwe downe, and af-
terwards the king with the nobles of his realme
came to Edinburgh, to take order for the quiet go-
uernement of the realme. And because the king was
young, there were chosen seven regents to gouerne
both king & realme, as these, the queene his mother, 10
James Benedie bishop of S. Andrews, that was
sisters sonne to James the first, the bishop of Glas-
cote, the earles of Angus, Huntlie, Argile, and
Dukeneie. These, so long as James Benedie lived,
agreed well together about the gouernement of the
realme; but within a while after his deceasse, they
fell at square, or rather before, as appeareth by Hec-
tor Boetius, who saith, that in the second yere of
this kings reigne, there was discord in biewing be-
twixt the queene and the archbishop Benedie, who
perceiuing that the woman sought to vsurpe wholie
the gouernement vnto hir selfe, withstood hir in that
behalf, in so much that it was doubted least the
matter would haue broken forth into some ciuill
warre, if the bishops of Glasgote, Dunkeld, and A-
berden, and certeine abbats had not taken in hand
to trauell betwixt the parties for an attonement, who
did so much in the matter, that they compounded the
variance in this wise.

The queene mother was appointed to haue the
charge of the kings person, and of his brethren, Alex-
ander duke of Albanie, and John earle of Mar, and
likewise of his two sisters; but as for the administra-
tion and gouernance of the realme, the should leaue
it vnto the peres. There were therefore elected by
common consent as rulers, the bishops of Glasgote
and Dunkeld, the earle of Dukeneie, the lord Gra-
ham, Thomas Boid, and the chancelor. About the
same time, one Alane Beir, in hope to get the heri-
tage of his brother, John lord of Lozne took him,
and kept him in prison. But Colen Campbell earle
of Argile, taking great indignation with so pro-
sumptuous a part, gathered a power, and comming
against Beir, took him, and set his brother at liber-
tie, and brought the offendor vnto Edinburgh, where
he died in prison. Moreover, shortly after Donald
lord of the Fles and earle of Kossle, who had serued
obedientlie in the armie at Roxburgh, and was (as
outwardlie appeared) well reconciled, began aneie
to vse his old maners, spoiling & harrieng the whole
countrie of Atholl, and took the earle thereof, and
the countesse his wife captiues with him into the
Fles.

To repress his inturious attempts, the regents
together were preparing an armie; but therewith
came true aduertisements, that the said lord of the
Fles, and other the principall offendors of his com-
panie, were stricken through the hand of God with
a certeine frensie or madnesse, and had lost all their
ships and spoiles in the sea, so that the earle of Atholl
and his ladie were ressozed, and those frantike per-
sons were brought vnto saint Wides church in A-
tholl, for the reuerie of their health, but it would
not be. Donald himselfe was afterward slaine in
the castell of Inuernes by an Irishman that was a
minstrell. In the yere 1461, Henrie the first king
of England being vanquished by his aduersarie
Edward the fourth, purchased of king James the
third a safe conduct for himselfe and a thousand horse
to enter into Scotland; and hereupon he came to
Edinburgh, and was lodged in the house of the fri-
ers preachers, with his wife queene Margaret, and
his sonne prince Edward. There was also with
him the duke of Excester, and the duke of Sum-

merfet, with manie other of the English nobilitie.

* And to the end this firme amitie thus begun,
might more increase, and be further strengthened:
the two queenes Margaret (of England) and Marie
(of Scotland) both French (by birth and nature) be-
gan to intreat of a mariage (hoping by amitie to
establissh that perfect amitie) to be solemnized be-
tweene the daughter of James the second king of
Scots, and the sonne of Henrie (king of Eng-
land) being called prince of Wales, although none
of them as yet was aboue seven yeaes old. Which
mariage, Philip duke of Burgognie (uncle to the
queene of Scots, and deable enemie to the queene
of England) labored by all means to hinder, by his
ambassador Cruthusius, a noble man and of great
iudgement; for this Philip did vse such bitter enimi-
tie against Reinold, grandfather to the son of king
Henrie by the mothers side, that he did depelie en-
uie anie good successe to happen to anie of that race,
whereby it might increase or florish; and therefore
sought occasion by all deuise to hinder it: for whose
cause, and at whose request, the said mariage was at
that time rather deferred, than vtterlie broken off.
But the end thereof (which was greatlie feared by
this Philip to be the consummation of the mariage)
was by the aduerser fortune of king Henrie vtterlie
disappointed. For (as after shall appeare) this Hen-
rie being incouraged (by the benenolence of the
Scots towards him) and throughtlie confirmed (by
the letters of his friend sent vnto him) dispatched his
wife into France to Reinold his father, to procure
what aid he coulde of his friends beyond the seas, to
helpe to restore him to the kingdome: which iourneie
succeeded not to hir in vaine, obtaining succor from
thence.)

The same time, king Henrie deliuered the towne
& castell of Berwik into the Scottishmens hands,
whether by couenant thereby to haue the foresaid
safe conduct granted, or of his own voluntarie will,
to the end he might haue the more support and fauor
amongest them, it is vncerteine by the variable re-
port of writers. Neuerthelesse, shortly after a truce
was taken betwixt king James and king Edward,
for the tearme of fiftene yeaes, vpon what condi-
tions or promises made on king Edwards part I
find not. This truce was concluded in the moneth of
Maie, in the yere 1462, at the citie of Poike,
whither had bin sent the bishop of Glasgote, the earle
of Argile, keeper of the priue seale, the abbat of Ho-
lie rood house, sir Alexander Boid, and sir William
Crawfson knights, ambassadors and commissio-
ners for king James.

All things in this season were ordered in Scot-
land by the aduise and counsell of James Benedie
bishop of saint Andrews, a man of great wisdom
and policie, as well appeared in his prudent & sage
gouernement of the realme, as well during the mi-
noritie of this James the third, as also in the daies of
his father king James the second. Pierre de Bre-
ze, otherwise called le Seigneur de la Warrenne,
great seneschall of Normandie, was sent by the
French king Lewes the eleuenth, with two thou-
sand fighting men, to aid the part of king Henrie a-
gainst king Edward. This Breze was one most
in fauour with king Charles the seventh, father vnto
the said king Lewes, and therefore (as manie did
suppose) he was appointed by k. Lewes (who greatlie
loued him not) to be chiefe in this iourneie, to the
end his life might be put in hazard both of tempest
on the sea, and also of the enemies hands, he wan the
castels of Wamburgh and Dunstanburgh, which he
cast to the ground, and after took in hand to keepe
the castell of Anwik, and being besieged therein

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.

The queene
went into
France for
aid.

Berwik de-
liuered to the
Scottishmen.

A truce for
15 yeaes.

1462.

James Bene-
die the arch-
shop gouer-
neth the
realme.

Monsieur de
la Warrenne
sent forth of
France to aid
the part of
Margaret
queene of
England.

He keepeth
Anwik cas-
tell, and is
besieged.

Ed. ij.

sent

He is rescu-
ed by the earle
of Angus.

Alias 13000.

Sent for aid to the Scots.

George Dologlasle earle of Angus as then war-
den of the marches, immediatlie raised a power of
23000 men, and comming with the same to the boz-
ders, chose forth of all his numbers five thousand of
the most able horsemen in all his armie, and com-
ming with them to the castell about the middelt of
the day, toke the Frenchmen away with him into
Scotland: the English armie that lay there at siege
beholding the maner, and not once making profer
to fight with him. Some Englishmen there were,
that would faine haue fought with the Scots; but
other (whose counsell was followed) were otherwise
mindeed, alleging that better it were to let them passe
without encounter, sith they left the castell void, than
to leoparde upon the doubtfull chance of battell, for
though their number were not great, yet were they
piked and chosen men, able to atchieue a great enter-
prise.

1463.

The queene
mother died.

Adam Hep-
burns famili-
aritie with
the queene of
Scots, mo-
ther to James
the third.

Alexander
duke of Alba-
nie taken on
the sea.

1464.

King Henrie
returneth into
England.

King Henrie
is imprisoned.

1466.

After this, the firste of Nouember, in the yeare
1463, the queene of Scots, mother to James the
third, died at Edenburgh, and was buried in the
college of the Trinitie, which the hir selfe had found-
ed. This woman, after the deceasse of hir husband
James the second, liued somewhat dissolutelie, pro-
curing Adam Hepburne of Hales a married man to
keepe hir such familiar companie, as sounded great-
lie to hir dishonor: for that she could not with in the
whole realme find some single man amongst all the
nobilitie, with whome she might haue married, & in
some sort to haue auoided the greater open slander &
infamie. In the same yeare, Alexander duke of Al-
banie, and brother to the king, was taken on the
sea by the Englishmen in the moneth of June, as he
was returning from his grandfather the duke of
Gilder: but the bishop of saint Andrewes James
Benedie, caused both the said duke and also the ship,
with all the goods there in being, at the time of the
taking of it, to be restored; for otherwise (as he flat-
lie protested) he would not keepe the truce anie lon-
ger concluded betwixt the two realmes.

The duke of Summerfet, in hope of great fauor
which he should find in England, perswaded king
Henrie to passe thither, and with a great companie
of Scottishmen he entered England, and manie
of the north parts resorted vnto him: but at length,
at his comming to Gram, the lord Montacute with
a great power was readie to giue him battell, and
there discomfited him and his whole armie. The duke
of Summerfet and the lords Hungerford and Kosse
were taken and put to death; the duke at Gram, and
the lords at Newcastell. King Henrie escaped verie
hardlie into Scotland againe, and there remained a
certeine space after, till at length he thought to re-
turne into England in such secret wise, as he should
not haue bene once knowen, till he might haue got
amongest his friends, which would haue supported
him: but such diligent watch was laid for him all
alongst the borders, that he was espied, taken, and
deliuered to king Edward his aduersarie, who shut
him vp in the tower of London till he was at length
there made away, as in the historie of England ye
may see moze at large.

In the yeare 1466, that famous bishop James
Benedie departed this life, and was buried in the
college of saint Sauour, founded by him within
the towne of saint Andrewes in most sumptuous
wise. This prelat in prudent policie excelled all
other Scottish bishops, of whome anie writer maketh
mention. He kept the realme in good quiet, and ob-
serued the truce concluded with the Englishmen, to
the great weale and commoditie of the poore com-
mons. He was verie rich, as appeared by sundrie
buildings and works which he left behind him, as

a memorie of his name. [Whereof the three espe-
cial things for rarenesse and magnificence, were his
college of saint Sauour (wherein youth might be
trained to learning and religion) the other his sepul-
chre, wherein he was buried (being a statelie peece of
worke, such as before had not bene accustomed for
bishops of Scotland) & the third was a ship of won-
derfull burden: all which three, the common people
affirmed were of one price, and stood him in like
charge.] Besides his bishopricke, he held in his hands
the commandarie of the abbete of Pettinweme,
which was worth vnto him eight hundred crowns
by yeare. [Afterward, at the parliament holden in
October and Ianuarie, there were manie edicts
made for the benefit of the commonwealth, & chiefe-
lie for the estate of the merchants; at what time also
there was a proclamation made, that none of the
Englishmen should beare anie office, nor receiue a-
nie benefice or benefit in Scotland.]

In the yeare 1469, on the tenth day of Iulie,
king James the third, being as then about twentie
yeares of age, married in the abbete of Holie rood
house nere Edenburgh, the lady Margarete, daugh-
ter to the king of Denmarke and Poiswale, which
lady was at the same time not past twelue yeares
of age, some saie sixtene. Hir father the king of
Denmarke and Poiswale, in name of hir dower,
transported and resigned to B. James all his right,
title, and interest which he pretended to the out Isles.
The ambassadores that were sent into Denmarke
to conclude this marriage, and to conueie the bride
into Scotland, were these: Andzew Wudair bishop
of Glasgow, the bishop of Moray, the lord Auandale
chancelor of Scotland, and Thomas Woid earle of
Arrane, who had married the kings sister, and was
now in his absence run into the kings displeasure;
whereof his wife having intelligence, bearing of hir
husbands arrivall with the other in the North, got
out of Edenburgh, & comming on shipboard to him,
gaue him to vnderstand what displeasure the king
had conceived against him: who perceiuing him-
selfe in that danger he stood if he toke land, retur-
ned backe into Denmarke, taking his wife with
him.

The king herewith was so offended, that he cau-
sed both the said earle and his father to be attainted
of high treason, and sent for his sister backe into
Scotland, causing a diuorce in absence of hir husband
to be sued, & gotten forth against them, marieng hir
afterwards to James lord Hamilton, to whome he
gaue the earldome of Arrane, which hir former hus-
band had in gift before. Of this marriage, those
of the house of Hamiltons are descended, & are nearest
of blood to the crowne of Scotland, as they pretend.
[For as saith Lesleus, lib. 8. pag. 316] if the line of
the Stewards faile, the crowne is to come to them.]
But now to shew further what we find written con-
cerning the maner and cause of the banishment of
the afore remembred Thomas Woid, Giouan Ferre-
rio, in his appendix of the Scottish historie annexed
vnto Hector Boetius lastlie printed at Paris in the
yeare 1574, agreeth not with that which ye haue red
before. For as he telleth the tale, the said lord Woid
being one of the gouernours of the realme, elected
thereto (as before ye haue heard) within short time
grewe so far in fauor with the king, that he might do
all things with him at his pleasure, although his as-
sociats in authoritie did neuer so much go about to
hinder his deuises: by reason whereof, he seemed to
vsurpe the whole rule & administration of the realme
into his owne hands, soze to the griefe of those his
said associats being ioined with him in like office.

Whereof the state of the common-wealth through
the dissention thus bred among the gouernours, was
brought

Fr.Thin.
Lesleus lib. 8.
pag. 314.

1470. Buch.
1468. Lesle.
1469.
Fr.Thin.
Lesleus lib. 8.
pag. 315.

1469.
The marriage
of James the
third.

The king of
Poiswale re-
signeth his
title to the out
Isles.

The earle of
Arrane in the
kings displea-
sure.

The lord Ha-
milton mar-
ieth the kings
sister.

Fr.Thin.

Giouan Ferre-
rio in his ap-
pendix of the
Scottish histo-
rie.

The lord
Woid beareth
all the rule a-
bout the king.

Through-
fault of agre-
ment in the

gouernours,
will disposed
men were
bold to con-
spire.

They that
in authoritie
be enen subie-
to the spirit
of the king
will be bold
to conspire.

Hereafter
he tried by
way of ar-
rest.

He hath
the king's
sister
in his
house.

He hath
the king's
sister
in his
house.

His train
hope to
one part
of the
king's
house.

He hath
the king's
sister
in his
house.

He hath
the king's
sister
in his
house.

He hath
the king's
sister
in his
house.

brought into a miserable plight; for suffice in most places wanted his due course, so as thieves and robbers taking boldness thereof, not onely upon the borders, but also elsewhere, began to exercise great outrage, to the breach of publicke peace, and navellie the inhabitants of the out-yles fell to their wonted trade of pillering; so that passing over in their long boats or barges, and landing here & there on the shore, they took prizes of cattell and other goods, & carrie to their coast, and no lesse damage of the people that inhabited on the coasts, upon the going thence, in the north parts also, seditions for ought among the nobles, gentlemen, and people were raised, to the great dishonouring of the whole countrey. Such disorders continued no small time, and because the said Thomas lord Borth was greivously abused touching the blame of this commonlie hap, which was imputed to him, and his goods, and in length of time the king was obliged to give peace, and able to see the sad situation of the common-wealth himselfe, he was admonished by certain estatemen, personages, who had some regard, that he should send some knight to the whole state of the realm, might have the right of the whole called a parliament, in the which, whether through envie that the lords had conceived against Thomas Borth, or that his wrongs and his defence, such complaint was exhibited by generall wordes of the state against him; that it was decreed by the whole assemblee, that he should come to answer for judgement such crimes whereunto he was charged; but when he refused to tread, and in contempt of the kings authority got together a power of armed men to defend him from injurie; that might seeme (as he pretended) to be offered him at length, the king was driven of necessity to make preparation for the denying of assistance to apprehend him by force. Whereof Borth being advertised fled into England, because he perceived himselfe not able to resist the kings power. The king assured that he was thus avoided out of his realme, banished him forever, and seized upon his lands and goods as forfeited.

After this, when the said Borth saw no hope to returne againe into the kings fauor, and finding no great comfort among the Englishmen, he passed from thence into Denmarke, where he remained till the marriage was concluded betwixt the king and the ladie Margaret, daughter to the king of Denmarke, as ye before have heard: and then in hope by occasion of this marriage to obtaine pardon, returned againe in companie of the bride, and of those ambassadors that were sent to have the countenance of him into Scotland: nevertheless, understanding by his wife that came to him on shipboard before he set foot on land, that the kings displeasure continued still towards him so greivous, that if he came on land, he should be sure to lose his head, he returned into Denmarke, and took his wife with him; as before is mentioned. Finally he went into Italie, where at length he was murdered by one, whose wife he went about to allure for the satisfieng of his sensuall lust. Before he was divorced from his wife the kings sister; he begat on her a sonne, the which in the daies of king James the fourth, in a privat quarrell that rose betwixt him and an other noble man, chanced to be slaine. Thus much touching the lord Thomas Borth of Kilmarnocke out of Ferrerio, who also in report of the matter touching the marriage betwixt the king and the daughter of Denmarke, somewhat varieth from an other that writ thereof.

The ambassadors that were sent unto Christierne king of Denmarke & Norwaie in the yeare 1468, as the said Ferrerio affirmeth, were these; Andrew

bishop of Glasgow, William bishop of Orkney, Andrew lord of Anandale chancelor of the realme, Martine Blane the great almoner, & the kings confessor, Gilbert de Keriche archdeacon of Glasgow, David Creighton of Crauford, & John Shaw of Parke. These ambassadors being dispatched into Denmarke in Julie, in the yeare aforesaid, came at length to Haffien, where is Christierne then resident, and were of him iustlicie receiued, & well heard concerning their sute, in so much at length after he had proponed the matter to his counsell about the eight of September, it was agreed in this sort, that the ladie Margaret, daughter to the said king Christierne, should be given in marriage unto James of Scotland, and that the fles of Orkney, being situated betwixt us, and likewise the fles of Shetland, of which there are righte, should remaine in possession of the kings of Scotland, whether the said king Christierne or his successors in name of the marriage should pay unto king James, or to his successors, the summe of six thousand florens of the shilling. This marriage was thought, by reason of this ingaging of those fles, right profitably unto the realme of Scotland, because of the controuersie and variance which had continued long before those daies betwixt the kings of Scotland and Denmarke, about the right of possessing those fles.

In the month of November next ensuing, after the marriage had bene consummate in Julie before, within the abbey church of Holy rood house (as before ye have heard) in saint Giles church in Edinburgh (as otherwaite the three estates were called to assemble in Edinburgh), where the quene was crowned, and the parliament holden, the most part of the lords remaining still in Edinburgh all the next winter: and in the summer following, the king and quene made their progresse into the north parts, and were honorablie receiued in the principall cities and townes where they came; and likewise by the nobles of the countrey, to the great reioysing of the whole realme. After their returning to Edinburgh, the king called a parliament in the month of Maie 1471, in the which among other things it was decreed, that the lords, barons, and burroughs of the realme, should build ships and boats, and provide nets for fishing. Also it was ordained that none should weare silke in dublet, gowne, or cloake, except knights, knights, & heralds; except they might spend one hundred pounds in lands by year, and that the football and other vnlawfull games should be debarr'd, and the exercise of shooting maintained. James eldest sonne to king James the third, was borne the tenth day of March, in the yeare 1472, who afterwards succeeded his father, and was called James the fourth. Christierne is of Denmarke, to congratulate the happy birth of this young prince being his nephew by his daughter, released all the right, title & claime which he or his successors might haue to the fles of Orkney and Shetland.

A strange comet or blasing starre (as we call it) appeared in the south, from the seventeenth day of Iannarie, unto the eighteenth of Februarie, and was placed betwixt the pole and the pleiades; that is to say, the seven starres. A great ship built by Benedict the late archbishop of saint Andrews, called the bishopps barge, brake and was lost beside Banburgh, being fraught with merchandize, the twelfth of March. Many merchantmens seruants and other passengers were drowned with her, some escaped by boat, and were taken by the Englishmen, among whom was the abbat of saint Colme, who was constrained to pay unto his taker one James Bar four score pounds for his rancome, yet he could be suffered to depart. The abbas of Dunfermling being vacant,

unto Denmarke as Ferrerio saith.

The marriage concluded. The fles of Orkney and Shetland ingaged.

1469.

1470.

The like act for shooting was instituted by king James the first. An. 1429. John Maior

1472.

The right to Orkney and Shetland resigned.

A blasing starre.

1473.

A shipwreck.

Fr. Thin. Cellus lib. 8. pag. 314.

470. Buch. 468. Lelle. 1469. Fr. Thin. Cellus lib. 8. pag. 315.

1469. The marriage of James the third.

The king of Norwaie re-igneth his wife to the out-yles.

The carle of Orkney in the kings displeasure.

The lord Hamilton marries the kings sister.

Fr. Thin.

Siouan Ferrerio in his appendix of the Scottish history.

The lord Borth beareth the rule about the king.

Through default of agreement in the

governors, and disposed men were said to complete mischief.

They that be in authority be ever subject to the spitefull word of our king.

The lord Borth is accused.

Persecuted to be tried by way of arraignment.

He fleeth into England.

He fleeth into Denmarke.

His baine hope to obtaine pardon.

He goeth into Italie. His murder.

1468. The royal troops sent

Abbeies gi-
uen by unlaw-
full means.

vacant, the convent chose one of their owne monks called Alexander Thomson, and the king promoted Henrie Creighton abbat of Passley therunto, whom the pope admitted, & Robert Shaw parson of Spinto was preferred by the king unto the abbacie of Passley, and then in such wise began promotings of secular priests to abbacies at the princes request, and the laudable elections ancientlie used, made void: because the court of Rome admitted such as the princes made sute for and named, getting great rewards and notable summes of monie thereby, so that neither the bishops durst admit such as the convents elected, nor such as were elected durst pursue their right, and so the abbacies were bestowed upon such as followed the court, and lived courtlie, secularlie, and voluptuouslie, to the great slander of religious men, which by the naughty examples of their gouernours fell to the works of wickednesse; whereupon badlie much euill increased, and vertue in all estates decayed.

The bishop of
S. Andrews
made arch-
bishop.

1474.

This yere in September, the indulgence of the see of saint Andrews was published by Patrike Graham bishop thereof, and the same erected into the dignitie of an archbishops see, at the sute of the said Patrike, who gaue information to the pope, that because the archbishop of Dork was metropolitan of Scotland, and that there was oftentimes warre betwixt the realmes of England and Scotland, the Scottishmen could not haue access to their metropolitan, spectallie in cases of appellation. And therefore the pope (as some write) thought it reason to make saint Andrews primat and metropolitan of Scotland, and ordeined that the twelue other bishops of Scotland should be vnder his primasie, who would not agree thereto; but promised the king by way of a taxation eleven thousand marks for his maintenance against the said archbishop: and the prelates sent to Rome about this matter. This yere was a great death in the realme of Scotland, so that where a parliament was called in September, it was proroged untill the twelue day after Christmas. In Januarie the parliament was holden at Edinburgh, in which John lord of the Isles and earle of Ross was atteinted, partly for his owne euill deeds, but most speciallie for the defaults of his father Donald lord of the Isles.

Primat and
metropolitan.
Twelue bi-
shops in
Scotland.

1476.

The lord of
the Isles at-
teinted.

1446. Lelle.
The king rai-
sed an armie.

The lord of
the Isles sub-
mitteth him-
selfe.

He resigneth
Ross, Cantire,
and Anapden.

In Maie, in the yere 1477, the king raised a puissant armie of the most able men vpon the north side of the water of Forth, to pursue the lord of the Isles both by sea and land. The earle of Crawford was made admerall of the armie by sea, and the erle of Atholl the kings vnckle by his father was lieutenant of the armie by land. But such meanes was used by the earle of Atholl, that the lord of the Isles humbled himselfe to the kings pleasure, vpon certeine conditions; and thereupon in the beginning of Iulie next ensuing, the said lord of the Isles came to the parlement vnto Edinburgh, and there was the agreement made and confirmed betwixt the king and him: he resigned into the kings hands all the right he had to the earldome of Ross, the lands of Cantire and Anapden, which earldome the king annexed to the crowne, and pardoned him and his seruants of all offenses and transgressions before that day committed, and inuested him anew in the lordship and seigniorie of the Isles, and other his lands not released, to hold the same of the king by the seruice of ward and reliefe. The king also gaue vnto the earle of Atholl for his diligence shewed, in reducing the said lord of the Isles vnto order, the lands and forrest of Clouie.

1477.

An inquisitor
sent from the
pope.

There was an inquisitor called Husman this yere sent by pope Sixtus into Scotland, to examine by vertue of his commission Patrike Graham arch-

bishop of saint Andrews, whose examination and proses being sent vnto the pope, he pronounced him an heretike, schismaticke, and simoniacke, and declared him accursed, condemning him to perpetuall prison: and so he was degraded from all orders, cure, and dignitie of ecclesiasticall office, and William Schewes archdeacon of the same see was promoted in his place, to whome he was also committed to see him safelie kept in prison. He was first sent vnto saint Colmes inch, and from thence to Dunfermling, and lastlie to Lochleuin, where he died, and was buried in saint Maris Ile in Lochleuin. The said William Schewes was consecrated archbishop of saint Andrews on Passon Sunday in Lent, within holie rood house, the king being present, and manie of the nobles of the realme. And there the said archbishop receiued the pall, as a signe of his archbishops dignitie, and so was confirmed primat and legat of the realme, notwithstanding the impediment made against Graham before by the bishops about the same.

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This yere also Alexander duke of Albanye was committed to prison by the king his brother; within the castell of Edinburgh, through euill counsell; but he brake out and escaped to Dunbar, where he caused the castell to be furnished with all necessaries: and leauing his seruants within it, passed himselfe into France, and was there of the king honorable receiued, and louinglie intreated. In the beginning of Maie following, the king besieged that castell by his lieutenant the earle of Arundale, who lost at that siege three good knights, the lord of Lute, sir John Schaw of Sauch, & the lord of Cragiswallase, with the shot of a gun, & John Ramsie was slaine with a stone cast by hand. When they within saw they could not long indure, they left the castell and fled a waie by sea, and the earle of Arundale entered, and found it void of all things thereof any account was to be made.

Doctor Ireland being graduat in diuinitie at Paris, was sent from the French king vnto the king of Scots, to persuaue him to make war vpon England, to the end that king Edward should not aid the duke of Burgognie. And moreover, he had in charge to moue for the pardon of the duke of Albanye, and shortly after returned with answer. The erle of Mar called John Stewart the kings yonger brother, this yere in the moneth of December, was taken in the night within his owne house, and conueied vnto Cragmiller, where he was kept as prisoner by the kings commandement, and after was convicted of conspiracie for witchcraft which he should practise against the king: and hereupon in Cannogate beside Edinburgh, his veines were cut, and so he bled to death. There were manie and diuerse witches and sozerers, as well men as women convicted of that crime, and burnt for the same at Edinburgh. The king sent ambassadores into England to make sute to haue the ladie Cicill, daughter to king Edward, joined in mariage with his sonne James the prince, which was granted, and the mariage concluded to be solemnized, when the prince of Scotland should come to perfect age: as in the English historie it more plainlie appeareth. Doctor Ireland, with a knight, and another religious man, came againe to king James from the French king, to persuaue him to make warres against England: and at length, king James and his nobles condescended to breake the peace, wherewith Thomas Spenser bishop of Abirden (that was full tenderlie beloued of king Edward, and had bene ener a mediator for peace betwixt the kings of England, France, and Scotland, & the duke of Burgognie) when he heard that warre would follow, he died through griefe of mind

The archbi-
shop is not
well handled.

Deprived.
1478. Lelle.

Put in prison

1478. Lelle.

1479.
Wm. Schewes
is consecrated
archbishop.

The duke of
Albanye im-
prisoned.

He escaped.

Edinburgh
besieged.

1479. Lelle.
Doctor Ire-
land sent vnto
the king of
Scots.

1479. Lelle.
1480.
John Stew-
ard a yonger
four.

was put to
death.

A mariage
concluded.
1480. Lelle.

Bishop Spenser
died.

1481.
King James
sent an ambassa-
dor vnto
Edward.

Edward
sent a nauie
into Scot-
land.

Ships taken
and burnt.

The king of
Scotland pre-
pared an ar-
mie.

Legation
him.

In other na-
me sent into
Scotland.

Berwick as-
sailed by an
armie of Eng-
lishmen.

1482.

The duke of
Albanye com-
meth into
England.

The presump-
tuous demean-
our of the
Scottish nobles.

Thomas
Cochran.

Imbedding of
wine.

The kings
marriage was
made.

mind and melancholie at Edinburgh, in the moneth of Aprill. The king sent two heralds unto king Edward, requesting him not to aid the duke of Burgonie, nor anie other against the king of France: for if he did, he must needs support the Frenchmen, by reason of the league betwixt France and Scotland: but king Edward would not admit those heralds to his presence, but kept them still without answer, till he had sent forth a naue of ships into the Forth before Leth, Kingorne, and Westertwen, and then were the heralds licenced to returne. The English fleet entering the Forth, took eight great ships which they found in that river, and landing at Blackness, burnt the towne, and a great barge that laie there at rode, and so returned.

The king assembled an armie from all parts of the realme, and amongst other, the lord of the Isles came with a great companie: and now the king being readie to enter into England, there came to him a messenger of king Edward, sent from a cardinall legat that was resident as then in England, commanding king James by authoritie apostolike, not to proceed any further in his purposed iourne, to the end that peace being obserued, all christian princes might bend their powers against the Turke & Infidels. This commandement did king James obeie, and so discharged his armie, notwithstanding that king Edward sent forth his naue againe into the Forth, to the Ile of Jura, Keith, but they did no hurt: for the countrie men kept them off. The Scottish boydeters invaded the English marches, destroyed townes, and led manie prisoners awaie with them into Scotland. The king of England caused Berwick to be assiged both by sea and land all the winter season, and overthrew a wall that was newlie made about it for defense thereof: but the Scots within it defended the towne so that time so stoutlie, that the enimies might not win it from them.

The duke of Albanie, after his wife was dead, whom he had married in France, perceiving himselfe not so well intreated as before, came ouer into England, where king Edward receiued him verie honorablie, promising (as some haue written) to make him king of Scotland: and thereupon assembled an armie of thirtie thousand men, with a great nauie by sea to invade Scotland, and appointed capteins and leaders of the armie by land, his owne brother the duke of Gloucester, the duke of Albanie, and others. The king of Scots hearing of their approach to invade his realme, raised a puissant armie to resist them, and came forward with the same vnto the towne of Loder, where being incamped, the principall nobles of his realme, as Archembald earle of Angus, George earle of Huntley, John earle of Lennox, James earle of Buchquhane, Andrew lord Greie, Robert lord Lile, and diuerse other being armed, entered the kings lodging, where they accused him of diuerse things done and practised by him contrary to his honor and the common-weale of his realme, and speciallie, because he used young counsell of lewd persons, vnto which and base of birth, such as Thomas Cochran, whome of a mason he had made earle of Mar, through whose deuise and counsell he had caused to be coined certaine monie of copper, not convenient to be current in anie realme, which the people refused, and so great dearth and hunger was raised through the countrie. Moreover, that he would not suffer the noble men to come nere his presence, nor to take their counsell in gouerning the realme, but gaue himselfe to voluptuous pleasure, setting naught by the queene his lawfull wife, & keeping a naughtie harlot called the Daisie in his place.

Also they laid to his charge, that he had put his brother the earle of Mar to death, and banished his

other brother the duke of Albanie, and therefore they could not suffer him and the whole realme to be longer misled by such naughtie persons. And hereupon they took Thomas Cochran earle of Mar, William Roger, and James Hommill tailor, who with others being consided, were hanged ouer the bridge at Loder. Ornelie John Kaitheie a young man of eighteens yeres of age, for whome the king made great instance, was pardoned of life. This done, they returned to Edinburgh, and appointed the king himselfe to be kept in the castell by the earle of Atholl, and in the meane time, the second of August, they sent Andrew Steward elect bishop of Purrey, & John lord Darnelie to the English armie, lying then at Loder, to take truce for thre moneths: but the dukes of Gloucester and Albanie came forward vnto Kestralrig, where they incamped without anie resistance. The English nauie lying also in the Forth was readie to assist their fellowes by land.

Hereupon, certaine noble men of Scotland, as the archbishop of saint Andrewes, the bishop of Dunkeid, Colin earle of Argile, and Andrew Steward lord Auendale, great chancelor of Scotland, went to the English campe, & treating with the two dukes, agreed vpon certaine articles, whereby the duke of Albanie was receiued into his countrie againe in peaceable wise, and had giuen to him the castell of Dunbar with the earledoms of Mar and Mar. He was proclaimed also generall lieutenant to the king. And so the Englishmen returned homewards, and came vnto Berwick, where they hauing wone the towne as they passed that waies into Scotland, had left the lord Stanleie, and sir John Clorington, with foure thousand men, to keepe a siege before the castell, and now they enforced the same: but the lord of Halls then capteine within that castell, defended it verie manfullie, sending to the duke of Albanie and other, the lords of the counsell, for helpe to raise the siege. The duke in deed raised an armie, and came to Laner more, but when they within perceived that through dissention betwixt the king and the nobles of the realme, they were not like to be rescued, they yielded the castell into the Englishmens hands, the 24 of August, in that yere 1482, after it had remained now at this time in the Scottishmens hands the space of 21 yeres.

The king remaining as prisoner in Edinburgh castell, all things were ordered by the duke of Albanie, Andrew Steward lord of Auendale, chancelor, and others, till the said duke, the archbishop of saint Andrewes, the chancelor, the earle of Argile, and diuerse others, went to Strueling to visit the queene and prince, where the duke was perswaded by the queene, without knowledge thereof giuen to the other, to go vnto Edinburgh, and to restore the king vnto libertie. The duke accordingly to the queenes pleasure comming to Edinburgh, besieged the castell and won it, remoued the earle of Atholl, and set the king and all his seruants at libertie, for the which good turne, the king shewed great tokens of loue to his brother the duke, although it lasted not long. The earle of Argile, the bishop of saint Andrewes, the chancelor, and others, which remained at Strueling, when they heard those newes, fled into their owne countries: and shortly after, the bishop of saint Andrewes, at request of the king, resigned his bishopricke in fauor of maister Andrew Steward prior of Glencleiden, and was content in recompense thereof, with the bishopricke of Purrey. This yere there was great theft, reisse, and slaughter in diuerse parts of the realme, by occasion of the variance betwixt the king and his nobles.

* Charles the eight, king of France (in the beginning of his kingdome) sent into Scotland cer-

Cochran earle of Mar and other hanged.

The king kept vnder arrest.

The duke of Albanie is receiued.

The castell of Berwick is taken.

The king a prisoner.

The king is set at libertie.

The archbishop resigneth

1483.

Fr. Thin. Lessus li. 8. pag. 323.

certeine ambassadoys, which were Berouald or Bernard Stewart, lord of Aubignie, marshall of France, and Peter Gallart doctor of both lawes, to renew the old league betwene this James the third, and the king of France: for which cause the king of Scots and the nobles assembled at Edinburgh, where (with the French ambassadoys) seeking all the rols of all the ancient leagues, they reconfirmed the same, with the seales of both parts set thereunto, which done, the Frenchmen (with whom were sent into France divers Scots) returned home. Amongest the Scots, one Robertson was the chiefe, a man famous for the feates of battell, and having imploied his service on the parts of the French in the Italian warres, which being ended, the said chosen soldiers following the conduct of Berouald Stewart, went into England with Henrie earle of Richmond, after king, whose part they took against Richard at that time usurper upon the English, for which cause the earle of Richmond (when he was after king) did deserve love the Scots.

The seditions also, which a long time did burne in France, caused terrible wars to grow betwene the king of France and the duke of Burgognie. Whereunto, when the death of Charles (the last duke of Burgognie, slaine at Pantis by the duke of Orleans) did set end: Charles the eight of that name, king of France (assembling a great armie) did apply all his forces and devise to expell Alphonse out of the kingdom of Naples, who at that time succeeded happily unto him by reason that Alphonse was then easilie remoured: But after, when the Neapolitane people did revolt (from the French faction) to Ferdinand the son of Alphonse, there arose great flames of warre and sedition through Italie, each part striving to support the strength of his owne. The administration of which warre against Ferdinand, was chiefly performed by the Scots, as principall captains of that armie, or at the least equall with the best. Of which Scots the chiefe were Alexander duke of Albanie, son to James the second king of Scots; John also duke of Albanie sonne of this Alexander; George Montgomerie lord of Longes; Bernard Stewart (who was after made vicerey of Naples, which office he willed manie yeres did execute) Robert Stewart marshall of France, Nicholas Scot, and others, wherof manie (for their worthie exploits) were by the French honorable rewarded with great possessions. Who also (as manie of the Scots before had done) planting themselves in Calabria, became the authors of manie ancient families. For though by the evill custome of common speech, they retained the name of Scot (as taken of their countrey) yet by the ensignes, and tokens which they had and used, it may easilie be knowne of what families the Scots their ancestors did descend.

Wherefore it followeth by most certeine conjecture, that the ancient familie of the earles (to whom use of speech hath long obtained the surname of Scots) flourishing in Placentia, had their originall from the stocke of the Douglases, as the armes of them both do well witnesse: which kindred (besides manie other earles thereof) is at this day notable beautified by Christopher Scot, who (with singular pietie and learning) doth gouverne the church of Canallion. Again, there is another familie of Scots, commonly called the Scoties in Calabria, wherof Bernard Scotia, and Horace his brother (the one a senator of Mantua, and the other a prelat) are both famous, as well for their vertue, as nobilitie: also Francis Scotia, lord of Paine and Mondone, and other nobles of the marquesdome of Saluce, are descended from the Scots, with the large familie of the Schities (descended of James Orlando Scot,

which we have heard confirmed by the armes of that familie) are well advanced about Cremona, Mantua, and Verona, as are also the Paparons in Rome (so called for their armes and ensignes) whose ancestors to be of the Scottish nobilitie, is witnessed by a worthie monument thereof in the church of saint Martie the great, in which the father and the son called Paparons, being there buried, are both adorned with the ensignes of knighthood out of Scotland.

The duke of Albanie, for that he understood there was passion given to him in drinke in the kings chamber, and therefore stood in feare of his life, fled from the court unto the castell of Dunbar, whereby ensued great discord. The king fearing the displeasure of his nobles, got him also into the castell of Edinburgh. The earles of Angus, Buchanane, and others, left the king, and assisted the duke of Albanie. And the king through counsell of certeine meane persons whom he had againe taken unto him, summoned the duke and other his assistants, to come to answer for such treason as he had to lay against them; a hostall prepared armie to besiege Dunbar, wherof the duke being advertised, fled into England, and afterwards being accompanied with the earle of Douglas, and a great number of Englishmen, invaded Scotland upon the west marches, where manie Englishmen were slaine and taken by the resistance of the lords Colpull, Johnston, and others, the duke was put to flight, and the earle Douglas taken and brought to the king, who because he was an aged man, and had bene long banished his countrey, was sent to the abbaye of Lindores, where he remained the rest of his daies, and at length, departing this life, was buried there.

The duke of Albanie for the losse of that armie, was blamed of the king of England, and thereupon taking a mistaking, secretly departed over into France by the helpe of John Liddell, sonne to sir James Liddell knight, who afterwards lost his life for the same. The duke was well entertained in France by the king there: and finally running at tilt with Holmes duke of Orleans, was hurt with the splint of a speare, and thereof died. He left behind him two sonnes, John duke of Albanie, that was after gouvernor and tutor to king James the first, and Alexander that was after bishop of Murray, and abbat of Scone. This yere the lord Hume, Torrellis, Miliant, and Drummond, were made lords of the parliament. In the yere 1484, the king sent the archbishop of saint Andrews unto Rome, for certeine privileges which he obtained. And the same yere, pope Innocent the eight of that name, sent the bishop of Amola to treat of peace, betwixt Richard king of England, and James king of Scotland. James king of Scots, having not long before made diverse incursions and rodes into England, and that to his profit, he sued thereupon for a truce, which came to passe even as king Richard wished, so that condescending to have a communication, commissioners were appointed for both parts to meet at Nottingham, the seventh day of September next ensuing.

For the king of Scots there appeared Colin earle of Argile, the lord Campbell, the lord chancelor of Scotland, William bishop of Aberdeen, Robert lord Lile, Laurence lord Miliant, John Drummond of Stobhall, Archembald Maitelaw archdeacon of Lathen, and secretarie to king James, Eion king of armes, and Duncan Dundas. For king Richard, there came Richard bishop of saint Asaph, John duke of Norfolk, Henrie earle of Northumberland, Thomas lord Stanleie, George Stanleie lord Strange, John Greie lord Holmes, Richard lord Fitzhugh, John Gunthorpe keeper of the kings privie seale, Thomas Barlow maister of the rols, sir

Poison given

The king is for taken

Lords are summoned

Scotland invaded

Earle Douglas sent unto an abbey

The duke of Albanie is blamed

The archbishop is sent to Rome. The pope sent to intreat for peace.

Commissioners appointed on the behalf of the king of England & Scotland, to treat for a peace at Nottingham.

A peace concluded for this yere.

The castell of Dunbar in the Englishmens hands.

An article for the castell of Dunbar.

An article for traitors.

An article for Scottishmen already being in England. An article for the wardens of the marches.

A clause to be put in safe conducts. An article for such as should serve either princes in warre.

Colleagues compiled in the truce.

Certaine noble families in Italie and Calabria spring from the Scots.

Thomas Brian chiefe iustice of the common pless, sir Richard Katcliffe knight, William Catesbie, & Richard Salkeld esquires. These counsellors in the later end of September, after sundrie meetings and communications had together, concluded (as followeth) a peace to be had betwixt both the realmes for the space of thre yeres, the same to begin at the rising of the sunne, on the 29 of September in the yere 1484, and to continue vnto the setting of the sunne on the 29 of September in the yere 1487.

During which terme, it was agreed, that not onely all hostilitie and warre should cease betwixt the two realmes, but that also all aid and abatement of enemies should be avoided, & by no colorable meanes or waie in anie case used. The towne and castell of Berwikke to remaine in the Englishmens hands, for the space of the said terme, with the same bounds as the Englishmen possessed it at that season, when it was deliuered to the Scottishmen by king Henrie the first. It was likewise condescended, that all other castels, holds, and fortresses, during the tearme of the said thre yeres, should abide in the hands of those that held them at that present, the castell of Dunbar onely excepted. This castell of Dunbar was deliuered vnto the Englishmen by the duke of Albanie, when he fled into France, and so remained in their hands at that time of concluding this truce.

Whereupon (by reason the Scottish commissioners had not authoritie to conclude anie full agreement for that castell, vnlesse the same might be ressoved vnto the king their maisters hands) it was accorded, that if the king of Scots, within the space of fortie daies next ensuing, did intimate his resolute refusall to be agreeable, that the said castell should remaine in the Englishmens hands aboue the space of six moneths, that then during that terme of six moneths, those that kept the castell for the Englishmen should remaine in quiet, and not be troubled nor molested by anie kind of meanes by the said king of Scots, or anie other by his procurement, so that they withyn the castell likewise absteyning from making anie issues or reisses vpon the Scottish people. And if after that the said terme of six moneths were once expired, it should chance that anie warre arose for defending or recouering the said castell, yet the truce should indure for all other rights and possessions, notwithstanding that it might be lawfull to do what lay in anie of their powers, either for winning or defending the foresaid castell, as though no truce had bene concluded.

It was further agreed, that no traitor of either realme should be receiued by the prince of either realme; and if anie traitor or rebell chanced to arrive in either realme, the prince thereof to deliuer him vpon demand made. Scots already abiding in England & Iwoyne to the king there, may remaine still, so their names be certified to the Scottish king within fortie daies. If anie warden of either realme should inuade the others subiects, he to whome such warden is subiect, shall within six daies proclaime him traitor, and certifie the other prince thereof within 12 daies. And in euerie safe conduct this clause should be contained; Provided alwaies that the obteiner of this safe conduct be no traitor. If anie of the subiects of either prince doe presume to aid, helpe, mainteine, or serue anie other prince against anie of the contractors of this truce, then it shall be lawfull for him, to whome he shewed himselfe enemy, to apprehend and attach the said subiect, going, comming, or tarieng within anie of his dominions.

Colleagues comprised in this truce (if they would assent thereto) on the English part were these: the king of Castile and Leon, the king of Arragon, the king of Portugale, the archduke of Austriach & Bur-

gognie, and the duke of Britaine. On the Scottish part, Charles the French king, John king of Denmarke and Norwate, the duke of Gelderland, and the duke of Britaine. The lordship of Roine in the realme of Scotland, and the Island of Lundaie lieng in the riuier of Seuerne, in the realme of England, were not comprehended in this agreement. This concord, peace, and amitie thus concluded, was appointed to be published the first day of October, in the most notable cities and townes of both the realmes.

For the sure obseruation, keeping, & performance of this truce & league, there were appointed for conservatores on the Scottish side, David earle of Crawford and lord Lindseie, George earle of Huntley, lord Gordon and Badzenath, John lord Darneleie, John lord Benedie, Robert lord Lile, Patrike lord Halene, Laurence lord Diphant, William lord Bothwick, sir John Rolfe of Halkheid, sir Gilbert Johnston of Elphinston, sir John Lundie, sir John Ogilvie of Arlie, sir Robert Hamilton of Fingalton, sir William Balze of Lamington, sir John Benedie of Blarqhone, sir John Wemes, sir William Kochwen, Edward Stockton of Kirke patie, John Dundas, John Rolfe of Mountgrenan, esquires.

It was further agreed, that commissioners should meet at Loughmaben on the eighteenth day of November, as well for redresse of certeine offenses done on the west marches, as also for declaring and publishing the peace. On the English part, the lord Dacres, the lord Fitzhugh, sir Richard Katcliffe, sir Christopher Dorellie, sir Richard Salkeld, or thre of them. For the Scots, the lord Benedie, the lord Mountgomerie, the lord Lile, John Partwell, Edward of Annandale, Robert Creighton of Sanquhan, or thre of them. Also, there were assigned commissioners to meet at Koldenborne for the east marches, the first day of December; and at Haldan Stanke for the middle marches, on the fourth day of the same moneth. At which two places for Scotland, there were assigned to appeere the earle of Huntley, the earle of Angus, the earle of Argile chancelor of Scotland, the lord Annandale, the lord Setton, the lord Diphant, the lord Stubhall, with others.

For England, the earle of Northumberland, the lord Greystocke, the lord Scrope of Passan, sir William Gascoigne, sir Robert Constable, and other. The same commissioners had authoritie to assigne certeine persons, to view and declare the bounds and limits apperteyning to Berwikke, according to the true meaning of the league. For the battell ground it was accorded, that the same should remaine without sowing, earing, building, or inhabiting, as it had done before. Shortly after the concluding of this truce, king Richard intreated for a marriage to be had betwixt the prince of Rothsaie, eldest sonne to king James & ladie Anne de la Poole, daughter to John duke of Suffolke and to the ladie Anne his wife, that was sister to the said king Richard. For the concluding of this marriage, both the kings sent their ambassadors againe vnto Nottingham, where their treatie had such successe for that time, that the marriage was agreed vpon, and writings thereof drawn, ingrossed, and sealed, and affiances made and taken by proctors and deputies on both parts. The foresaid young ladie was immediately called pryncesse of Rothsaie, but by the short life of king Richard hir vncle the shortly after lost that name.

King James within a while after the conclusion of this league and marriage aforesaid, for the expressing and declaring of his opinion touching the castell of Dunbar, whether he would be agreeable that the same should remaine onely six moneths, or else during

Loynes & Luns-
daie excepted.

Commissioners appoin-
ted to meet at
Loughmaben

Commissioners
to meet
at Kolden-
borne.
And at Hal-
dan Stanke.

The battell
ground.

A marriage
concluded be-
twixt the duke
of Rothsaie
and the ladie
Anne de la
Poole.

A peace con-
cluded for
three yeres.

The castell of
Dunbar in
the English-
mens hands.

An article for
the castell of
Dunbar.

An article for
traitors.

An article for
Scottishmen
already being
in England.
An article for
the wardens
of the marches

A clause to be
put in safe
conducts.

An article for
such as should
come either
princes in
warre.

Colleagues
comprised in
the truce.

King James by letters signifieth his mind touching the articles of Dunbar.

King Richard would not deliver the castle of Dunbar.

1486.

King Richard overthrowne by the earle of Richmond.

An ambassage sent into Scotland.

The kings answer.

His promise.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 12.

1487.

A parliament.

No pardon to be granted to offenders for the space of seven yeares.

during the tearme of the whole truce in the Englishmens possessions, he wrote unto king Richard a loving letter, signifieng unto him, that he was not minded to seake the recouerie of the said castell by force of armes, but rather to leaue it in his hand, during the whole terme of the truce. Whereupon the king, he instantlie required him for the bond of that loue and familiaritie, which now by treatie and alliance was sprung by betwixt them, that he would redeliuer the said castell into his hands, according as reason might moue him thereto; considering the Englishmen had no right to it, being onelie deliuered to them by traitors of their native countrie, without anie reasonable cause, or commission lawfullie authorisid.

King Richard dailied in this matter with pleasant letters and faire words feeding forth king James, without minding to gratifie him in that sute, so that as long as king Richard liued, king James could neuer get it for anie thing he might doe. In the yeare 1486, Henrie earle of Richmond comming out of France with a power of men, of the which Bernard Steward a Scottishman was chiefe capteine, landed in Wales, and passing through the countrie into England, at length incountred king Richard, and slue him, so obtaining the crowne of that realme. And after he was somewhat quietlie established in the same, he came into the north parts, where he remained the most part of the next summer, and regarding nothing more than to haue the loue and friendship of his neighbors, & to be confederat with the kings and princes joining next unto him, he sent from Bewcastle one of his counsellors Richard For bishop of Excester, and sir Richard Edgcombe knight, ambassadors unto king James, to treat a contract, and renew the bond of peace and truce betwixt the said kings and their realmes.

These ambassadors were glablie receiued of king James, who declared unto them, that he bare great fauor and loue unto their maister, and would be glad to pleasure him in all he might: howbeit, that his subjects were not of so good a mind towards the English nation as he himselfe wished, and therefore he willed them to be contented with a truce for seven yeares, fith further he could not doe, for doubt to offend his nobilitie and subjects. But he promised secretly, that when those seven yeares were expired, he would renew the same for the tearme of other seven yeares, and so from seven yeares to seven yeares so long as he liued. This he did, because he perceived that his people had him in such hatred, that they would not consent to anie bond that he should make. The ambassadors perceiuing his good meaning toward king Henrie, confirmed the truce for those seven yeares, and so returned home to king Henrie, who was glad of that they had done.

In the meane time died the quene, a woman of singular beautie and godnesse, who was supposed greatlie to mitigat the vnbridled force of hir husband. At what time also in France died Alexander the kings brother, leauing behind him two sonnes, which were Alexander bozne of his first wife (daughter to the earle of Dikeneie) and John (bozne of his second wife) being after made gouernor of Scotland. Immediatlie after that this truce was thus concluded betwixt the two realmes, king James caused the three estates to assemble in parliament at Edinburgh the first of October in the yeare 1487, in the which order was taken, that iustice oress should be holden through all the parts of the realme, & that no pardons should be granted for anie great crime that should be committed for the space of seven yeares to come, so that the king began to vse sharpe execution of iustice in all parts, which was right dis-

pleasant to manie.

At the same time was an ambassador sent to the king of Romans, for the calling in of a letter of marque, which had bene granted against Scottish merchants, at the sute and instance of certeine Hollanders and Burgognions, and was shortly after hereupon reuoked. After the parlement was ended, the king remoued unto Striueling, leauing his wife the quene, and hir sonne the prince at Edinburgh castell, whilist he keeping persons about him of meane calling, gaue himselfe to take his pleasure with women, & to gather by gold and siluer, greatlie to the offense of his subjects. Yet in the meane time, now after the death of king Richard, whether it was by treason or appointment, the castell of Dunbar was deliuered to the hands of king James, and that to his great ioy and high contentation; for he that ruled his kingdome more with rigor than with anie tractable meane of fauorable iustice, stood euer in feare of some troublesome tumult that might be raised by his owne people, if occasion were minis-tered either through hope of forren aid or otherwise.

So long therefore as the castell was in the Englishmens hands, he doubted least through practise, some conspiracie should be contriued betwixt his owne subjects and the English nation, greatlie to the annoiance of his estate, & thereupon he was the more desirous to reduce the same castell into his possession. But the onelie meane to haue assured himselfe from the hands of such as sought his life, had bene to haue changed his wilfull maner of gouernment, & to haue leaned unto such counsell as would haue aduised him for the wealth of his whole realme, and not upon desire to please, haue maintained his vndiscreet opinions, to the wronging astwell of his commons as of the nobles and peeres of his realme; for the nobilitie of Scotland, namelie the earles of Angus, Argile, and Lenox, the lords Halls, Hume, Drummond, Greie, and others, perceiuing themselves oppressed by such as from base birth had risen (without worthie deserving) to the degree of counsellors, and therewith aduanced to so high authoritie, as all things were ordered at their appointment, conspired together, & determined by force of armes to see a reformation in such a disordered maner of gouernement.

But yet because it should not be thought that they minded the destruction of their countrie, but rather the aduancement thereof, they made the lord James duke of Rothsaie sonne to the king (a child bozne to godnesse and vertue) the chiefe capteine in this their enterprize, and that in maner against his will; hereby openlie protesting, that they minded and purposed the suppressing and confusion of an euill king, and not the subuersion of their native countrie. By which their craftie imagined inuention, they thought to remoue all suspicion of their purposed vntruth and shamefull disloyaltie. They had sent to the earle of Dowglaste, who remained prisoner (as ye haue heard) in the abbeie of Lundoris, and required him to assist them in their begun enterprize, promising that they would restore him againe to his lands and former dignitie, and honor him as principall of their faction. But that noble, wise, and ancient earle, being already schooled with troubles, and hauing learned by experience (to his great griefe) what such matter meant, refused to breake his ward, or to assist them in anie wise, dissuading them from their enterprize, because it seemed to him neither goodlie nor honozable, liethens both himselfe and his friends had tasted for the like, great hinderance, which might be an example to him and others to beware in time to come.

The king being once informed of this rebellion and

ambassadors sent to the king of the Romans.

The king gaue himselfe to satisfie his lust in keeping women and gathering treasure.

After the death of king Richard, Dunbar is deliuered.

The meane whereby king James might haue auoided danger of death by his subjects.

The conspiracie of the Scottish lords against king James the third.

King James gathereth an armie.

He sendeth letters to the kings of England and France.

Eugenius 8: Buchanan.

The answer of the rebels to the kings message.

They meet in pitched field. The king is put to the worse. His lineage.

Fr. Thin.

James the fourth.

1488.

and conspiracie against him, was sore disquieted in his mind, and to meet their mischievous attempts, gathered an armie. Yet before the using of anie force, he sent messengers to his sonne, and to the nobles with him, to trie if he might come to some agreement with them. He sent also letters to the king of England, & to the French king, requiring them to take some paines in the matter, to procure an atonement betwixt him and his nobles. And besides this, he wrote to pope Innocent about the same purpose, praiering him to intermeddle his authoritie by sending some legate into Scotland, to appease the troubles thereof. But the Scottish nobilitie, and such of the people as were vp in armes against him, were so desperatlie set, and wholie bent on reuenge, that no wholesome counsell nor medicinable aduise might appease their furious rage, so that for answer to his messengers, they sent him word, that if he would resigne the title of his crowne and realme, & depose himselfe of his whole regall dignitie, then they would come to some communication with him or else not. The like answer was giuen to the ambassadores of England and France, that were sent vnto them from the kings of both those realmes, which sore lamented the fortune of their friend and alie the Scottish king.

But Adrian the bishop of Romes legat came too late, as who should say, a day after the faire: for when their grounded malice and spittell hatred conceived against him might not be qualified by anie manner of means, but that they were now comming forward with all their puissance to Striueling, where he then remained, he would not staie till the eyles of Huntlie, Erroll, Atholl, Crawford, Rothus, Sutherland, Cathnesse, & Marshall; the barons, Forbes, Ogilvie, Grant, Fraser, and others, were arrived with their powers, amounting to the number of forty thousand men, with the which they were comming forth of the north parts to his aid: but rashlie and without god aduise he issued out of the towne, accompanied with the earles of Glencarne & Montros, the lords Graham, Ruthuen, Marwell, and certaine others, and forthwith ioined battell with his aduersaries at Banockesborne, within two miles of Striueling.

Now when nothing might quiet them, at length they met thus in a pitched field, where after great slaughter & murder made of an huge multitude of people, the king being put to the worse, fled into a mill, whither being fiercelie followed and found therein, he was cruellie slaine, and irreuerentlie left stark naked. A notable mirrour to all princes, that calling to remembrance such a miserable and most dolorous sight, they may take heed by what manner of persons they suffer themselves to be led and abused. For if this prince king James the third had not followed vpon a willfull pretense, and obstinat mind, the counsell and aduise of vantage, and such as (being advanced from base degree vnto high authoritie) studied more to keepe themselves in fauor, than to giue true aduertisements, and faithfull aduise vnto their prince, he might haue reigned longer by manie daies & yeres, in great and high felicitie. [In which conflict was on the kings part slaine (as saith Buchanan) Alexander Coningham earle of Glencarne.] He was thus slaine nere Striueling, on the seventh day of June, the yere after the incarnation 1488, being also the 29 of his reigne.

Now then, after that the barons of Scotland had thus slaine their soueraigne lord and liege king James, the third of that name: his eldest son James the fourth was crowned king of Scotland, and began his reigne the 24 of June, in the yere 1488, being not past sixteen yeres of age, who notwithstanding

that he had bene in the field with the nobles of the realme against his father, that contrarie to his mind was slaine; yet neuertheless afterwards, he became a right noble prince, & seemed to take great repentance for that his offense, and in token therof, he wore continuallie an iron chaine about his middle all the daies of his life. He was treatlie giuen to deuotion and praier, visiting religious houses, and bestowing on them sundrie gifts. He gouerned his realme in great rest, peace, iustice, and quietnes, riding him selfe in proper person diuerse daies and nights, to suppress and take thieues, robbers, and oppressors of his subiects in all parts of his realme, till he had brought the countrie to great quietnesse. He was learned and liberrall, and indued with manie other good vertues and qualities.

Anon after his coronation, the earle of Lennor, and the lord Lile, with diuers other their assistants, notwithstanding that they had bene with him at the slaughter of his father, seeing that things went not as they wished, raised an armie, and caused the dead kings bloudie shirt to be borne afore them for a banner: and comming forwards toward Striueling against the young king, were ouerthrowne at Tolsmoss, where the Lennor men, and sundrie other of the barons side were slaine, as the lord of Kilstrucht, and other taken and hanged for their offences. The king called a parlement at Edinburgh, which was holden the first of October, where he being moued by clemencie, granted a generall pardon to all those that came in field at Striueling with his father against him, and appointed euerie one to haue speciall pardons therevpon vnder his seales. He likewise dispensed with the heires of them that were slaine with his father there in field, appointing them their particular dispensations vnder his seales, after the same manner. Further it was ordeined, that all iustices, shiriffes, stewards, bailiffes, lieutenants, and other which had offices in heritage, and had bene with his father at the field, should be suspended from the same offices for the tearme of thre yeres: and those which had offices for life, or for terme of yeres, should be vtterlie excluded from the same.

Moreouer, he took order that all such goods as had bene taken from landed men and burgeses, should be restored to them againe, except that which was taken from such landed men and burgeses as were in the field against him; for that was deemed a lawfull preie. It was also iudged that the death of his father came vpon him through his owne default, and that king James the fourth then reigning, and all his adherents and partakers in that field, were innocent and guiltlesse of all slaughter made there at that time, and clearlie acquit of all pursute and occasion thereof: the thre estates granting to giue their seales to testifie the same, with the kings great seale of the realme, to be shewed vnto the pope, the kings of France, Spaine, Denmarke, and other princes their confederats. And for the ceasing of theft, reisse, & such other great enormities, the king was appointed to ride in person once euerie yere through all parts of the realme. And certaine noble men were ordeined to exercise iustice in euery shire next adioining to the places where they had their chiefe residence: and herevnto they gaue their othes to be diligent in the administration of iustice. These ordinances were right well obserued all the daies of James the fourth his life time, so that the realme was reduced to great tranquillitie, and gouerned in good peace and iustice. Furthermore, all gifts made by his father in prejudice of the crowne, were reuoked, from the second day of Februarie immediatlie preceeding his death, to the day in which he was slaine.

*About

The king was repentant.
The king wore an iron chaine.
was giuen to deuotion.
He was a great iusticer.

He was learned.

The nobles raise an armie againe.

They were ouerthrowne.

A parlement.

A generall pardon.

King James the fourth an

King James the fourth an

The answer the rebels to the kings message.

They met in pitched field.
The king is put to the worse.
He is slaine.

Thin.

James the fourth.

1488.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan.lib.13.

* About this time was a monster borne of a strange forme, hauing from the nauill downeward the perfect parts of one man, not different from the right proportion of a man: but from the nauill vppward, it was double bodied, hauing all perfect parts answering euerie of those bodies, sundered to all actions and shew. This monster the king commanded to be diligentlie nourished and instructed, but chiefelie in musike (wherein it profited verie much.) Further also learning diuers sorts of languages, whose seuerall wits and natures manifestlie appeared by diuers dispositions of their minds. For sometime they would fall out one with another, and when anie thing displeased them, they would most bitterly contend the one with the other: contrarie, when anie thing happened to their liking or desire, they would consult and agree together as friends. In which this was worthe remembrance, that if the legges or loines had bene hurt below, they both together felt the paine; but if they were pinched or grieued in any part aboue feuered from the other, then that bodie onelie felt the same which had that hurt done vnto it. Which different sensc did more plainelie appeare in the death of the one of them: for when the one bodie died manie daies before the other, that which liued, did after by little and little consume, by the putrifaction of the other bodie then dead; which monster liued 28 yeeres, and in the time of John the gouernor: of which thing we doubt not to write (more boldlie) sith there are men yet liuing of honest fame which saw these things.)

Buchan.li.13.

This king in the beginning of his reigne, to make his estate the surer, and more faithfull to reconcile the harts of such as had maintained factions against him, determined to marie the daughters of his aunt by two husbands, to two of those noble men: for which cause he married Greina Wold to Alexander Forbois, and Margaret Hammliton to Patrick Stewart, by which in time there followed a most singular peace in the kingdome. Also an esquier, and an herald were sent into France, Spaine, and other places, to learne where the king might be a suter for some great ladie to soine with him in marriage. Moreover beside these, there were sent honorable ambassadois into France, Spaine, and Denmarke, to renew the old amities & leagues betwixt those realmes and Scotland, as had bene vsed in the daies of this kings progenitors. His two brethren, the duke of Rothesie, and the earle of Mar, he caused to be brought vp in good nourture and vertuous exercise, appointing to them such livings for maintenance of their estates, as his father had assigned them.

For his counsell he chose a certefine number of the prelates, noble men, and barons of his realme, such as were thought most meet, taking this order, that six of them at the least should continually remaine about him, by whose aduise he should do all things that touched the affaires of the realme: and in case any thing was done without their aduise, the same should be indged void, & not to be obeyed, & this was inuolablie kept all his daies. When the esquier and herald were returned againe into Scotland, which had bene to visit strange countries, and made report of that they had seene, there was a parlement holden, in which it was ordeined, that the bishop of Glasgou, the earle Bothwell, and others, should go as ambassadois to sue for the kings marriage in place where it should be most expedient, and most to the kings liking. Great variance rose betwixt the archbishop of saint Andrieus, and the bishop of Glasgou, touching the preheminance of their iurisdiction, which drew the noble men into factions, till the king commanded the same to cease, and that they

should trie it by laie before competent iudges.

* James Ogilvie knight of Aire, was sent ambassadois to the king of Denmarke, to whome the king gaue in charge, that he should labor to renew the old league that was betwene the Danes and the Scots, which he wisely executed and obtained, with certefine priuileges for the benefit of the merchants. By means whereof at his returne, he purchased such fauour of the king, as that he was aduanced to the title of a lord, in which the name of the Ogilvies was first increased with anie honorable title.) The king about the same time toke order for increase of some number of ships to be had in his realme, and that euerie haven to wone should build some, as well for fishing, as to transport merchandize from place to place.

The lords and barons, and such other as would, were commanded to helpe the merchants toward the building of such ships: and for good crample, the king caused to make certefine ships at his owne charges, which might vse the trade of fishing. Moreover, the king considering the ignorance that was amongst the landed men of his realme, when they should passe vpon inquests, he ordeined that euerie landed man should put his eldest sonne to schole, that he might learne perfectlie the lawes of the realme, and that vpon great forfeiture. Thus in the beginning of his reigne, diuers good lawes and constitutions were made, for the advancement of the common-wealth, which he caused to be duly obserued and kept during his time. The pope sent a protonotarie called Forman into Scotland, with a rose and a scepter of gold, to be presented vnto the king, desiring him to perseuere in goodnesse, honor, and vertue, as he had begun. The most part of this yeere the king spent in riding abroad through all parts of his realme to see iustice ministred, speciallie in the norther parts, where the people are commonlie furthest out of order.

There was shortly after some appearance of warres betwixt England and France, wherevpon king Charles sent vnto king James, requiring him of assistance, if it came to passe that the English men did invade France: and further declared, that he had one with him called Richard duke of Yorke, second sonne to king Edward the fourth, who had bene preserued now manie yeeres secretlie by his aunt Margaret duchess of Burgognie, and therefore was iust inheritor to the realme of England, whom he would send into Scotland, praieing the king to assist him to recouer his rightfull heritage, the said realme of England. And shortly after herevpon, the said seined duke (whose right name was Perkin Warbecke, as in the English historie it appeareth) arrived in Scotland well and honorablie accompanied, to trie what purchase he might make there for succors to attaine his pretended right to the crowne of England.

* After whose arrivall he was brought to the presence of king James, before whom he did lamentable bewaile (as he well could) the fall of the house of Yorke, and his owne calamities: most humble and vehementlie beseeching him, to ransom the kinglie blood from that contumelie. For answer wherevnto at that present time, the king bid him be of good heart, for he would so worke, that he should find his sute not defrauded: of all due effect, in obtaining succor in his distresse. Few daies after, the king assembling together his counsell, commanded this (counterfeit) duke of Yorke to be brought vnto him, who now (more than before) did in this assemble bitterlie complaine of his misfortune, shewing, that being borne to great hope of a kingdome (as the sonne of the noblest king of that age) he was left void

Fr. Thin.
Lelleslib.8.
pag.334.

Provision made for ships.
1492. Lelle.

Provision made for learning.

1494. Lelle.
A protonotarie sent into Scotland with a rose.
1495. Lelle.

1492.
The king goeth on progress.

1496. Lelle.

Lelleslib.1.
pag.334.

Perkin Warbecke.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan.lib.13.

1486
A marriage sought for the king.

1491.

Two archbishops strive for the preheminance.

bold of all helpe by the death of his father, & had like to haue fallen into the tyrannie of his vnckle Richard duke of Gloucester, before he could vnderstand what calamitie or misfortune might signifie.

But aided by diuine assistance, he (when his elder brother was murdered by his vnckle) was preserved by the helpe of his fathers friends, and conueied away from the bloudie hands of the usurping king Richard, who (not able in that kingdome, whose heire by right he was) to lead a bare and begged life, did so liue in forrein countries, as he counted the condition of his brother (taken from those miseries by sudden death) to be happie in respect of his owne troubles and extremitie: for he was reserued aliuie to the scoene of fortune, not daring at the first to beuaile his calamitie amongst strangers, whereby he might moue their pitie towards him: yea (and after) when by little and little he came to open what person hee was, how noblie borne, whose heire, and to whome alied, he was (to increase all his former miseries) more grieuouslie assaulted by the malice of fortune than before. For then he could not almost liue in safetie in any place, because of the subtiltie of his enemies, who would haue bought his life (of those with whom he remained) priuillie solliciting them to discover his secrets, and (vnder the colour of feined amitie) to corrupt his true friends, to search out and discover his hidden friends, and to defame him amongst the common people.

Wherewithall not yet satisfied, they reuile (saith he) the ladie Margaret his aunt, and imprison the nobles of England that seemed to fauor his cause; notwithstanding all which (he vsing the truth of his owne conscience against the slanders of hir and his enemies, and moued with pitie for the distresse of his kinsman) did with his abilitie relieue his necessitie. But at length, when he saw no sure defense in a woman and widow (whose authoritie could not stretch to the command of his people in that liberall sort as he would) he was driuen to seeke the aid of other princes, and to request them to looke into the misfortunes that might light vpon such great estates, and that they would not suffer kinglie blood (oppressed by tyrants) to lament in such extremitie. For yet he was not so base minded (although hee were in manie great miseries) that he would not hope at one time or other to be restored to his kingdome, by the helpe of such friends as he had in Ireland and England: adding thereto the helpe which he should haue out of France, whereof he had already made some triall by the singular beneuolence of the same king, hauing liberallie imparted manie benefites vnto him.

Wherewith, not supposing this to allure the kings mind to his fauor, he began by flatterie to extoll him, not douting but he (whose fauor had bene liberallie shewed to the distressed) would now diminish the same to him; but that he hoped that he would (for his singular humanitie to all banished persons, for pitie towards a miserable creature, for loue towards his kinsman, for necessities cause towards his friend, and for the necessitie of league that ought to be among princes) succor and relieue him with men and monie, thereby to helpe him to the recouerie of his kingdome. Wherfore againe he importunately requirerth the king of aid in this extremitie, since the same was honorable to himselfe, acceptable to God, beneficiall for his realme, and a singular fame among other princes in joining with them determined to restore him. Which if he might obtaine (and that the rather by his furtherance) he did liberallie promise alwayes to stand a most firme friend to the Scots, for whose cause he would spend his crowne and life.)

Thus Berkin Warbecke did vse the matter in

such subtill wise, that king James either giuing, or seeming to giue credit to his words, after aduise and deliberation had and taken with his counsell, receiued him in honorable wise, naming and reputing him duke of Borke, and therefore promised him to aid him in all that he might. And shortly after, hee married him to his neere kinswoman the ladie Katharine, daughter to the earle of Huntley, and moreouer raised a great armie, spectallie of the borderers, and with the same hauing this pretended duke in companie with him, inuaded England, burnt towns spoiled houses, and tooke great booties and rich preies both of goods and prisoners, & allured with the sweetnesse of such spoile and gaine, wasted all the countrie of Northumberland, and had gone further, but that he could perceiue no aid comming in vnto this new found duke, contrarie to such golden promises as he had made, that as soone as they were entered into England, there would flocke vnto him both of the nobilitie and commons, and that in great numbers.

King James perceiuing no such matter, thought it better to returne with assured gaine, than to tarie this new sprung dukes doubtful and vn certaine victorie. And so hauing his people laden and pestered with spoile and prisoners, he drew backe into Scotland. The king of England aduertised hereof, made preparation for the raising of an armie, meaning to send the same against the Scots: but the rebellion of the Cornishmen, which chanced the same time about a tarenteuted then of the people, constrained him to imploie that armie to repress the enterprize of those rebels. Yet neuertheless he sent the earle of Surreie to the borders, that with the power of the countrie adioining, he might defend the same from the inuasions of the Scots, if they attempted to breake in: and so the earle late on the borders all that yere.

King James then perceiuing that no maine armie came against him, inuaded easies the borders of England, and laid siege to the castell of Roxham, sending his light horsemen abroad into Northumberland, and the bishopricke of Durham, where they burned and spoiled all about in the countrie: but hearing that the earle of Surreie had raised an armie, and was comming towards them, they returned to the host lieng before Roxham, where king James perceiuing he could not win the castell, notwithstanding he had done great hurt and damage thereto, he raised his siege, retired into his countrie, and left great companies on the borders for defense thereof. And so before the comming of the English armie, king James was returned. The earle of Surreie yet (as the English writers affirme) followed into Scotland, and tooke diuerse castles and towers, remaining within the countrie the space of six or seven daies, and then came backe without battell or any notable skirmish offered.

About the same time was one Peter Hialas sent ambassador from Ferdinando king of Spaine, to treat as a mediator for the concluding of peace betwixt the kings of England and Scotland, which Hialas trauelled so earnestlie in the matter, that at length it was agreed, that certaine commissioners of both the realmes should meet at Apelrosse, where for the king of England, doctor For, then bishop of Durham, with this Hialas, and other graue personages, met the Scottish commissioners. After long conference and much talke had, for the conclusion of a generall peace, finally nothing but a truce might be accorded for certaine yeres, though Hialas did what he possiblie might to haue agreed them for all manner of matters, quarrels, demands, and causes, thatauer the same had bene, that a perpetuall peace might haue bene concluded, because he was thither sent

Berkin Warbecke marieth the earle of Huntleys daughter.

1495.

King James inuadeth Northumberland.

1496.

1497. Lesle. King James returneth without profit of battell.

A rebellion in Cornwall.

The earle of Surreie sent into the north.

1498. The Scots inuade the borders of England.

The earle of Surreie raised an armie.

The Scots raise their siege.

The earle of Surreie went into Scotland.

Peter Hialas an ambassador from the king of Spaine.

Commissioners met at Apelrosse (as some say).

A truce concluded for yeres.

The cause why James was sent.

C. E. J.

for

for that intent.

The king of England required to haue the counterfeitt duke of Yorke (otherwise named Perkin Warbecke) deliuered to him: but king James (cōfessing his honoꝝ more than anie earthlie thing) would in no wise seeme to betraie him that fled to him for succour, and with whome he had copled one of his owne kinswomen in marriage: but he was contented to couenant, that the same Perkin should be constrained to depart out of Scotland, and not to be further aided by him, or by anie other through his meanes or procurement. The king of Scots to keepe promise made in the said treatie of peace, and knowing himselfe to be abused by the said Richard, whom he had reputed to be verelie duke of Yorke (although he was not so) called him before his presence, and declared to him the great fauour and good will which he had borne towards him, putting him in remembrance that for his sake he had taken warre in hand against England, and invaded the countrie in hope of assistance by his friends within the land, where not one resorted to him.

And albeit he had married his nere kinswoman, yet might he not keepe longer warre with England for his sake onelie; except he might be sure of some aid through his meanes, whereof he could see no appearance. He desired him therefore to withdraue forth of his realme, either into Flanders to his fathers sister the ladie Margaret; or into some other place where it pleased him to abide, and expect some better time more conuenient for his purpose. The said Richard gaue the king thanks, and obied his pleasure, departing shortly after out of Scotland, and sailed into Ireland, from thence to transport into Flanders. But finally making an attempt into England, he was taken prisoner in the abbeye of Beaulien, together with his wife, whose beautie was such, as king Henrie thought hir a more meet preie for an emperoz, than for souldiours, and therefore vsed hir verie honozable, appointing hir to remaine in the court with the quene his wife, where she continued so long as the said king liued.

This yere, the peace being well kept betwixt England and Scotland, the same was nere at point to haue bene broken; by reason that the Englishmen which laie in garrison within the castell of Posham, did make a strate with certeine Scottishmen that came riding nere to the castell, as it had bene to haue viewed it. But although they ment no euill, yet diuerse of the Scottishmen were slaine, and manie wounded and sore hurt; so that king James hauing information thereof, was sore displeased therewith, thinking and saieing, that there was no more incertainte thing, than to haue peace with England. And hereupon he sent his herald Merchmount with sharpe and vehement letters vnto the king of England, making great complaint for this iniurie and wrong done to his subiects, by those within the castell of Posham. But receiuing most reasonable letters for excuse of that which was done, as well from the king of England himselfe, as from the bishop of Durham owner of the castell, he was indifferentlie well pleased & satisfied, so that he required to haue the bishop to come into Scotland upon safe conduct to conuene with him, as well for the full quieting of this matter, as for other things which he had to talke with him of.

The bishop by licence of the king his maister, accomplished the Scottish kings request; so that coming into Scotland, he was receiued by him verie honozable at Edinbrough, where (after certeine talke had betwixt them for the appeasing of this last displeasure) the king brake with the bishop for the hauiing of the ladie Margaret, eldest daughter to Hen-

rie the seuenth, as then king of England, to be giuen him in marriage: and further declared that he was minded to send his orators vnto hir father the said king Henrie, about the same matter. And forsomuch as he knew that the bishop was one that might do much with king Henrie, who highlie fauoured him for his singular wisdom and learning, he desired him to be a meane to further his sute, which if it were obtained, he trusted it should highlie rebound to the honoꝝ & wealth of both the realmes. The bishop considering hereina as much as the king was able to tell him, did not onelie promise to do all that in him lay, but also encouraged him to send his orators with all speed, trusting that they should receiue a verie towardlie answer.

King James following the bishops aduise, anon after his returne into England, sent certeine persons ambassadoꝝ vnto king Henrie, to moue him to the effect aboue mentioned. These ambassadoꝝ were highlie welcomed, and verie well heard, so that to be brieue, their request seemed so agreeable to king Henries mind, that the marriage was shortly thereupon concluded (but not consummate betwixt the foresaid James king of Scotland, and the said ladie Margaret daughter to king Henrie) in the tenthenth yere of the said king Henries reigne. At the same time, when this marriage was so agreed vpon, a peace was also concluded betwixt the kings of England and Scotland, for the terme of their two liues. And to auoid that none of either of the said kings subiects that had offended the lawes, should be receiued into anie of their dominions; it was accorded, that no Englishman should come within Scotland, without his princes letters supplicatorie vnto the king of Scots, nor anie Scottishman to come within England, without the like letters from his prince, desiring safe conduct and passeport.

In the yere next insuing, Robert Blakater the bishop of Glasgowe, Adam Hepborne the earle Bothwell, and other noble men of Scotland, were sent in ambassage from king James vnto the king of England; for the perfecting of the foresaid marriage betwixt king James, and the ladie Margaret, eldest daughter to king Henrie, which earle by letters of procuracie and mandat, in the name of his maister king James, assied and handfasted the foresaid ladie Margaret in all solemne wise, according to the manner: which assurance and contract thus made, was published at Pauls crosse in London, on the day of the conuersion of saint Paule, in reioicing whereof *Te Deum* was song, and fiers made, with great feasting & banquetting throughout that citie. This done, the ambassadoꝝ returned into Scotland, and then afterwards was great preparation made in England for the conueieng of the said ladie into Scotland, and likewise great purueiance there for the receiuing of hir.

On the sixteenth of June, king Henrie toke his iournie from Richmond, with his daughter the said ladie Margaret, and came to Colchester, where his mother the countesse of Richmond then laie. And after he had remained there certeine daies in pastime and great solace, he toke leaue of his daughter, giuing hir his blessing with a fatherlie exhortation, and committed the conueiance of hir into Scotland vnto the earle of Surreie, and others. The earle of Northumberland, as then warden of the marches, was appointed to deliuer hir vpon the borders vnto the king of Scotland. And so this faire ladie was conueied with a great companie of lords, ladies, knights, esquires, and gentlemen, vntill she came to the towne of Berwik, and from thence vnto Lambert church in Hamer more within Scotland, where she was receiued by the king and all the nobles of that

An article for Perkin Warbecke.

King James reasoneth with the counterfeitt duke of yorke.

Perkin Warbeck went into Ireland to come into Flanders.

1499. The truce like to be broken.

King James requirith to talke with the bishop of Durham.

King James purposeth to be a suitor for marriage in England.

The consummation of the marriage betwixt king James the fourth, and the ladie Margaret.

Ambassadoꝝ sent into England. 1500. A marriage concluded betwixt king James and the ladie Margaret.

A peace concluded betwixt England & Scotland.

The king of Denmarke cometh into Scotland.

He is resorted to his king-dome by the earle of Arme Neute-nant to king James.

This was in the yere 1504.

The he land was obedient to lawes.

1505. Lest. 1504.

R. Thin.

A deuile to get the king name.

1503. Lest

1506.

1506.

to An ambassage
of into France.

De. ij.

prince

prince of Scotland departed this life at Striueling, and the bishop of Galloway also, who was appointed to be his gouernour.

* About this time, the k. (to tell you here, as saith Lelcus, a matter that to this day is remembred amongest the Romane people with great laughter) created a certeine Italian (with whose wit and pleasant speach he was delighted) abbat of Tungland. This man (being a noble framer of deceit, & boaster of his wit) did on a time persuade the king, that he was so conuersant in all hidden knowledge of naturall things, and in the secret science of Alchymie, that he could turne all other mettals into pure gold, if anie would beare the charge thereof. But after much time spent thereabout (with long looking of the king, and the nobilitie, to see the effect hereof) there was nothing done, but that their purses were emptied, and the baine man was defamed by the breach of his promise. At length when he was fallen into the hatred and offense of all men, he did (partlie to gather againe an opinion & report of his baine glozie, and partlie to recouer the kings sauour) giue out a rumour, that he would (by flying) be in France before the ambassadors (which were sent thither, and had lused from thore to take their iournie) should come thither. For the performance whereof, he appointed a day for them to meet at Striueling, from whence he would take his flight, and begin his iournie. At what time, and to what place, manie resorted together, desirous to see this new bird; amongest whome (for recreations cause) came the king also.

What need manie words. This man fastening (which he had caused to be made of the fethers of diuerse foules) vnto both his sides, lifted by himselfe from the castell of Striueling, into the aire to take his iournie: but this deceiver suddenlie fell headlong to the ground, not able to be holpen by the force of his wings: wherewith the people (uncertaine whether they should rebuke the follie of the man, or pittie his misfortune) flocked about him, demanding this winged abbat how he did: to whome he answered, that he had broken the bone of his thigh, and was out of hope to flie anie more hereafter. To conclude, they all were like to die with laughing, to see him, which before would flie like Icarus, did now lie like Simon Magus, with all his bodie almost broken in peeces. At length when euerie one had laughed their fill, this wretched abbat, to salve all the matter, referred the default of his flying wholie to his wings, because they were not made of eagles fethers and such like, but onelie of pullens fethers, not meet or accustomed to cut the aire with flight; and which by a certeine inward vertue (working according to the nature of those foules) did draw the fethers downe toward the donghill (wher vpon those birds lue) as the adamant draweth iron.]

The 9 of Maie in the yeare after, the lord D'obinie, and the president of Wholous, came from Letwes the French king as ambassadors to declare vnto king James, that he ment to match his eldest daughter in marriage with Francis de Wallois of Wren, and duke of Angoulesme; notwithstanding that Charles king of Castile that was after emperor, made sute for hir. Because therfore he ment not to conclude anie thing in such a weightie matter without consent of his confederats, of which he esteemed king James as chiefe, he required him of his aduise and counsell therein; who after aduise taken, made answer, that albeit the king of France had sufficient counsell about him, yet sith he had desired his aduise, he would friendlie giue the same: which was that he should rather marie his daughter within his owne realme, vnto such as should succeed him, than to bestow hir vpon anie foren prince, with other wise

some claime might be made in time comming vnto the crowne by such as should match with hir. And so with this answer, the president of Wholous departed, reporting the saue at his comming home vnto the French king, who thereupon followed his owne determination therein, confirmed and allowed thus by his confederat the king of Scotland.

The lord D'obinie took a sicknesse and died thereof at Corrospin, in the moneth of Iune, and caused his heart to be sent vnto saint Minians in Galloway; because he had vowed a pilgrimage thither whilst he remained the French kings lieutenant in Naples, where he had achieved manie high enterprises against his enemies. His name was Bernard Steward, lieutenant of those men of warre which Charles the eight of that name king of France did send with Henrie earle of Richmond into England, when the same earle came against king Richard, whom he banquished, and thereby got the crowne. And so after manie noble victories and valiant acts achieved, this lord D'obinie ended his life in his owne countrie of Scotland, where he was borne. This yeare also in Maie and Iune, there were kept great iusts and tourneys in Edinburgh, by one calling himselfe the wild knight, who counterfeited the round table.

There were diuerse ambassadors sent forth this yeare also, as the archdeacon of saint Andrews, and sir Anthonie Darcie into France, and the bishop of Murray into England. The fifteenth of Iulie, the queene was deliuered of a daughter, which shortly after she had receiued baptisme, deceased, and the queene in that childbed was againe in great perill of death. The bishop of Glasco died this yeare in his iournie to Jerusalem, the nine and twentieth of Iulie; James Beton succeeded him in that see. The thirtieth of Iulie, there was a great fraie betwixt the lord Sparwell, and the lord Creighton of Sanchar, where the lord Creighton was chased with his companie from Dunfreis, & the lord of Daliell and the young lord of Crauthlaie with diuerse other were slaine. The nineteenth of September was a great earthquake in manie places both of England and Scotland, namelie, the same was perceiued in churches.

The king of England sent a gentleman with horses trimlie trapped with bards of fæle to be presented to king James, who thankfullie receiued them, and right honozable rewarded the messenger. The archdeacon of saint Andrews returned forth of France in a great ship called the treasure, which ship was cast away on the coast of England, and the archdeacon, and foure hundred persons that were in hir, were brought to the king of England: but the archdeacon in Nouember following returned home and came to Edinburgh. Adam earle of Bothwell and lord Hales departed this life at Edinburgh the seventeenth day of October, and earle Patrike succeeded him. Henrie the seventh king of England, passed out of this world the two and twentieth of April, in the yeare 1509, and his sonne Henrie the eight succeeded him, after whose coronation king James sent an honozable ambassage of certeine lords and a bishop to congratulat him at his first entrie into the rule of his kingdome, as to the maner in such cases apperteineth.

* At this time, John and Andrew Barton (obteining letters of marque from the king against the Portingals) prieng on the borders of Portingale did take manie of their ships (landed with rich merchandise) which they brought into Scotland. Which kind of prizes being often made by the Bartons vnto the Portingals, gaue them cause gréuoulle to complaine to their king, of the wicked piracie of the Scots.

Fr. Thin.
Lelcus lib. 8.
pag. 345.

The lord
D'obinie
died.

This was
the king him-
selfe.

Ambassadors
sent.

The arch-
bishop of Glas-
cow died.

A bickering.

An earth-
quake.

Horses sent
vnto king
James.

The arch-
deacon of saint
Andrews
came out of
France.

The earle
Bothwell
died.

1509.

King Henrie
the eight suc-
ceeded his
father.

Fr. Thin.
Lelcus lib. 8.
cap. 250.

1508.
An ambassage
sent vnto the
king.

The kings
answer.

Scots: but neither the king of Portugal nor his people wish their force, credit or any other advantage to be taken by the Scots, but that he should be contented with the Portuguese ships, if he happened againe with any of them. Considering which, because it shall not seeme to be a manifest wrong by the Scots to the other, and not rather a well coming given by the Portuguese, we have here written the letters of our king James the first, as they be found amongst the records belonging to James the first king of Portugal for this matter. In which it shall manifestly appear, whether the Scots have not caused in the Portuguese to do.

James the first, king of Scotland,
to the most excellent prince
of Portugal.

Whereas your friend, and dear countryman, certain vessels with a Scottish ship laden with merchandise, returning from the port of Seville in Flanders, was invaded by two armed ships, governed by Portuguese, whereof the one was called John Cabot, and the other John Port. Which ship seized certain of our merchants home, many wounded, many taken prisoners, and the rest cast into aether-burne to be let on land at the next ship, was by them carried into Portugal: all which was done to the sight of the coast of the Lusitan ships, which at the same time did assist out of that haven to pass into Portugal. The full counsel whereof, Charles the duke of Burgundy, ambassador of Flanders, understanding, and moved not so much for the singular wrong done to the Scots, as by the breach of the privilege, a right of his burghs and signified the same wrong, and found by order of judgement to the king of Portugal, admonishing him, that in like he was not for such wicked deeds, and for the restoration of the hurt and loss: that he would consider, that all the Portuguese (which frequented the shores of Flanders) should by sentence of judgement, suffer all the damages which the Scots had suffered. But the barbarous cruelty of that rash and insatiable man, did frustrate all his determination.

The king also our grandfather (when he had by his letters complained of that injury to the king of Portugal, and had our much professed) gave forth letters of manue, that as, he gave authority to John the eldest son of our grandfather's brother, which was master of that ship laden down, to recover so much of the Lusitan. Before the execution whereof, my grandfather died: after which (my father being yet some young) the whole state of the realm did suppose it best to do nothing in foreign causes, until he came to full age. At some time of sufficient years, he did forbear to grant the letters of manue of manue, till he had first consulted with the king of Portugal thereunto.

an ambassador into him) our father also did (before we could againe hear any word from thence) leaving me a child not past three years old. The which cause, the governing of the kingdom obliged it best (during our minority) to defer these letters of manue, until we came to ripe years: which was done, and without great grief and complaint of their noble and good men.

Whereupon, we also for these last three years (being now grown to ripe age) nothing do provide, that should the other merchants which to that ship of John, have lost their goods and treasure, as also to prevent the harmes of the said John Barton by way of letters of manue before granted, may have private justice done, rather to take so much recompense of the Portuguese. Whereof yet, we thought it best, that they should not be any of them, until we had first by this Summons our request, and before your majesty the whole order of the matter, which is the intended breaking of the peace, the nature of the loss, and the cause of our long silence, allowinge hoping that you will not see any thing, in respect of your humanity and brightness, but that justice shall be good and just. The which, if you desire us to be satisfied, we require your wisdom to consider, that we cannot forgive our injuries without doing so great wrongs, which were about one order to the harm of all nations, the recovery of their goods taken away, which thing ought not to leave to any man (by any means) to be the breaking of friendship, league, or consanguinity, whereunto we have been much affected, when that time shall happen, we desire your excellency to take the same in good part, most willingly confer and consider long, to whom I will long and happy life. From Greenwich, the day before the Jles of April, in the year, 1542.

The king about this time gave liberal pensions to Robert Buchanan, a notable craftsman for making of bell-peers and other guns, to the which liberalitie, he should make some good pieces at the castle of Edinburgh, whereof there are many yet to be seen at Scotland, with this inscription:
Robert Buchanan fecit hanc fabricam pueri.

This summer the king went on pilgrimage into Saint Dunstons in Gascoigne, and the queen accompanying it, with some household, was brought to bed of a prince, the twenty day of October, the which she died day after was baptised, and named Arthur. Two great ships came south of France to the king, brought with guns, sheaves, and all other kind of munition for warre. Alexander, bastard sonne to the king, with his mother archbishop of Saint Andrews, which had belonged to the same student there in the schools with that famous scholar Erasmus Roterdamus, which was then well come from Flanders to him into Scotland, and was with him received, because he had bestowed his time so well in studies and learning.

The lord of Fife called home with him, who had travelled through great part of this world, and was now passing into Fife, came to the same place.

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perour of Turkie at the citie of Caſtre, who reteined him in ſeruiſe, and gaue him good interteinement, ſo that he remained with him, till he heard that the liuing of Faſt caſtell was fallen to him by lawfull ſucceſſion; notwithſtanding that when he departed out of Scotland, there were eight ſeueral perſons befoze him to ſucceed one after another, which in the meane time were all deceaſed. The 14 of Iulie, Arthur prince of Scotland and the Iles, departed this life in the caſtell of Edenburgh. Two ſcorpions were found, the one quicke, and the other dead, in the orchard of the caſtell of Cragmiller, which thing was reputed for a maruellous great wonder, that anie ſhould be ſene within the Ile of Britaine. In the moneth of September, an vniuerſall ſickenelle reigned hrough all Scotland, whereof manie died. It was verie contagious, and they called it Stope gallant.

There came alſo a paſſing faire woman into Scotland about the ſame time, naming hir ſelfe Katharine Gordon, wiſſe to Perkin Warbecke, that had named himſelfe duke of Porke, but at length being brought to the king, he confeſſed that ſhe was, and ſo auoided the realme. In which meane while, the ladie Katharine Gordon hir ſelfe remained in England, and had right good maintenance, ſo that ſhe liued there verie well and honorable manie yeeres after. Furthermore, the king vpon the eighth day of Nouember comming from Edenburgh to the water of Kile, took diuers miſgouerned perſons, & brought them to Jedworth, where the principall of the Trumbills, with naked ſwords in their hands, and withs about their necks met him, putting themſelues in the kings mercie, which were ſent to ſundrie places to be kept in ward, with diuers other of thoſe countremen, whereby the marches were moze quiet afterwards: and from thence the king paſſed to ſaint Johns towne, where ſuſtice were holden the reſidue of the winter.

The next yeere in the beginning of Maie, the queene went from Dunfermling toward ſaint Dunthois in Roſſe, and was all the way right honozable vſed and interteined. About the tenth of Iulie, ſhe returned to Edenburgh, where ſhe found the lord Dacres, and ſir Robert Durie knight come thither as ambalaſſadors from the king of England hir brother, who were honozable receiued. In the yeere next ſuſuing, in Iune, Andrew Barton being on the ſeas to meet the Boxtingals (againſt whom he had a letter of marque) ſir Edmund Haward lord admerall of England, and the lord Thomas Haward, ſonne and heire vnto the earle of Surrey, were appointed by the king of England to go likewise to ſea with certeine ſhips, and met with the ſaid Andrew as he returned homeward ſore nere to the Dolones, hauing with him onelie one ſhip and one barke.

The Engliſhmen at the firſt made ſigne vnto the Scots as though they ment none euill, ſaue onelie to ſalute them as friends; but getting within them, they ſet vpon them right ſiercelie, and the Scots for a while did as valiantlie defend themſelues, ſo that manie were ſlaine on both ſides: but in the end the Engliſhmen got the vpper hand, wounded Andrew Barton the chiefe capteine of the Scots, that he died of the hurts that he there receiued, and the ſhip called the Unicozne, and the barke called Jennie Peruine, were both taken, with all the Scottiſhmen that remained aliue in the ſame, which were had to London, and ſtaied as priſoners in the biſhop of Porke his houſe for a time, and after ſent home into Scotland. King James was ſore offended with this matter, and therevpon ſent an herald with letters, requiring redreſſe for the ſlaughter of his people, and reſtitution of his ſhips, ſith otherwiſe it might ſeeme

to giue occaſion of breach of the peace. But the king of England denied, that the ſlaughter of a pirat (as he toke Andrew Barton to be) ought to breake anie bond of peace, yet neuertheleſſe he promiſed to ſend commiſſioners to the borders, that ſhould intreat of that matter, and other enozmities chanced betwene the two realmes.

About this time was Alexander Hume the onlie gouernoz of all the marches of Scotland (which befoze were accuſtomed to be diuided into three parts) decrelie beloued to king James, being a man of a ſiercer diſpoſition than was conuenient for the profit of the common-wealth. This man promiſed to the king (troubled with the cares of warre, and carefull to wipe awaie the reproch of late receiued by the Engliſh) that ſhortlie he and his folowers with their kindezed and aliances, would ſo bring the matter about, that the Engliſh ſhould as greatlie lament for their loſſes, as they had now conceiued ioies of their victozies. To the performance whereof, he gathered three thouſand ſouldiers, wherewith he entered England, and there ſpoiled ſeuere towneſes befoze anie ſuccour might come to reſcue them: but as he returned backe laden with booties of all kinds, his men (being accuſtomed to pilfries and robberies) impatient of delate, preſentlie diuided the preie in the hoſt, euerie one departing home to his owne as it was nereſt vnto him. Yet Alexander did not diſperſe ſuch as he might keepe together: but aſſembling as manie of them as would tarie, with a ſmall companie abode the end of all things, alwaies hauing an eye to ſee if anie purſute were made after them. But when he perceiued no bodie to follow, and that there was no doubt of danger (paſſing the time moze careleſſe than befoze) he ſell vntowares into the hands of three hundred Engliſh laid in wait for him, who (taking the opportunitie of the time) did ſet vpon him and his, and (driving them into extreme feare) they killed and put to flight all ſuch as they incountered. In which tumult diuers of the Scots were ſlaine, and two hundred taken, of whom George Hume, brother of the ſaid Alexander (exchanged for Comarck, Heron, and Ford, taken priſoners, and long reteined in Scotland for reuenge of the death of Robert Carr) was one, and the chiefeſt, whereby he departed quietlie into Scotland.

The French king and the duke of Gelderland, perceiuing that the king of England was minded through procurement of the pope & others, to make them warres, either of them ſent ambalaſſadors into Scotland vnto king James, requiring his aſſiſtance againſt England: but king James minding to mainteine peace and concord betwixt the parties, ſent an ambalaſſador vnto the king of England, deſiring him in brotherlie and moſt louing wiſe to liue in peace and quietneſſe, and not to make anie wars againſt his confederat friends, offering himſelfe to agree and compound anie difference that was fallen betwixt the king of England and the ſaid princes. The king of England, who had already ſent aid vnto the ladie regent of the lowe countries againſt the duke of Gelderland, made ſuch faire anſwer herevnto as he thought ſtod with reaſon, and ſo diſpatched the ambalaſſador backe againe to his maſter, without anie moze adu in that matter, about the which he came for that time.

About theſe daies, there was called a provinciall ſynod of biſhops, abbats, and other religious perſons at Edenburgh, in the monaſterie of the Dominicke friers, Baſilomane the popes legat being preſent. In which by the common voice of them all (although againſt the will of manie of them) it was ordeined that heretickes or priuie ſtirrings (whole remedies did partly exceed the value of 40 pounds) ſhould

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.
lib. 12.

The kings
ſalard
maried.

The biſhop of
Surrey came
home.

A young prince
came in
Scotland.

The French
king ſent to
perſuade the
king of Scotland
to warre.

fourteen
piles of
Engliſhmen
taken.

ſpirituall
cured.

The queene
brought to
of a child.
1512. Le.
The league
renewed
France.

Burden
ſent into
England
France.

1513. Le.
Dorſet
ſent into
Scotland
ambalaſſad

151

ſpirituall
warre
of Denmark

Promiſion
out of France

Fr. Thin.
Lellus. lib.
pag 316.

pag

Prince Ar-
thur deceſſed.

Two ſcorpions
found in
Scotland.

Stope gal-
lant a ſickenſe.

Katharine
Gordon.

The Trum-
bills with o-
ther are taken
by the king.

1511.

An ambalaſſage
from the king
of England.

1511. Leſle.

1512.

Two ſhips
taken by the
Engliſhmen.

pay a pension of the tenth to the pope; and should give to the king (when he required) such summes as he liked to demand: which unto this day is called the Batouane monie or tax. John lord Gordon, sonne and heire to Alexander Gordon erle of Huntley, returned out of France, and was married unto the kings bastard daughter, in Nouember following, in this present were 1512, of whome the house of Huntley is descended.

Shortlie after came the bishop of Murray home, hauing bene at Rome, in France, and England, bringing with him from the pope, and the kings of France and England, manie good and pleasant letters: and with him came a cleark of Spaine in ambassage unto the king. This yere the eleventh day of April, the quene was deliuered of a yong prince in the palace of Luthgo, who was shortlie after baptised, and named James the first prince of Scotland, and of the Isles, that after succeeded his father in the kingdome. The lord Dacres, and doctor West came in ambassage from the king of England, and Monsieur de la Mot came with letters also from the French king, to perswade king James to make warre against England, promising him monie, munition, and all other necessarie provisions of warre. In his waie as he passed the seas towards Scotland, he had botoned thre English ships, & brought seven awaie with him unto Lieth for prizes, in the which were but thre Englishmen left aloue. Shortlie after, maister James Ogilvie abbat of Dunburgh came forth of France with letters of the like effect. After this Robert Barton went to the sea, and in Julie brought into Scotland 14 prizes of English men which he had taken.

About this season, the lord of Drumweidie was slaine in Edinburgh by two persons, which toke sanctuary in Holie rood house, and so escaped. John erle of Atholl deceased the nineteenth of September, & Lion Harold king of armes deceased the first of October. Great misrule was exercised on the borders in this season, and therefore the king assembled the lords in Edinburgh for reformation thereof; and while they were there, the quene was brought to bed of a child, which died shortlie after it was christened. There came a great ship into Scotland; which the king of France had sent unto the king, laden with artillerie, powder, and wines, & then was the league and hand renewed betwixt Scotland and France. The same ship landed at Blackness the nineteenth of Nouember. King James sent a pursuivant called Unicorn into France; and another into England called Flaie, which Flaie requested a safe conduct for an ambassage to be sent from the king his maister unto the king of England: but this would not be granted.

Upon the said Flaies returne, Monsieur de la Mot was sent backe into France, and with him sir Walter Ogilvie, and a messenger whome the pope had sent into Scotland. On the sixteenth of March next ensuing, doctor West came as ambassage into Scotland from the king of England, appointing that certaine commissioners should meet on the borders for redresse of all quarrels betwixt the two realmes, in the moneth of June next ensuing. And this appointment was kept, but no good could be done, as after shall appere. The king sent Forian bishop of Murray into France, to signifie unto the French king the message of the said doctor West, and other things. In the moneth of Maie, there came certeine ships out of Denmark laden with guns, powder, atmoze, & other kind of munition. Also Monsieur de la Mot landed in the west part of Scotland the first day of Maie, with foure ships fraught with wine and flower, and returned againe the nineteenth

of the same moneth.

The great Odonell of Ireland came to king James at Edinburgh, the first of June, offering his friendship and seruice to him before all other princes, and speciallie against the king of England; whereupon he was thankfullie receiued, honozable interteined, & richlie rewarded. And so the band of friendship being with him concluded, he returned into his countrie. The king prepared a great nauie of ships, the principall whereof were the Michaele, Margaret, and James. They made saile towards the sea the twentieth seuenth of Julie; and the king sailed in the Michaele himselfe, till they were past the Island of Maie, James Gordon son to George erle of Huntley being one of the captains of the same ship.

The commissioners met on the borders in June, according to the appointment: but because the Englishmen would not consent to make any redresse or restitution, till the fifteenth of October next, thinking by that delate and continuance of time, they should understand the state of their kings proceedings in France, and in the meane time retaine in their hands the Scottishmens goods which they had taken both by sea and land (as the Scottish writers affirm) the king of Scots being thereof aduertised, sent Lion king of armes unto king Henrie then lieng at siege before Teruine, with letters of complaint, commanding him that if king Henrie refused to accomplish the contents of his said letters, he should denounce warre unto him. Whereupon Lion arriving in the English armie with his coife of arms on his backe, about the middelt of August, desired to speake with the king, and was within a short space by Carter chiefe king at arms of England brought to the kings presence, hauing his nobles and counsellors about him, where, with due reuerence, & some good words first uttered, he deliuered his letters, the tenor whereof insueth.

The tenor of the king of

Scots letters.

Right excellent, right high, and mightie prince, our dearest brother and cosine, we command vs unto you in our maist barbare manner, and receiued fra Rast Beraulde your letters, wharvntill ye approue and allow the doings of your commissioners latelie being with ours at the borders of barthe the realmes, for making of redresse quhilk is thought to you and your counsell should be continuat and delat to the fifteenth day of October. As ye write saais by se aught not compare personallie, but by their accounseys. And in your letters with our herauld Flaie we aduertaine vs ye will naught enter in the treut taken betwixt the maist christian king and your father of Aragoan, because ye and others of the hale liege neither should nor may take peace, treut, nor abstinence of warre with your common enemy, without consens of all the confederats. And that the emperor, king of Aragoan, pea and every of you be bound to make actual warre this instant summer against your common enemy. And that is to do is concluded and openlie sworn in Paules kirke at London, upon S. Markes day last by pap. And farther haie ben a safe conduct upon our request that a certein of ours might haue reioyced to

Odonell presented friendship unto king James.

A nauie sent.

Commissioners met at the borders.

The English men protest at the time.

A king of armes sent unto R. Henrie of England.

The kings bastard named.

The bishop of Murray came home.

A yong prince borne in Scotland.

The French king sent to perswade the king of Scots to warre.

fourteen prizes of Englishmen taken.

Misrule exercised.

The quene brought to bed of a child.

1512. Lesle.

The league renewed with France.

Pursuivants sent into England and France.

1513. Lesle.

Doctor West sent into Scotland ambassage.

1513.

Commission for warre sent out of Denmark.

Promission sent out of France.

an.

king of France required against land.

James adverb are.

hin. us. lib. 8. 56.

to your presence (as our herauld Flaie reports.

Right excellent, right high, and mightie prince, our darest brother and cousing, the said meeting of our and your commissiouners at the borders, was peremptorily appointed betwixt you and vs after diuerse diets, for reformatioun befoze continuet to the commissiouners meeting, to effect that due redresse suld haue bene made at the said meeting, like as for our part our commissiouners offred to haue made that time. And for your part, no malefactor was then arrestet to the said diet. And to glose the same, ye now write that slaars by se need not compere personallie, but by their attourneis, quhilk is again law of God and man. And gef in criminall action all slaars suld naucht compere personallie, na punishment suld follow for slaughter, and then bane it were to seke farther meetings or redresse. And hereby apperes (as the deed shewes) that ye will nouthet kepe gud waies of iustice and equitie nor kindnes with vs.

The great wrongs and unkindnes done befoze to vs and our lieges we ponderate, quhilk we haue suffred this long time in bpbearing, mainfowering, roundzelling of attemptates, so as the bill of the taken of inhalding of bastard Heron and his complices in your contrie, quha slue our warden vnder trust of daies of meeting for iustice, & thereof was filat & ordeint to be deliuerd, in slaing our liege noblemen, vnder coloz by your folks, in taking of others out of our realme prouonet and chanet by the crags in your cuntrie, withhalding of our wiues legacie promist in your diuerse letters for despite of vs, slaughter of Andro Barton by your awon commaund, quha than had naucht offended to you nor your lieges vnredressit, and breaking of the amity in that behalfe by your deed, and withhalding of our ships and artillarie to your vse.

Quharvpon, eft our diuerse requisitions at your wardens, commissiouners, ambassadors, & your selfe, ye wrote and als them by others vnto vs, that full redresse suld be made at the said meeting of commissiouners, and sa were in hope of reformatioun, or at the lest ye for our sake wald haue desisted fra inuasioun of our friendes and coussings within their awne countries that haue naucht offended at you, as we first required you, in fauour of our tender coussing the duke of Gelder, quham to destroy and disinherit ye sent your folks, and dud what was in them. And right sa we lately desired for our brother & coussing the maist christen king of France, quham ye haue caused to tye his countrie of Millaine, and now inuades his selfe, quha is with vs in second degree of blude, and hafe bene vnto you kind without offense, and moze kindar than to vs.

Notwithstanding, in defense of his person we mon take part, and thereto ye haue cause of others, haue giuen occasion to vs

and to our lieges in time by past, nouthet doing iustlie nor kindlie toward vs, proceeding alwaies to the vtter destruction of our nearest friendes, quha mon dow for vs quhan it shall be necessarie; in euill example that ye will hereafter be better vnto vs, quham ye lightly fauour, manifestlie wronged your sister for our sake in contrarie our wits: and laieng to our herauld that we giue you faire wordes, and thinke the contrarie, in deed such it is, we gaue you wordes as ye dud vs, trusting that ye suld haue emended to vs, or worthin kinder to our frends for our sakes, and suld naught haue stopped our seruitoris passage to labour pear, that they mought as the papes halines exhorted vs by his breuites to do. And therebpon we were contented to haue ouerlone our harmes, and to haue remitted the same, though other informatioun was made to our halie father pape Iulie, by the cardinall of Porke, your ambassador.

And sen you haue now put vs fra our gude beleue through the premises, and speciallie in denieng of safe conduct to our seruants, to resort to your presence, as your ambassador doctor West instantlie desired we suld sende one of our counsell vnto you vpon great matters, and appointing of differences debatable betwixt you and vs, furthering of pear if we might, betwixt the most christen king & you, we neuer hard to this purpose safe conduct denied betwixt Infidels. Herefoze we write to you this time at length plainesse of our mind, that we require and desire you to desist fra farther inuasioun and vtter destruction of our brother and coussing the maist christen king, to quham by all confederatioun, blude and alie, and also by new band quhilk you haue compelled vs latelie to take through your iniuries & harmes without remedie done dailie vnto vs, our lieges and subiects, we are bounden and oblist for mutuall defense ilk of others, like as ye & your confederates be oblist for mutuall inuasiouns and actuall warre.

Certifieng you, we will take part in defense of our brother and coussing the maist christen king, and will do what thing we truist may cause you to desist fra pursute of him, and for deuit and postponit iustice to our lieges we mon giue letters of marque according to the amitie betwixt you and vs, quharto ye haue had little regard in time by past, as we haue ordaint our herauld the bearer hereof to say, gif it like you to heare him and gif him credence: right excellent, right high & mightie prince our darest brother and coussing, the trinitie haue you in keeping. Geuen vnder our signet at Edenburgh the twentieth first day of Iulie.

King Henrie having read the letter, and considered thereof with aduise of his counsell, sent for the herauld againe, and told him that he had read and well perceiued the contents of the letters which he had deliuered to him, and would make him answer with condition,

The herauld
answer.

The herauld is
sent for.

The heralds
answer.

condition, that he would promise to declare the same to his maister. Whereunto Lion made this answer: Sir, I am his naturall subiect, and he is my naturall lord, and what he commandeth me to say, I may boldly say with fauour; but the commandements of others I may not, nor dare say vnto my soueraigne lord. But your letters sent by me, may declare your maisters pleasure, albeit your answer requireth doings and not sayings, that is, that you immediatlie should returne home. Then said the king: I will returne at my pleasure to your damage, and not at thy maisters summons. And herewith he caused an answer to be written to the king of Scots, in forme as followeth.

King Henrie his answer.

Right excellent, right high & mightie prince, &c. We haue receiued your writing dated at Edinburgh the twentieth first day of Iulie, by your herald Lion this bearer, wherein after rehearfall and accumulation of manie surmised iniuries, griefs and dangers doon by vs and our subiects to you and your lieges, the specialties whereof were superfluous to rehearse, remembzing that to them and euerie of them in effect reasonable answer founded vpon law and conscience, hath tofore bene made to you & your counsell; ye not onelie require vs to desist from further inuasion and vtter destruction of your brother and cosine the French king, but also certifie vs that you will take part in defense of the said king, and that thing which ye trust may rather cause vs to desist from pursute of him, with manie contriued occasions and communications by you causelesse sought & imagined, sounding to the breach of the perpetuall peace passed, concluded, and swozne betwixt you and vs, of which your imagined quarrels causelesse deuised to breake to vs, contrarie to your oth promised, all honoz & kindnesse, we can not maruell; considering the ancient accustomed manners of your progenitozs, which neuer kept longer faith & promise than pleased them.

Howbeit, if the loue and dread of God, mightnesse of bloud, honoz of the world, law and reason had bound you, we suppose ye would neuer haue so farre proceeded, speciallie in our absence. Wherein the pope and all princes christened may well note in you dishonorable demeanour, when ye lieng in wait, seeke the waies to doo that in our said absence, which ye would haue bene well aduised to attempt, we being within our realme and present. And for euident approbation hereof, we need none other proofes nor witnessses, but your owne writings heretofore to vs sent, we being within our realme, wherein ye neuer made mention of taking part with our enimie the French king, but passed the time with vs till after our departure from our said realme. And now percase ye supposing vs so farre from our said realme, to be destitute of defense against your inuasions, haue vttered the

old rancour of your mind, which in couert manner ye haue long kept secret.

Neuerthelesse, we remembzing the brittleness of your promise, & suspecting though not wholie believing so much vntedfastnesse, thought it verie expedient and necessarie to put our said realme in a readinesse for resisting of your said enterprises, hauing firme trust in our Lord God, and the righteousnesse of our cause, with the assistance of our confederats & allies, we shall be able to resist the malice of schismatiks and their adherents, being by the generall counsell expresse excommunicate and interdicted; trusting also in time conuenient to remember our friends, and requite you and our enimies, which by such vnaturall demeanour haue giuen sufficient cause to the disherison of you and your posteritie for euer, from the possibilitie that ye thinke to haue to the realme, which ye now attempt to inuade.

And if the example of the king of Nauarre, being excluded from his realme for assistance giuen to the French king, can not restraine you from this vnaturall dealing; we suppose ye shall haue like assistance of the French king, as the king of Nauarre hath now, who is a king without a realme, & so the French king peaceablie suffereth him to continue, whereunto good regard would be taken. And like as we heretofore touched in this our writing, we need not to make anie further answer to the manifold griefs by you surmised in your letter: for so much as if anie law or reason could haue remoued you from your sensuall opinions, ye haue bene manie and oftentimes sufficientlie answered to the same: except onelie to the pretended griefs touching the denieng of our safe conduct to your ambassadoz last sent vnto vs.

Whereunto we make this answer, that we had granted the said safe conduct; and if your herald would haue taken the same with him, like as he hath bene accustomed to solicit safe conducts for merchants and others heretofore, ye might as soone haue had that, as anie other: for we neuer denied safe conduct to anie your lieges to come vnto vs and no further to passe, but we see well, like as your said herald had heretofore made sinister report contrarie to truth, so hath he done now in this case, as it is manifest and open. Finallie, as touching your requisition to desist from further attempting against our enimie the French king, we know you for no competent iudge of so high authoritie to requite vs in that behalfe. Wherefore (God willing) we purpose with the aid and assistance of our confederats and allies to prosecute the same; and as ye doo to vs and our realme, so it shall be remembzed and acquitted hereafter by the helpe of our Lord & our patrone saint George, who right excellent, right high and mightie prince, &c. Dated vnder our signet in our campe before Tirwine, the twelfth day of August.

This

This letter being deliuered vnto the Scottish her-
 rald, he departed with the same into Flanders,
 there to haue taken ship: but for want of readie pas-
 sage he staid, and returned not into Scotland till
 Flodden field was fought, and the king slaine. For
 king James perceiuing all the Englishmens do-
 ings to tend vnto war rather than to peace, hauing
 taken order for the assembling of his people, imme-
 diatlie after he had sent forth his herald with com-
 mandement to denounce the warre, he determined
 to invade the English confines, and first befoze his
 maie force was come together, the lord Humes that
 was lord chamberlaine and warden of Scotland, the
 thirtieth day of August, hearing that the English-
 men had fetched a bottie within the Scottish ground,
 assembled a power, & followed them into Northum-
 berland, but yet he could returne he was forelaid [in
 Brome house, or Brome field] by the Englishmen,
 which breaking out of their ambushes, put the Sco-
 tishmen to the woyle, and of them tooke and slue ma-
 nie.

Englishmen
 fetched a bottie
 in Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

Buchan. lib. 13.

These wars thus begun, the king determined to
 go to his armie (as it seemeth) not yet fullie assem-
 bled. Whereupon comming to Lincolne, he went to
 the church to heare euen-song; as the manner was.
 To whom, after he had entered the chappell, there
 came an old man, whose heare was somewhat yel-
 lowish red, hanging downe vpon his shoulders, his
 forehead high with baldnesse, bare headed, hauing
 his bodie couered with a blewish garment, girded
 with white, and verie reuerent in his countenance.
 This man seeing the king, passed through the com-
 panie standing there, and drew nere to the king.
 Who being now come vnto him (and with a certaine
 rude behauiour, leaning vpon the seat wherein the
 king was placed) in homelie sort saide vnto him:
 King James sent vnto thee, to giue thee admonish-
 ment that thou hasten not forward to the place which
 thou hast determined: which warning if thou dost
 despise, it shall succeed ill with thee, and with all such
 as shall attend vpon thee. Further I am commaun-
 ded to giue thee intelligence befoze hand, that thou es-
 chue the familiaritie, custome, or counsell of women,
 and if thou dost otherwise, it shall succeed to thy
 hurt and reproch. After which thus spoken, he ming-
 led himselfe with the other companie, neither could
 after be found (the euen-song being ended) when he
 was sought for by the king: for he was neuer seene
 after that he had thus deliuered his message. Which
 seemed the more strange, because that manie which
 stood nere him (marking all his order, and desirous
 to haue heard more things from him) could not per-
 ceive his departure; amongst which persons (of
 those that meant to haue asked him further ques-
 tions) David Lindsay (a man of approued credit and
 vertue, verie well learned, and whose life was far
 estranged from lieng and falsehood) was one, who told
 this same to me (saith Buchanan) as a thing most
 certaine; or else I would haue ouerpast it as a fa-
 ble caried about by common report.]

King James
 approached
 nere vnto
 England
 with his
 power.

The king of
 Scots made
 too much
 hast.

Northam.
 The Bzaies.

In the meane time was the whole power of Scot-
 land assembled, with the which king James appro-
 ching to the borders, and nothing abashed with the
 euill lucke thus at the beginning chanced to his peo-
 ple, purposed with greater aduantage of victorie to
 recover that detriment; and hereupon he made such
 hast, that he would not staie for the whole power of
 his realme, which was in preparing to come forward
 vnto him; but comming to the borders, he passed o-
 uer the water of Tweed the two and twentieth of Au-
 gust, and entered into England, lodging that night
 at Wellesham nere to the riuer of Tuisell, and the
 next day laid siege vnto the castell of Northam, and
 within short space wan the Bzaies, overthrowing the

Barnekin, & slue diuerse within the castell, so that
 the capteine and such as had charge within it, desired
 the king to delaie the siege, while they might send to
 the earle of Surreie already come with an armie
 into the northparts, covenanting if they were not
 rescued by the nineteenth day of that moneth, they
 should deliuer the castell vnto the king. This was
 granted: and because none came within the time to
 the rescue, the castell was deliuered at the appoin-
 ted day; a great part of it was overthrowne and
 beaten downe. After this he wan the castels of
 Fould and Etell, & diuerse other places of strength,
 of which part were overthrowne. He also tooke ma-
 nie prisoners, and sent them away into Scotland,
 and diuerse he assured: and thus he abode an eigh-
 teene daies within England, till two parts of his
 armie were scaled & departed home from him, which
 they did vpon this occasion.

Barnekin.

Fould and
 Etell taken.

The king was determined & persuaded to haue
 besieged Berwicke (beyond which he was now pas-
 sed) since the same alone was more hono- (than
 all the other places besides) if they wan it; the taking
 whereof they supposed not to be verie hard, because
 they were sure that the towne and castell were un-
 furnished of all things for the defense thereof.
 Whereupon, the king (deeming nothing too hard for
 his armie, especiallie, since the English were set on
 worke as much as they might in the French wars)
 being nourished in that vanitie (by his flattering
 courtiers) did leaue the same vndone at this time,
 meaning in his returne easilie to haue obtained it.
 But as they were yet at Fould, a herald of the Eng-
 lish came vnto them, requiring that they would ap-
 point a day and place, where and when both the ar-
 mies might foine in battell. Whereupon, there was
 a counsell called amongst the Scots, in which it
 was agreed by the greater part, that the Scots
 should returne home into their countrie, least with
 so small a companie they might hazard the state of
 the whole countrie; especiallie, since that they had al-
 ready sufficientlie obtained fame, glorie and riches,
 and to the vttermost satisfied the band of amitie with
 the French; for there was no iust cause, why they for
 number (so few) and for trauell (in overthrowing so
 manie forts) so much weakened, should now againe
 be laid open to so great a multitude of the English
 daile increasing with succors. For it was said at
 that time; that Thomas Howard brought into the
 field (besides the rest of his armie) 6000 of chosen
 and valiant souldiers from the English campe (in
 France) befoze Turweine.

Fr. Thin.

Buchan. lib. 13.

To which persuasion (to make the matter more
 strange) it was further added, that if the king did
 depart; the English host of necessitie must be dissol-
 ued, and could not that yeare againe be repaired, be-
 cause their souldiers were set from the furthest parts
 of the realme; and that if the king would needs fight,
 that he then should doo it in his owne realme, kee-
 ping the time & place in his power alwaies to be ap-
 pointed. But when the French ambassador (and cer-
 teine other, fed with the French pensions) labored to
 the contrarie; the king being by nature fierce, and
 greedy of warre, was easilie persuaded to abide his
 enimie in that place. In the meane time, when the
 English came not forth (at the day appointed to
 them by the herald, which befoze had bene with the
 Scots) the noblemen of Scotland, taking occasion
 thereof, did afresh go to the king, declaring that
 their not comming to battell was onelie a traine
 and deceit, deferring the matter from day to day,
 to the end that their force might be increased, and
 the Scots diminished.

Wherefore said they, we should vse the like policie
 against them. For since they haue not attended the
 time

time prescribed vnto them, it is no shame to the Scots to retorne into their countrie without battell, or to fight within their owne limits. Of both which, the surer counsell were to follow the first; which if it be not liked, then is there good occasion offered to execute the other. For since the river of Till (hauing his banks) is not passable, but at certeine miles hence (except it be by a bridge) some few may there resist a great multitude. Besides which, when a part of the English armie is passed the bridge, the same bridge maie easilie (by engines placed therfore) be cut in sunder; so that there shall not be passage for anie more: by means whereof, the one part of them shall be subdued on the one side of this riuer, before that anie aid can come vnto them from the other banke. The king liked neither of these deuises and persuasions; but answered, that he would not suffer the English to depart (unfoughten with) although there were an 100000 against him. At which rath answer, the whole nobilitie was greivoulie offended.

Whereupon Archembald Dologlas earle of Angus (which farre excelled all the others both in pées and authoritie) laboured to turne the kings mind with all gentle persuasions, and began to make a more ample discourse vpon the two former counsels giuen by the nobilitie. For he shewed that the king had fullie satisfied the request of the French, in that he had now turned the greatest part of the English armie before bent against the French, against himselfe and his owne people; and had so wrought, that those great armies should neither hurt France nor doe anie iniurie vnto the Scots, sith they were not able long to remaine in campe in those cold places, and in a barren countrie unfurnished of all things (by the calamities of the last warres) and in which there was no corne; and if there were, it could not be ripened (the winter comming on so fast) in those northerne parts of the realme.

And where the French ambassadoz doth so much bge vs vnto the battell, I suppose that the same should not seeme either new or strange vnto vs, that a strange man (which doth not respect the common euill of the realme, but the priuat commoditie of his owne nation) be ouer laushy in powring out the bloud of other men. Besides which, his request is ouer impudent, to demand of the Scots that which the French king (a man of singular experience and wisdom) doth not iudge conuenient for his owne kingdome or dignitie, if we be ouerthrowne. Yetther should the losse of his host seeme more light vnto him (although we are few in number) because that all they of Scotland (which excell in force, authoritie or counsell) are assembled here togither, who being slaine, the rest of the realme would some be a preie to the victor. What? Is it more safe for vs, and more profitable to the eschewing of all danger, for him to fight at this present? No trulie. For if Lewis do suppose, that the English (by imagined meanes) may be either made needie of monie, or else wteried by delaie; what can be done more necessarie for the present state of things, than to compell the enimie to diuide his armie; to the end that we may ease the weight of warre against the French by one part of the host to be sent against vs, and still to hold them plate as it were alwaies to keepe them readie to set vpon vs, & by removing to giue them cause to follow vs? For so I suppose shall the glorie and shew (which these men I feare rather valliant in words than deeds, do with their rashnesse so much pretend) be fullie answered. For what can happen more honorable to the king, than that we (by the ouerthrow of so manie castles, by the spoile of so manie countreies with sword and fire, and by the drining home of so great hosties and preies) haue done that iniurie to them,

as that their countrie shall not by the peace of manie pées recover his former estate? What greater profit may we loke for by warre, than in so great tumult of warres, with great praise and honor to vs, and with shame and reproch to our enimies, to obtaine quiet, ioined with gaine and glorie for the refreshing of our selues? Which kind of victorie (that is gotten more by words than by swordes) chieflie belongeth to men, and of men speciallie to the leaders and capteins, as such a glorie whereof the common souldiours may not challenge anie part.

Which being thus spoken by earle Dologlas, although all they which were present seemed (by their countenance) to giue consent thereto: yet the king (who had with other bound himselfe to fight with the English) receiued these counsels with contrarie cares; and in heat commanded Dologlas to depart home, if he were afraid of the enimie. Whereupon he (conceiuing some unkindnesse, and inwardlie beholding wherevnto all these things would come by the kings rashnesse) forthwith burst out in teares. After which (as soone as he could settle himselfe thereto) he spake these few words. If (said he) my former life did not cleare me from the reproch of a coward, I know not with what reason or persuasion I might cleare or defend my selfe. For trulie so long as this my bodie was able to susteine anie labor, I neuer spared to spend the same in the defense of my countreies helpe, and my souereignes honor. But since I see their cares to exclude my counsell (which is the onelie thing wherewith I can now be profitable) I here leaue my two sonnes (who next vnto my countrie are most deare to me) and the rest of my kinned (of whom I greatlie account) as a certeine pledge of the truth and loue of my mind towards thee, and the common helpe of my countrie. And I pray God that he make this feare of mine to be false, and that I may rather be counted a lieng prophet, than behold those things which I feare will happen vnto vs. Which words when the Dologlas had said to the king, he departed thence with his companie. The rest of the nobilitie (because they saw they could not draw the king to their mind) took that place for battell which was next vnto them, to the end (seeing they were much inferior in number to their enimies, for there were 26000 fighting men in the English armie, as it was knowne by the scouts) to defend themselves with the benefit of the place, and thereupon got the hill next vnto their campe.)

In which meane time, the earle of Surrie, lieutenant to the king of England, hauing raised all the power of the north parts of England, came with the same towards the place where he heard that king James was incamped, and approaching within three miles of the Scottish campe in full sight of the Scottishmen, pitcht downe his tents, and incamped with his whole armie. Although king James had great desire to fight with his enimies thus lodged in full view of his campe; yet because he was incamped in a place of great aduantage, so as the enimies could not approach to fight with him, but with great losse and danger to cast themselves away, he thought good to keepe his ground, speciallie because all those of the nobilitie, who were knowne to be of experience, did not hold with their aduise that counselled him to giue battell.

At what time the earle of Surrie had sent an officer at armes vnto him, requiring him to come forth of his strength vnto some indifferent ground, where he would be readie to encounter him, & name the earle of Huntley, a man for his high valliantie ioined with wisdom and policie, had in most reputation of all the residue, affirmed in plaine words [besides that which Dologlas had before said] that

nothing

The power of the north countrie raised.

The English campe in sight of the Scottish campe.

King James was minded to keepe his ground.

Paulus Iouius.

The earle of Huntley his counsell.

Fr. Thin.

nothing could be either more fond or foolish, than to fight at pleasure of the enimie, and to set all on a maine chance at his will and appointment, and therefore it should be good for them to remaine there in place of aduantage, and with prolonging the time to trifle with the enimie, in whose campe there was already great scarcitie of vittels, neither was it possible that they should be vittelled from the inner parts of the realme, by reason of the cumbersome waies for cariage to passe now after such abundance of continuall raine as of late was fallen, and not like as yet to ceasse, so that in sitting still and attempting nothing rashlie without aduisement, the king should haue his enimies at his pleasure, as vanquished without stroke stricken through disadvantage of the place, and lacke of vittels to susteine their languishing bodies.

His persuasions.

For the weather.

And suerlie beside the want of vittels, the soule and euill weather sore annoied both parties: for there had not bene one faire day, no scarce one houre of faire weather of all the time the Scottish armie had lien within England, but great cold, wind & raine, which had not onelie caused manie of the Scots to returne home, but also sore vexed the Englishmen, as well in their iourne thitherwards, as also while they lay in campe against the Scottish armie. There was sending of messengers betwixt them to and fro, and the king had sent his quarell in writing vnto the earle of Surrie by his herald Flaie the night before the battell, containing as followeth.

King James his quarell vnto the earle of Surrie.

Where it is alledged that we are come into England against our bond and promise, thereto we answer: that our brother was bound as farre to vs as we were to him, and when we swore last before his ambassadors in presence of our counsell, we expressed speciallie in our oth, that we would keepe to our brother, if our brother kept to vs, and not else. We swore that our brother brake first to vs, and of his breach we required him diuers times of amends: and latelie we warned him, as he did not vs yet we brake. And this we take for our quarell, and by Gods grace shall defend the same at your assixed time, which with Gods helpe we shall abide. Thus was the king verie desirous to trie the matter by battell, although the wisest sort of his nobles wished not that he should doe any thing ouer rashlie.

Prodigious chances.

In here.

The buckle leather of his helmet gnawed with mice. The cloth of his tent of bloodie colour.

There chanced also manie things taken (as yet would say) for warnings of some great mischance to follow, which though some reputed but as vaine and casuall haps; yet the impression of them bred a certeine religious feare and new terror in his heart. For as he was in counsell with his lords, to understand their opinions touching the order of his battels, there was an hare start amongst them, which hauing a thousand arrowes, daggers, and other kind of things bestowed at him, with great noise and shouting, yet he escaped from them all safe and without hurt. The same night also, mice had gnawed in sunder the buckle and leather of his helmet where with he should fasten the same to his hed. And moreover, the cloth or veile of his inner tent (as is said) about the breake of the day, appeared as though the deawie moisture thereof had bene of a blondie colour.

Hereupon the king keeping himselfe within his tent, the earle of Surrie constrained by necessitie to take all waies whereby to traine the king downe from the hill where he was lodged, remoued his campe towards the hills of Floddon, where the king of Scots late incamped: and on the ninth day of September passed the water of Till at Twissell bridge; the reterward going ouer at Whilford, putting themselves as nere as they could betwixt the Scottish campe and Scotland. King James perceiving the Englishmen to passe the water, iudged that they had ment to win an hill that late betwixt them and his campe, and therefore to prevent them, he caused his field to be raised, and fier to be set on the litter & cabins which they had made of boughs, and so with all speed remoued to the other hill, being gotten thither per the Englishmen could perceive him to be remoued out of his former lodgings, because the smoke of the fiers which the Scots had made, covered all the countrie betwixt the two armies.

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In the meane while were the Englishmen aduanced to the foot of Floddon hill, hauing thereby gotten double aduantage: for the Scottish ordinance could not much annoie them in marching vnto the hill, and they againe might gall the Scots in shooting off at them, as they came downewards vpon them. For king James hauing disappointed the Englishmen of the hill, thought verelie it should be an easie matter for him to ouerthrow them, which being put beside the place where they intended (as he thought) to haue camped, would neuer abide the countenance of his puissant armie, if he might attaine to ioine with them. Therefore the Scottish armie [after they had appointed the same into three wards, whereof (as saith Lefleus) the earle of Huntley and the lord Hume led the right wing, the left had the earle of Crawford and Pontrolle; and the king himselfe kept the middle ward, with the earles of Argyle and Lennor] making downewards, incountered with the English host nere to the foot of the mountaine called Brannton, and first sir Edmund Haward leading one of the out wings of the English armie, hauing with him three thousand men, being fiercelie assailed by the Scots on foot, hauing speares and long weapons, and also by certeine horsemen, was in the end discomfited, and his people beaten downe and put to flight, so that being of them forsaken, he was constrained to follow. But yet he and diuerse other which escaped, ioined themselves to the next battell as well as they might. This so prosperous a beginning, who would thinke should haue turned to the losse of the Scots part, and aduancement of the English side. But so it came to passe, for king James no sooner saw that wing of the English host overthrowne and discomfited, but that he deemed how all the whole power of the Englishmen had bene fleeing away: and therefore alighting beside his horse, and commanding those that were about him to follow, prepared himselfe to pursue the chase.

His capitaine did what they could by words to remoue him from his purpose, declaring to him the dutie of a prince: which is not rashlie to enter the fight, but to prouide and see that euerie thing be done in order: and whereas comming to trie the matter by hand blowes, he can doe no more than another man; yet keeping his place as apertineth to his person, he may be worth manie thousands of other. The king nothing moued with these exhortations, breaking his arrais of battell, with a companie of noble men, rushed forward into the fore ward, where accomplishing the office of a footman, he found the Englishmen not fleeing, but manfullie standing at resistance,

The English campe remoued by the earle.

The Scots campe remoued also.

Aduantage gotten by the ground.

King James his practice.

Fr. Thin.

Sir Edmund Haward was fiercelie assailed.

A good beginning had an euill ending.

King James deceived himselfe and alighted from his horse.

The capitaine good counsel not regarded.

The kings hardinellie married all.

Sir Edward Hamme inua and the backe of the reterward.

King James slain.

The lord chamberlaine and still.

The lord chamberlaine beareth the blame.

The English men thanked God for this noble victorie.

1000. Buchanan 1500 men slain.

The Scottish men returned home againe.

They were wick of their some people.

resistance, so that there was a right hard encounter, and manie arrowes shot on euerie side, and great hurt done therewith.

At length sir Edward Stanlie with the reregard of the Englishmen came fiercelie downe from the hill of Bzanton, vpon the backe of the kings armie, wherein they fought cruellie on both parts for a long space; but at length the victorie inclined to the Englishmen. For the king himselfe was there beaten downe and slaine, with all that whole battell which first entered the fight. The other part of the Scottish host, whereof Alexander Hume lord chamberlaine had the gouernance, although he saw where the other Scottishmen were in danger, and closed in on euerie side, yet would he not once remoue one foot forward out of the place (where he stood) to aid them. Whereupon, the lacke of discretion in the king, which would needs run vpon his owne death, amazed the minds of all men, and brought them into such perplexitie, that they knew not what to do; but looked one vpon another without stirring to or fro, as those that were in despaire now after the death of their king to recover the victorie, which by so strange a chance seemed as it were slipped out of their hands.

Whombeit, the lord chamberlaine bare the most blame, for that he did not cause a new onset to be giuen. But it happened well for the Englishmen: for if king James had ordered himselfe wisely in this battell, or that after he was slaine, a new furie had moued the Scots to haue renewed the fight in reuenge of the kings death, as had bene expedient, the victorie vndoubtedlie had bene theirs (as was thought by men of great vnderstanding.) Whereupon the Englishmen remembering how manifestlie Gods godnesse appeared towards them in this battell, confessed themselves long after bound to God for their safetie and deliuerance out of that present danger. The fight began about foure of the clocke in the after none, and continued three houres, in the which fiftene thousand men were slaine on both parts: and of that number a third part at the least was of Englishmen (as was credible reported) but (as our English writers affirme) there died of Englishmen not past fiftene hundred.

But yet the Scottishmen hold, that there died more of the Englishmen than of their nation at this field, and that manie thought it was not the bodie of king James which the Englishmen found in the field, and toke it for his; but rather an other Scottish mans corps, called the lard of Bonehard, who was also slaine there. And it was affirmed by sundrie, that the king was seene the same night aliue at Kelso: and so it was commonlie thought that he was liuing long after, and that he passed the seas into other countries, namelie to Ierusalem to visit the holie sepulchre, and so to dye forth the residue of his daies, in doing penance for his former passed offences: but he appeared not in Scotland after as king, no more than Charles duke of Burgognie did appeare in his countries after the battell of Pannie, although his people had the like vaine opinion that he escaped from that discomfiture aliue.

But now to returne to the truth of the matter where we left. In the night folowing after this terrible battell, the residue of the Scottish armie returned homewards the same way they came, waisting and spoiling the English borders as they passed. At their comming home, euerie man spake euil of them, for that as cowards and naughtie persons, they neither sought to reuenge the death of their noble king, nor yet to succour their fellowes that were beaten downe and slaine befoze their faces. But namelie Alexander Hume lord chamberlaine was reproued, as cause of all that mischief, which be-

ued himselfe not as a captetne, but as a traitor or enimie to his countrie. * Upon the honoz of this victorie, Thomas Howard earle of Surrie (as a note of the conquest) gaue to his seruants this cognifiance (to weare on their left arme) which was a white lion (the beast which he befoze bare as the proper ensigne of that house) standing ouer a red lion (the peculiar note of the kingdome of Scotland) and tearing the same red lion with his pawes.]

Thus haue you heard how through rashnesse and lacke of skilfull order, the Scottish armie was ouercome, and that worthie prince king James the fourth brought to his fatall end, on the ninth day of September, in the twentie and fift yere of his reigne, and thirtie and ninth of his age, which was in the yere from the incarnation 1513. For his politike gouernment and due administration of iustice, which he exercised during the time of his reigne, he deserved to be numbred amongst the best princes that euer reigned ouer the Scottish nation. All theft, reiffe, murder, and robberte ceased in his daies, by such rigorous erection of lawes penall as he caused to be exercised throught all the bounds of Scotland: insomuch that the savage people of the out Isles sorted themselves throught terror and dread of due punishment to liue after the order of lawes and iustice, where otherwise of themselves they are naturallie inclined to sedition, & disquieting of each other. To conclude, men were in great hope, that if it had pleased the hie determinate power of almightie God to haue lent to him longer life, he should haue brought the realme of Scotland to such a flourishing estate, as the like in none of his predecesors times was yet euer heard of.

There died with him in that infortunate battell, of noble men (beside others of the meaner sort) the archbishop of saint Andrews his bastard sonne, the bishop of the Isles: the abbats of Inchaffreie and Kilwenne: the earles of Montrose, Crawford, Argyle, Lennor, Glencar, Cathnes, Castelles, Bothwell, Arrell high constable of Scotland, Abbell, Atholl, and Porton: the lords Louet, Forbes, Clouston, Ross, Fenderbie, Saintcleare, Forbell, and his three brethren, Daunlie, Sempill, Bothicke, Bogonie, Arskill, Blackater, and Cowin: knights and gentlemen of name, sir John Douglas, Cathbert Hume of Fast castle, sir Alexander Seton, sir Dauid, maister John Grant, sir Dunkin Catfield, sir Sander Lotoder, sir George Lotoder, maister Marshall, maister Key, maister Elliot, maister Catwell clerke of the chancerie, the deane of Elfeffer, Packe bene, Packe Clene, with manie others.

* This James the fourth was of a firme bodie, of iust stature, of most comelie countenance, and of sharpe wit, but altogether vnlearned, as the fault of that age was. But he did diligentlie applie himselfe to an old custome of the countrie, cunninglie to cure wounds, the knowledge whereof in times past was a thing common to all the nobilitie, being alwaies vsed to the warres. He was easilie to be spoken vnto, gentle in his answers, iust in his iudgements, and so moderat in punishments, that all men might easilie see he was vntwilliglie drawn vnto them. Against the detraction of the euil, and admonishment of the good, there was such worthinesse of mind in him (confirmed by the quiet of a good conscience, and the hope of his innocencie) that he would not onelie not be angrie, but not so much as vse a sharpe word vnto them. Amongest which vertues, there were certeine vices crept in by the ouermuch desire to please the people, for whilst he labored to auoid the note of couetousnesse (objected to his father) and sought to win the fauour of the common sort (with sumptuous feasts, gorgeous shewes, and large gifts) he fell into

Fr. Thin.
Buchan, li: 13

The savage
people refoze
med them-
selues.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan, lib. 13.

that pouertie, that it seemed (if he had liued long) that he would haue lost the fauor of his people (wone in old times) by the imposition of new taxes. Wherefore his death was thought to haue timelie happened vnto him.)

*James the
fift.*

An assemble
at Striueling
1513.

The king
crowned, and
the queene ap-
pointed re-
gent.
Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 13.

A debate.

The duke of
Albanie is
sent for.

Monsieur de
la Bautie is
sent into
Scotland.

An assemble
had at Stri-
ueling.

The great
disquietnesse
reigning in
Scotland dur-
ing the mi-
noritie of
James the
fift.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.
lib. 12.

After the death of that worthy prince king James the fourth, slain at Banrton (as before ye haue heard) his sonne James the fift succeeded him: for after the returne of those that escaped from the said field, the queene assembled the lords and estates of the realme together at Striueling, where the 21 day of September 1513, his sonne the foresaid James the fift, a child of one yere, nine moneths, & ten daies of age, by vniuersall aduise and consent was crowned king, and his mother the queene appointed regent of the realme, vsing the counsell of the reuerend father James Beton archbishop of Glasgow, the earles of Huntlye, Angus, and Arrane. * This gouvernement the queene obtained by reason of hir husbands testament, who making his last will (before that he went to the warres) did appoint thereby that the whole administration of all things should remaine with hir, so long as she continued a widow: the which though it were against the custome of the countrie (being the first example of a womans gouvernement amongst the Scots) yet it seemed tolerable to most men (giuen to peace) especiallie since there were not men sufficient at that time for honor and experience to take that charge in hand, by occasion of the great slaughter of the nobles at Flodden field, which gouvernement she did not long enjoy.]

For shortly after they fell at variance amongst themselves, about the bestowing of those benefices which were vacant by the deaths of those persons which had bene slain at the field; by reason whereof, some of them wrote letters secretly into France to John duke of Albanie, willing him to come into Scotland to be tutor to the king, and gouernor of the realme, as he that was next of blood to the king, and nearest to the crowne, in case the kings children deceased without issue. He therefore sent monsieur de la Bautie into Scotland, who in companie of the earle of Arrane, the lord Fleming, and Lion the herald (which long had bene in France) landed on the west coast the third of Nouember. And shortly after, the said monsieur de la Bautie deliuered his letters to the queene and lords, who thereupon met at saint Johns towne, and there by vniuersall consent it was accorded, that the duke of Albanie should be admitted tutor and gouernor to the king & realme, and that the same should be confirmed in parlement by the three estates which should be kept at Edinburgh, the thirtenth day of March next, for the same intent.

To rehearse the troubles and great disquietnesse that chanced, during the minoritie of this king, thorough lacke of one administration of iustice, and by discord & variance daily rising amongst the lords & peeres of the realme, a man might haue iust cause greatly to wonder thereat, and in seeing the same thoroughlie, no lesse lament the oppression done to the poore commons in that wicked and most miserable time, when iustice seemed to sleepe, and rapine with all the other sorts and rabble of inturious violence invaded hir emptie seat, triumphing ouer all as a conqueror. * During the times of which disorder, there was (amongest those which preyed and spoiled others) a great capitaine of the same faction, called Macrobert Struan, who (ouerrunning Atholl and the adjoining places) was accompanied for the most part with eight hundred thieues, and sometime more. Which Struan was at length (whilest he spoiled euerie man at his owne pleasure, and at that time remaining with his uncle John Creighton) taken by

wait laied for him, and inforced to depart with his life.]

The queene sent louing letters vnto the king of England his brother, requiring him of peace. Whereupon a truce was taken betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, for the space of one yere and a day. In the beginning of Februarie, the king of England, hearing that a parlement should be holden in Scotland, for the bringing in of the duke of Albanie to be tutor, wrote to his sister that she should in anie wise impeach and staie his comming thither; declaring how dangerous it was, not onelie for hir, but also for his sonne to haue him gouernor, which was to succed, if his son were once out of the way. But the chieffest cause that moued the king of England to labour, that the duke should haue nothing to do in Scotland, was (as manie thought) for that he knew how the duke, in fauour of the king of France, would shew himselfe an enimie against England, with all the force he might make or procure.

Now shortly after that the peace was concluded betwixt him and the king of France, he sent a letter also, requiring him not to suffer the duke to passe into Scotland, for the reason first alleged. But notwithstanding the labor that king Henrie made to the contrarie, it was concluded by the states in parlement assembled in Edinburgh, at the time prefixed, that sir Patrike Hamilton, and Lion king of armes should be sent into France, to procure the duke to come into Scotland, being now confirmed tutor and gouernor, according to the lawes of the realme in such cases provided. Whereupon, in Aprill then next following they took the seas, and passed into France, accordinglie as by the states had bene desired.

This yere came a legat into Scotland from the pope, with certeine priuileges granted to the king and realme. The thirtieth of Aprill was the queene deliuered of a prince in the castell of Striueling, which was baptised by the postulat of Dunfirmling, and the archdeane of saint Andzewes, and instantly confirmed by the bishop of Cathnesse, by the name of Alexander. During the time that the queene lay in childbed, great discord fell out betwixt the lords of the west parts, and the other lords of the realme: but shortly after the queene called an assemble at Edinburgh the twelfth of Iulie, where they were all well agreed. And herewith two of the cleargie were sent into England for peace. And the 28 of the same moneth, maister James Ogilvie abbat of Dunburgh, and sir Patrike Hamilton, and Lion the herald came forth of France with articles in writing from the king there, and the duke of Albanie; by the which the dukes comming was excused, because the king could not want him, till some end were had touching the warres betwixt him and the king of England, which was concluded in October next ensuing.

This yere, the first of August, the queene married Archemald Dologlasle earle of Angus, and immediately after in saint Johns towne took the great seale from the bishop of Glasgow, that was chancellor of the realme. Whereupon the said bishop got him to Edinburgh, where manie lords assisted him, and kept out the queene and his new husband, so that they might not enter there: whereof great discord rose within the realme amongst the nobles and peeres of the same. In the peace contracted betwixt Lewis the twelfth of that name, king of France, and Henrie the eight king of England, no mention was made of the realme of Scotland: for the which the Scottishmen thought great salt in the French king, seeing that for his cause the warre had bene attempted betwixt them and England. The same yere, about

The king of
England writ-
terh to his li-
ter.

The duke of
Albanie con-
firmed tutor
by parlement.

1514.
A legat from
Rome.
The queene
deliuered of
her second son
Alexander.

The mariage
of the queene
mother.
The great
seale taken
from the bi-
shop of Glas-
gow.

A peace con-
clude d be-
twixt Eng-
land & France

The becrasse
of the bishop
of Aberdeen.

Monsieur de
la Bautie.

1514.

The castell of
Dunbzeon
taken.

The popes
bulls publi-
shed.
1515. Lesle.

Contention
about the in-
terreg of the
late offitaint
Indreows.

1515.
Truce be-
twixt Eng-
land and
Scotland.

The duke of
Albanie his
arrival in
Scotland.

The duke of
Albanie recd
into Ed-
inburgh.

The decess
of the bishop
of Aberdeen.

boat the twentieth fift of October, William Elphing-
ston bishop of Aberdeen, and lord keeper of the priuie
scale departed this life at Edinburgh. He had bene
a faithfull counsellor to James the third & to James
the fourth, by whose helpe he founded and indowd
the college in the old towne of Aberdeen, for the in-
crease of learning & vertue, which hath flourished with
good wits of students ever since, till these our daies.
The 20 of Nouember, Le sire de la Bantie receiued
the castell of Dunbar in the name of the duke of Al-
banie, at the hands of the deane of Glasgow brother
to the bishop of Murray, called Forzman. Shortly
after, John Hepburne the prior of saint Andrews
then elect archbishop of that see, besieged the castell
of saint Andrews, and wain it by force from the keep-
ers of it, which were appointed to defend it in the
name of Gawin Dowlaglas, wherewith the quene
and the earle of Angus were highly offended. The
twelfth of Ianuarie, being a verie darke & windie
night, the earle of Lennor, and the maister of Glen-
carne undermined the nether groundsoile of the cas-
tell gate of Dunbretton, & entered thereby into the
castell, & so toke it, putting out thereof the lord Cr-
skine. Shortly after (that is to say) the fifteenth of
that moneth, a great assemblie was made betwixt
the earles of Angus and Arrane, the one to haue
fought with the other, which was the cause and be-
ginning of great trouble that ensued.

1514.

The castell of
Dunbretton
taken.

The popes
bulla publi-
shed.
1515. Lesle.

Contention
about the in-
terregne of the
late of saint
Andrews.

The same day in Edinburgh were the bulls pub-
lished, which Forzman the bishop of Murray had pur-
chased at Rome, for the obtaining of the archbishop-
ricke of saint Andrews, the abbacies of Dunferme-
ling, and Arbroeth, through supplication of the quene
and duke of Albanie. From which bulls the prior of
saint Andrews appealed, pretending title to the arch-
bishopricke by election and generall gift of the lords
of the realme; and herupon got together his friends
in Edinburgh, as the maister of Hales and others.
And on the other part, the lord chamberleine, and di-
uerse of the bishop of Murreis friends got the kings
letters, by vertue wherof they proclaimed the said
maister of Hales, and the prior of saint Andrews
rebels, with all their assistants, putting them to the
horne: wherupon they were constrained to depart
out of Edinburgh. And in Maie following, the pri-
or went vnto Rome, there to iustifie his appeale.

The foure and twentieth of Februarie, a parle-
ment was assembled at Striueling; but because the
lords could not agree amongst themselves, it was
prolonged till the coming of the duke of Albanie,
which was looked for to be in Scotland, in Aprill; or
at the furthest in Maie next ensuing, as he had sent
word by sir John Striueling of the heire, that was
latelie come from him with letters vnto the lords
and pères of the realme. The fifteenth of Maie, truce
was proclaimed betwixt England and Scotland, to
indure for thre yeares, or thre moneths (as saith
Lesleus) but the same day at six of the clocke in the
afternone, the Englishmen entered the borders of
Scotland vpon the water of Rule, and forraied the
countrie, doing great hurt therein, notwithstanding
the truce. The seuenteenth day of Maie, John
duke of Albanie, tutor and gouernor of Scotland,
arriued at the towne of Ayr, with eight ships well
appointed, and furnished with men and all kind of
necessarie prouision for his estate.

1515.
Truce be-
twixt Eng-
land and
Scotland.

The duke of
Albanie his
arriual in
Scotland.

From thence taking the sea againe, he sailed a-
longst the coast till he came to Dunbretton, and there
came on land, & on the next day passed forth to Glas-
cow, where all the westland lords receiued him with
great semblance of reioysing for his arriual. The
six and twentieth day of Maie, he was receiued into
Edinburgh, a great number of lords meeting him
on the way. The quene also came from hir owne lod-

The duke of
Albanie recei-
ued into Ed-
inburgh.

ging and met him, to doo him honor. Sundrie con-
ceits, pageants, & plaies were shewed by the burge-
ses, to honor his entrie in the best maner they could
deuise. Shortly after his coming to Edinburgh,
there came thither forth of all parts of the realme,
the lords and barons, where they being assembled
in counsell, he toke vpon him the gouernement of
the realme, which he promised to vse by their aduise,
so that they would assist him in setting forth of iu-
stice and good orders, which they undertooke to doo.

Hereupon was the parlement, which had bene
prolonged till his coming, summoned to be kept at
Edinburgh the twelfth of Iulie, in the which diuerse
acts were concluded and made; and the lord Dum-
mond was adiudged in the dukes mercie, for stri-
king Lion king of armes. The duke pardoned him
of life and honor, but his lands and goods remained
in the kings hands: notwithstanding, he was after-
wards restored to the same againe. In this parle-
ment also, the duke of Albanie was confirmed by
the thre estates of the realme tutor and gouernor to
the king, the scepter and sword being deliuered to
him: his oth also was taken by the lords, and theirs
giuen to him, that each of them should be faithfull to
others, and namelie to their king and soueraigne
lord, and also should mainteine iustice to the vtter-
most of their powers, for the aduancement of his
honor, and suertie of the realme.

In the meane time, whilest this parlement was
in hand, the gouernor was aduertised that the king
should haue bene conueied forth of the realme se-
cretlie into England: wherupon he suddenlie de-
parted in the night time from Edinburgh, with his
men of warre in good order, & came to Striueling,
where the king, with his brother Alexander, laie with
the quene; which castell, together with the kings per-
son, and the other within it, were deliuered to him
the third day of August: wherupon he committed
them and the castell to the keeping of foure lords of
the realme, whereof the earles of Eglington and
Montrose were two. The lord Hume, because he
had assisted the earle of Angus and the quene a-
gainst the gouernor, was denounced a rebell; and
the earles of Lennor & Arrane, with manie others,
were sent to his houses to seize the same into the
kings hands. In the castell of Hume was laid gun-
powder by a traine, wherby diuerse of them that en-
tered first into the castell were burned.

The lord Hume himselfe got him into England,
and soze disquieted the marches, so that no day of
truce was holden, neither on the east nor middle
marches. The twelfth of August, the quene, the
earle of Angus, and his brother George Dowlglas,
went from Temptallon vnto Berwike, and from
thence passed to the nuncie of Caudestream; wher-
upon aduertisement being giuen to the k. of Eng-
land, and his pleasure therein knowne, the six and
twentieth of that moneth she was receiued by the
lord Dacres, & conueied to Harbottell castell, where
she remained till she was deliuered of a daughter,
called Margaret Dowlglas, afterwards married to
the earle of Lennor, as in place conuenient it shall
further appeare. There was no Scottishman at this
time receiued into England with hir. The gouernor
perceiuing the rebellion of the lord Hume, passed to
the borders with his Frenchmen, where the six of
October, the said lord Hume came & submitted him-
selfe to the gouernors pleasure, and his brother Alex-
ander shortly after did the same, and they were both
deliuered to the earle of Arrane, who was appointed
to keepe them in safetie within the towne of Eden-
burgh.

But the twelfth of October next ensuing, the said
earle of Arrane departed from thence in the night
season,

A parlement
summoned.

The king de-
liuered to the
keeping of cer-
taine lords.

The lord
Hume de-
nounced a res-
bell.

The birth of
the countesse
of Lennor.

The lord
Hume sub-
mitted him-
selfe.

king of
land wzt
to his li-

Duke of
unie con-
ed tutor
parlement.

514.
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second son
ander.

e marriage
e quene
her.
e great
taken
in the bi-
of Glas-

peace con-
d be-
rt Eng-
& France

The earle of Arrane flees awaie.

The lord Hume and oth-
er conuic-
ted of trea-
son.

The old coun-
tesse of Arrane
purchaseth hir
sons pardon.

A commotion
betwixt the
earles of
Murreie and
Huntleie.

Alion king of
armes staied
by the lord
Humes.

A truce con-
cluded be-
twixt Eng-
land & Scot-
land.

The earle of
Arrane est-
ablisches reuol-
teth from the
gouernour.

The earle of
Lennox furni-
sheth Dunbray
to.

The earles of
Lennox and
Arrane take
a respit.
Forman re-

season, with those his prisoners, scaling their waies on foot. Hereupon, the gouernour causing the parlement to be holden that was summoned to begin the foure and twentieth of October, the said lord Hume, maister William Hume, and David Hume, were conuict of treason by all the states, to lose their liues, lands, and goods. This parlement was proroged till fiftene daies after, within which time the earle of Arrane was appointed to make appearance, or else it was agreed that they should proceed against him in like manner. And in that meane space, the gouernour went to besiege the castell of Hamilton, where that noble aged ladie, the old countesse of Arrane, daughter to king James the second, & mother to the earle of Arrane, and aunt to the duke by his fathers side, caused not onelie the castell to be surrendered at the dukes pleasure, but procured also the earle of Arrans peace, which earle, the twelfth of Nouember next ensuing, came with the bishop of Glasgou vnto Edinburgh, and there submitted himselfe to the dukes will.

About the same time, certeine lords toke part with the earle of Murreie the kings bastard brother, and the earle of Erroll, against the erle of Huntleie, and raised a commotion; so that being got into Edinburgh, there was much adoe, & the towne greatly disquieted. The gouernour lieng in the abbey, came into the towne, and toke the earles of Huntleie, Erroll, Murreie, and others; and committed them to ward within the castell, while he tried the cause, and finding that maister William Haie being with the earle of Murreie had raised that stirre, he sent the same Haie into France, there to remaine during his pleasure, and forthwith the said earles were set at libertie. Lion king of armes appointed to go into England with letters to king Henrie, was stopped at Caldstreame by the lord Hume, who toke his letters from him, and kept him prisoner, till Alexander Humes mother, that remained prisoner in Dunbar, was exchanged for him. The eighteenth day of December, Alexander duke of Rossie the kings brother departed this life at Striueling.

The seuenteenth day of Januarie, a truce was taken betwixt Egglan and Scotland, till the feast of Pentecost next. This truce was agreed vpon at Coldingham, by certeine commissioners, appointed on either part there, to treat for peace. For the realme of Scotland were these: Monsieur de Plaines the French ambassadoz, archdeacon of saint Andrews, maister Gavin de Dunbar, and sir William Scot of Baluerie knights. The Englishmen comprised for their part, the earle of Angus and the lord Hume within the compasse of this truce. In the meane time, the earle of Arrane departed from the gouernour againe, and repaired to the west parts, where he confederated himselfe with certeine lords, notwithstanding that sir James Hamilton, and the lord of Cauder remained pledges for his good demeanour within the castell of Edinburgh. The earles of Lennox, Glencarne, and other caused the castell of Dunbretton and diuerse other to be furnished, and toke the castell of Glasgou with the kings great artillerie that laie within it, and spoiled the same.

The gouernour aduertised thereof, raised an armie & went to Glasgou, where, by the laboz of the bishop of that place, an appointment was taken, so that the castell was deliuered into the bishops hands. The earle of Lennox came in to the gouernour, and toke a new respit, and about the beginning of March next following, the earle of Arrane and the lord Hume did the like. Forman the archbishop of saint Andrews, against whome the prior of saint Andrews did stand (as ye haue heard) for that same benefice, to

the great diquieting of the realme, by such partakers as chanced thereabout among the lords, came not to the towne of Edinburgh, and resigned all the three benefices, whereof he had purchased bulls of the pope, that is to say, the archbishopricke of saint Andrews, the abbasies of Arbroth and Dunfermling in the gouernours hands; to bestow the same at his pleasure: wherby the counsell of certeine lords, to satisfie such as claimed interest to the same, and pacifying of all debates, bestowed them as followeth.

First, the said archbishopricke he gaue to the said Forman with the abbasies of Dunfermling, and to maister James Hepburne he gaue the bishopricke of Murray, and benefices worth a thousand marks by the yeare vnto the prior of saint Andrews for a recompense; the abbasie of Dunburgh he gaue vnto maister James Ogilvie, and the bishopricke of Aberdeen (then vacant) vnto Alexander Gordon, and to the archbishop of Glasgou called Beton he gaue the abbasie of Arbroth, assigning to the earle of Murray a large pension out thereof. One of the Hamiltons was made abbat of Kilwinning, and George Dundas was made prior of the knights of the roads. And thus he bestowed the benefices which had bene vacant euer since Flodden field, vnto diuerse lords, or to their kinsmen, that by such liberalitie shew towards them, all debates and discords might cease, which had happened amongst them, specially about the bestowing of the same benefices. This was done in the moneth of Februarie.

Shortlie after, the gouernour, by counsell of the lords, to the end the realme might come to a perfect quietnesse, and the noble men vnited together, received into fauor the earle of Angus, & maister Patrike Wantoun secretarie, who for his cause had bene kept as prisoner in Insche galle. He likewise receiued the lord Hume, and his brother, pardoning them all their offenses past. And in parlement holden the first of Maie, they were restored to all their lands, heritages, fees, and honors. About that time, the lord of Straluen in Atholl committed diuerse great offenses and crimes, for the which he was taken by the earle of Atholl, and beheaded at Lograith by the gouernours commission.

All this while, the parlement was not dissolved but vpon prorogation, and so the same began againe the first day of Iulie, at what time the king of England, at request of his sister the queene of Scotland, wrote letters to the lords now assembled in parlement, requesting them to expell the gouernour forth of the realme. But all the lords and states with vniuersall consent sent Albanie the herald with letters to the said king, excusing them, that they might not in anie wise satisfie his desire therein, the same being against reason and the lawes of their countrie.

In the moneth of September, the gouernour commanded the lord Hume, with his brother maister William Hume, and David Iar of Fernihurst, to be arrested and bestowed in seuerall places, that better rule might be kept vpon the borders: but they lieng now in ward, sundrie informations were giuen vpon against them: and thereupon, the eight of October, the said lord Hume and his brother were conuict of treason, for assisting and maintaining of the theues vpon the borders, and other crimes; for the which he was beheaded: and on the morrow after, his brother the foresaid William Hume was likewise beheaded, and their heads were set vpon the Tolbuth in Edinburgh: David Iar was spared.

Alexander lord Hume left yet three brethren in life, who were all by the injuries of those times grievously afflicted with diuerse misfortunes. For George, being banished for the slaughter of a man, remained

signeth his title to the arch-
bishops see.

Bestowing of
benefices.

Fr. Thin.

1515.

The earle of
Angus and oth-
ers received
into fauor.

The duke of
Albanie vili-
fies the bor-
ders. Another par-
lement. The duke of
Albanie se-
cond person of
the realme.

The gouern-
our, albeit he
ence to go i-
to France.

The earle of
Lennox in
ward.

Monsieur
de la Baudi-
made warde
of the mar-
shes.

The parlem-
ent began to
gaine.

1517.
Ambassadoz
from France

The king of
Englands
letters to the
lords.

An ambassa-
doz to France

The lord
Hume and oth-
er arrested
and commit-
ted to ward.

The gouern-
our goeth i-
to France.

The lord
Hume be-
headed.

Gouernour
appointed to
the kings p-
son.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 14.

remained in England amongest his friends. John abbat of Jedburgh was banished beyond Lake. David the younger brother, which was prior of Colvingham two yeares after the death of his brethren, was (by James Hepburne, the husband of his sister) slaine by a traine, under color of a meeting and parlee, whereunto he was called; whome all men did pittie, because he was a harmlesse yong gentleman, of a singular wit, and folowie betrayed by those of whom he ought not so to have bin intrapped.

Shortlie after, the duke rode to Jedburgh with a great companie of men, & staied the great robbing & reaving which had bene used on the borders, & left there good wardens to keepe good rule in those parts, and so returned to Edinburgh. The third of November, another parliament was holden, in which it was decreed, that the gouernour should be deemed and reputed for second person of the realme, notwithstanding the claime made by his elder brother Alexander Steward, that was begotten on the daughter of the earle of Mkeneie, which was alleged to have bene first married to their father the duke of Albanie, before he was married to the earle of Bullognes daughter, on whome he begot the gouernour. Whereupon this Alexander made protestation to be heire to his father; but they were afterward agreed, and Alexander renounced his title in his brothers favor, and was made bishop of Gurrie, and abbat of Scone. At this parlement, the gouernour required licence to go into France, and to be absent there six moneths: but this sute was not granted till Aprill following.

At the same time was the earle of Lennox put in ward within the castell of Edinburgh, till he had caused the castell of Dunbryeton to be deliuered unto one Alane Steward in the constables name, & then he was set at libertie. In the moneth of December, Monsieur de la Bantie was made warden of the east marches in stead of the lord Hume, and kept daies of truce: which procured such hatred, that it cost him afterwards his life. In the moneth of Januarie, the gouernour went to saint Johns towne, and there held his seat of iustice, where the lord Fleming for the time was made great chamberlaine of Scotland, with all the fees thereof. In the yeare 1517, there came ambassadoys from Francis the new French king, to desire, that the ancient league might be renewed betwixt him and the king of Scotland, their realmes, dominions, and subiects.

For this cause, all the lords of the realme were assembled at Edinburgh, where, by them it was concluded, that the gouernour himselfe should passe the seas into France; and also that the bishop of Dunhelld, the secretarie, and the maister of Glencarne as ambassadoys should go thither: the which the thirtenth of Maie, went a shipboard, and by the east seas sailed thither, and the gouernour took ship at Petermarke beside Dunbryeton the seuenth of June, taking his course by the west seas, and so passed into France, where it was agreed, that he should haue remained but onelie foure moneths, he hauing appointed the bishops of saint Andrews and Glasgowe, the earles of Huntley, Argyle, Angus, and Arrane, to gouerne in his place, whilist he was absent. Also he ordeined Anthonie Darcie, or Monsieur de la Bantie lieutenant of the borders.

He also had caused the king to be brought into Edinburgh castell, within the which he should remaine in the keeping of the earle Marshall, the lords Erskin, Bothwell, Rithuen; of the which, two at least should be alwaies present. The queene that remained, as then in England, after the understood that the gouernour was departed towards France, returned to Edinburgh the seuententh of Iunie, but

she was not suffered to see the king till August folloving: at what time, for feare of the pestilence to be crept into the castell, he was removed to Craig-miller, where the queene oftentimes came unto him; but at length, through some suspicion conceived, least the queene might conueie him away from thence into England, he was effronies brought unto the castell of Edinburgh, in which he was kept after, according to the order taken in that behalf.

¶ Much about this time in the which these things were done, John Gordon (the eldest sonne of that Alexander earle of Huntley, which for the praise of his singular godnesse obtained the surname of good) returning out of France (whither a little before he had sailed with the gouernour) was singularly welcomed and interteined of all men, who going unto his owne people (in the north parts) was taged with such grienous sicknesse that he died therewith, and by his father (to whom he should by course of nature erect the same office) shortlie after buried in the abbey of Kilrossie, with a goodlie toorne erected on him by his said father. The death of which John gave (for manie causes) manie griefes unto manie persons: but amongst other the chiefest to his father, who liued not long after his sonne. Which Alexander when he died, left the said earldome to his nephew, sonne of his sonne John; who because he was but ten yeres old, was committed to the earle of Angus, to be instructed in all godnesse of maners answering to the excellencie of that wit therewith he was indued.

This earle Huntley adorned with excellent sweetness of maners and pleasantnesse of wit, the earle of Angus would neuer or verie hardlie suffer to depart out of his companie. For which cause when the erle of Angus, for certeine suspicions of treason was banished Scotland into England, he attempted by all deuises and persuasions to intise the child to haue gone with him: but the yong boie could not be allowed with anie flatteries or persuasions to submit himselfe to the least note of reproch, in forsaking his king and countrie. Wherefore when the earle of Angus was departed into England, the child lifting up his craning hands to the king, did grant himselfe and all he had to the king and his countrie, whome the king receiued with all kind of humanitie; and prouided that he should be instructed in euerie sort of vertue and learning, that was to be desired in such a prince; because the said child was borne of his sisters mariage.

The lords and other nobles highlie offended (as well for the death of the lord Hume, as for that they saw Anthonie Darcie lord Bantie the French aduanced to greater credit than themselves, and not onelie to be made warden of the marches, but also capteine of Dunbryeton, the strongest fort of Scotland) began to raise tumults in the land. For William Cockburne (uncle of Comarck Landon) who (expelling the gardians of the papill) did keepe the castell of Landon, assisted with the helpe of David Hume lord of Woodburne (whose sister the said Cockburne had married) first began a commotion in those parts. For when they saw that all means were taken from them openlie to reuenge the same, and to set upon Bantie, they determined to performe the same (with some secret deuise) by lieng in wait for him.

For the castell of Landon or Landon, being kept in the possession of Woodburne (and such as took his part against the king) he the said Woodburne appointed subtil fellows secretlie to enter the castell, and to reteine it in the kings name. After which, this Woodburne feining a counterfeit anger (for he was a man full of all subtiltie) that this castell was so iniurionlie taken from him, and kept to the kings

The king removed.

The doubt which the Scots had in the queene.

Fr. Thin. Lelcus lib. 9. pag. 386.

Buchan. lib. 14

Lelcus lib. 9. pag. 387.

J. f. lii.

1517.

Monsieur de la Bantie slain by the lord of Woodburne, Fr. Thin.

A parliament called.

The lord of Woodburne indicted.

The earle of Arrane cometh into the Shers.

The maister of Hales.

The bond of league betwixt Scotland & France Capitaine Shoyers.

1518.

The abbat of Glenluce.

The Scots euill bled at the French kings hands.

The bishop of Aberdeen a builder.

kings behoufe, he laid siege to the castell (as though he went about to recover the same with all the power he could) to the intent that Bantie might be intised to come thither to raise the siege. For which cause Bantie (supposing in truth that the castell had bene kept to the vse of the king) hastening the rescue thereof, came forth of the castell of Dunbar to assemble the men of the countrie to raise the siege, as lieutenant of the borders, he was chased by the said lord of Woodburne and other so fiercelie, that in the end he was slaine, and foure Frenchmen with him: his head was cut from the shoulders, and set vp in the towne of Duns [vpon the castell of Hume] the nineteenth of Januarie.

The lords regents were herewith meruelouslie offended, & chose the earle of Arrane to be warden of the borders in de la Banties place, who was also chosen to be prouost of Edinburgh: wherewith the earle of Angus was highlie displeased. But the erle of Arrane, not seeming to passe much thereof, toke George Douglas the said earle of Angus his brother, and Marke Kar, committing them to ward within the castell of Edinburgh, because of the fauor he bare vnto the said lord of Woodburne & his complices. Moreover, for due punishment of the murder of the fore said de la Bantie, there was a parliament called the nineteenth of Februarie next, in the which, David Hume lord of Woodburne, and his three brethren, William Cockbozne & John Hume, with diuerse other their partakers, were indicted for the besieging of the castell of Langton, the slaughter of monsieur de la Bantie, and for the setting vp of his head, intercommuning with the Englishmen, and diuers other misdoings.

Immediatlie after the end of this parlement, the earle of Arrane came into the Shers, with a great armie, and hauing with him the kings great artillery, ment to haue besieged such places as would haue resisted him. But at his being in Lowder, the keyes of the castell of Hume were brought vnto him, which on the next morrow he receiued, and put men within it to keepe it, as he did in Langton and Woodburne, which he receiued at the same time. The maister of Hales was also sought for at that time, that he might haue bene apprehended to answer the slaughter of David Hume, prior of Colbingham, whom he had slaine traitorously. A litle before this parlement, the bishop of Dunkeld was returned from the French king with a bond of the league renewed betwixt Scotland and France. And at that same time was one capitaine Doyres a Frenchman sent forth of France, with a certeine number of men, to receiue the castell of Dunbar into his keeping, which accordingly he did, the same being deliuered vnto him.

The earle of Lennox, who had bene with the gouernor in France, returned home into Scotland, & with him came a French herald from the king with letters, and maister Walter Steward abbat of Glenluce came likewise from the gouernor. And about that time, because the queene and lords were aduertised that the French king had contracted new bonds of peace and amitie with the king of England, without making mention of Scotland, they thought themselves euill vsed, being his confederat friends, and therupon sent sharpe letters to the king of France, and to the gouernor, by Albanie the herald. In the moneth of June, maister Gaiwen Dunbar, archdeane of saint Andrews, and cleark of the register, was preferred to the bishops see of Aberdeen that was vacant by the death of Alexander Gourdon.

This Gaiwen founded an hospitall in Aberdeen, and indowed the same with lands for sustentance of

twelue poore men, with a prouost to haue care ouer them. He also builded a faire bridge, with seuen arches ouer the water of Dee beside Abberden, and purchased lands for the perpetuall vpholding thereof. He also builded two steeples in the cathedrall church, with halfe of the crosse church, and a faire palace for the small prebendaries, called the chapleins. Moreover, he bestowed manie rich & pretious ornaments vpon the same church of Abberden, as copes, chalices, and other such like things, which remained there long after. Bantie right commendable works were accomplished by this diligent prelat, greatlie to his praise and high renowne; for he spent not the fruits of his benefice in vaine, but on such maner of buildings.

The seuenteenth of June, there rose great stir in Edinburgh, by the falling out of the earle of Rothes, and the lord Lindsey, about the iniuring of the shirreffwike of Fife, by reason wherof, they were put in ward, the one in Dunbar, and the other in Dunbretton. About the beginning of August, the queene remaining in Edinburgh, vnderstood that the earle of Angus hir husband, as then sojourning in Douglas dale, had taken a faire gentlewoman in those parts, and kept hir as his concubine; for the which act she conceiued such hatred against him, that there was neuer no perfect loue betwixt them afterwards. In the beginning of Februarie, there came a cleark as ambassadoz from the French king with letters, concerning the concluding of the truce betwixt Scotland and England, which message the lords made small account of, because the king had omitted to comprehend Scotland in the league which he lastlie made with England. The seuenth of June, a mad man in Dundee que in his mad fit a ladie of inheritance, a nun, with two other women, the one of them being great with child, and also two men.

The king of England wrote letters vnto the French king, desiring him to staie the duke of Albany, that he might not come into Scotland; and furthermore, he laid ships of warre in the pase vpon the seas to watch for his comming, and to take him by the waie as he should passe. In September the king was remoued forth of the castell of Edinburgh vnto Dalkith, for donit of the pestilence, which was suspected to be in the castell of Edinburgh. And from Dalkith the erle of Arrane rode to Edinburgh to haue bin estones elected regent & prouost of that towne: but he missed his purpose, for the townesmen would not suffer him to enter, but repelled him backe, so that diuerse were hurt on both sides.

Hereupon, great dissention rose betwixt the said earle of Arrane, and the earle of Angus, because of his repulse in that sute: whereby the whole realme was diuided into partakings, so that sundrie slaughteres thereof ensued, as of the prior of Colbingham, and six of his men murdered, by the lord of Woodburne at Lamerton, the first of October. About the same time, the king returned to the castell of Edinburgh, and in the towne there were remaining at the same time the earles of Angus, Erroll, and Craib, lord; the lord Glames, and other; the bishops of saint Andrews, Abberden, Dkeneie, and Dublane, with diuerse abbats and other prelats. And in the towne of Glasgowe was the bishop of Glasgows chancelor, with the earles of Arrane, Lennox, Eglington, and Castels; the lords Rothe, Scrimpill, the abbat of Paisley, the bishop of Galloway; and other noble men of the west. Thus the lords were diuided, and would not take any order for the good government of the common-weale.

In December, monsieur de la Faict, and a French cleark called Cordell, with an English herald called Clarandine, came from the kings of France and

Contention betwixt the erle of Rothes and the lord Lindsey.

The cause of the hatred betwixt the queene and hir husband.

1519. Lcfe.

1519. A mad man.

The king of England seeth to keepe the duke of Albany forth of Scotland.

The earle of Arrane.

Dissention betwixt the earles of Arrane and Angus.

The peace proclaimed.

1520. Variance betwixt the earle of Angus and the lord of Lennox.

Fr. Thin. Buchan.

The lord of Hume taken.

Monsieur de la Faict.

and England, with an ambassadoe also from the governor, with a conclusion of peace taken for one year, betwixt Scotland and England: who coming to Edinburgh, were received by the earle of Angus, and the other lords there with him, the which sent for the chancellor: the earle of Arrane to come thither; but they would not come anye nearer than to Linlithgo. The ambassadoe therefore toke in hand to perswade, that an assemble might be had in Strinelung: but the earle of Angus would not come there. Nevertheless, the said ambassadoes went thither, where the earle of Arrane and his partakers, as the chancellor and others, received them thankfully, and proclaimed the peace: according to the treatie which they had brought, and so with courteous answer and great rewards licenced them to depart. But in their returne toward England, the earle of Angus with a great number of men met them at Carlaverok, reproving them sharpelie for their demeanour, and for taking their answer of the chancellor, so that they were not a little afraid, least the earle in his displeasure would have used some outrage towards them, which otherwise than in words it should appeare he did not.

In Januarie, about the keeping of a court at Jedburgh, there was raising of people betwixt the earle of Angus on the one part, and Andrew Bar the lord of Fernhurst, in whose aid, James Hamilton came with foure hundred men: but the lord of Selsford then warden, assisting the earle of Angus his part, met Hamilton at Bello with a great company, and when they were lighted on foot, and should have foughten, the men left sir James Hamilton, the bastard of the earle of Arrane, in all the danger, with a few of his owne men about him, so that with much paine he was hoisted, and escaped in great danger unto Hume, with losse of foure of his servants which were slaine: and on the other part, there was an Englishman slaine called Kase Bar, that came in aid of the warden. On the morrow after, the lord of Fernhurst, as baliffe to the earle of Arrane, of that regaltie, held his court at the principall place of the forrest of Jedburgh, and the earle himselfe held his court likewise in an other part of the same land, three miles distant from the other.

The thirtieth day of Appill, the lord of Woodburne, and maister William Dowglafe, newlie made prior of Coldingham, with their partakers in great numbers, came to Edinburgh to aid the earle of Angus, who was within the towne against the earle of Arrane, and James Beton the chancellor, who were also there. But now by the coming of these succors, which entered by force at the weather bolme, and slue the maister of Mountgomerie, home of the earle Eglington, and sir Patrike Hamilton knight, the earle of Arrane and the chancellor, were constrained to forsake the towne, & to passe through the north loch. [To revenge this contumelie, the Hamiltons besieged the cell of Parnocke (which is the castell of Curingham) but they shortly returned backe without doing anye thing against them.]

The one and twentieth of Julie, the earle of Angus being in the towne of Edinburgh, George Hume, brother to the late lord Hume beheaded, came thither with the abbat of Coldingham, brother to the earle of Angus, and David Hume of Woodburne, and a great company of gentlemen, and others, and passed to the Tolbuth, where they remained, till the heads of the lord Hume, and of his brother William were taken downe below the place where they were fastened on a ianill, and this was done in presence of the provost for the time being. The next day they went to Linlithgo, and from thence to Perth, and so to Dundee, and thence to the

cellar, and some other of that faction there. But missing of their purpose, they returned to Edinburgh againe, and causing solempne funerall obsequies to be kept in the blacke friers, for them that ought those heads, with offerings and bankets, they afterwards returned home to their owne dwellings, without attempting anye other thing for that present.

In November, the duke of Albanie arrived in Scotland on the west parts, at an haven called Craigmach, the nineteenth of the same moneth; and on the thre and twentieth he came to Edinburgh, accompanied with the quene, the archbishop of Glasgow, the earle of Huntly, and manie other lords, knights, barons, and gentlemen; and within six daies after their coming thither, the provost and bailiffes were deposed, because they had bene chosen in favour of the earle of Angus, and other appointed in their comes. Then was there a parliament summoned to be kept at Edinburgh, the six and twentieth of Januarie next following; and on the ninth of Januarie, a generall summons of foefallure was proclaimed at the market crosse in Edinburgh, where in were summoned the earle of Angus and his brother, the prior of Coldingham, the lord of Woodburne, the lord of Dalhousie, John Summerhall of Calvostrene, and William Cockburne of Langton, with their complices, to make their appearance in the said parliament to be tried for sundrie great offences by them committed.

Maister Gawin Dowglafe, bishop of Dunkeld, bearing of this proclamation, fled into England, and remained in London at the Savoy, where he departed this life, and is buried in the church there. He was a cunning cleark, and a verie good poet: he translated the twelve booke of the Aeneidos, of Virgil in Scottish meter, and compiled also The palace of honor, with diversie other treatises in the Scottish language, which are yet extant. The earle of Angus fearing the sentence of foefallure to be laied against him at the parliament, procured his wife (although there was small liking betwixt them) to labor for his pardon to the governor. Whereupon it was agreed, that the earle and his brother George Dowglafe should passe out of the realme into France, and there to remaine during the governors pleasure; and so they departed into France, and remained there all the next year following.

The king of England, hearing that the duke of Albanie was arrived in Scotland, and had taken the rule upon him, doubting lest he should perswade the Scottishmen to assist the French king against him, by persuation of the emperor he sent him to make warre, sent his heire Clarence into Scotland, to require the duke to depart from thence, alleging, that it was promised by the king of France at the last entervue betwixt them, which chanced the summer before, that he should not come into Scotland. And moreover whereas the king of England was uncle unto the king of Scots, he charged with himselfe that by nature he was bound to defend his nephew, as he was to do, and therefore he thought it not reason, that the duke being next to the crowne to succeed, if any time came, to the young king, should have the government of him, lest he might be made afoate, as other young kings had bene. He further complained, that the earle of Angus should be sent out of the realme, so that he could not enjoy the company of his wife, sister unto the said king of England.

Clarence had therefore commandment that if the duke refused to depart out of the realme of Scotland, he should intreat a defiance with him, to have againe him: which the duke of Clarence did, declaring this message by the duke's own point to point

The duke of Albanie returned into Scotland.
1511. Buch.

The provost and bailiffes of Edinburgh deposed.
1511. Buch.

Gawin Dowglafe bishop of Dunkeld fled into England.

The earle of Angus fearing the sentence of foefallure.

He and his brother departed.

Clarence an English heire sent to Scotland.

The king of England doubteth to have the duke of Albanie governor to the king his nephew.

warre denounced by Clarence against the duke of Albanie.

The peace proclaimed.

1520.
Gloriance betwixt the earle of Angus and the lord of Fernhurst.

1519. Lefle.

1519.
mad man.

The king of England sent the duke of Albanie forth Scotland.

The earle of Arrane.

Dissention betwixt the earles of Arrane and Angus.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. li. 14.

The lord Hume's head taken downe.

Thou shalt be a fool.

The dukes
answer.

point at Holie rood house, as he had in commande-
ment. To whome the duke answered, that neither the
king of France, nor the king of England should
steale him from comming into his countrie. And as
touching the king, who was as yet young in yeres, he
loued him as his soueraigne lord, and would keepe
him, and defend both him and his realme against all
other that would attempt to invade the same, accor-
ding to his conscience, honor, and dutie. And as tou-
ching the earle of Angus, he had bled towards him
all clemencie and mercie, notwithstanding his euill
demerits, and that principallie for the quenes cause,
whome he would honor as mother to his soueraigne
lord. This answer being reported vnto the king of
England, contented him nothing at all, and there-
fore prepared to make warre.

1522.

The tenth of Aprill, there came seven great ships
into the Forth, vnto Inchkeith, to haue spoiled the
ships, and invade the coast there: but they were so
soutlie resisted and kept off, that they were not suf-
fered to doe anie great exploit, and so they returned
without preie or prise. In this season, Andrew For-
man bishop of saint Andrewes deceased, and bishop
James Beton archbishop of Glasgou, chancelor of
Scotland, was removed to saint Andrewes, & made
abbat also of Dunfermling, and the archbishopricke of
Glasgou was giuen a young man one Gatwin Dun-
bar, that was the kings scholemaster. In the mo-
neth of Maie, there was great adu in Edinburgh,
by the falling out of the seruants of the earles of
Murey and Erroll, with the seruants of the earle of
Huntleie, by reason whereof, the whole towne fell to
partakings; but the duke comming suddenly from
the abbey of Holie rood house, staied the matter, and
committed the said earles vnto ward within the ca-
stell.

The death of
the archbishop
of saint An-
drewes.
James Be-
ton succeeded
him.

War in E-
dinburgh.

The emperor
commeth into
England.
Scots and
Frenchmen
banished forth
of England.
The earle of
Shrewsburie
invadeth
Scotland.

The emperor came into England, and persuaded
the king there to moue warres against the French
king, and so not onelie the Frenchmen but also the
Scots were commanded to auoid out of England,
their goods confiscated, and they condeied forth of
the land, with a white crosse sowed vpon their vpper-
most garment. In Iulie, the earle of Shrewsburie
was sent by the king of England vnto the borders,
with commission, to raise the power of the north
parts to invade Scotland, who vpon the sudden en-
tered and came to Helso, where he burnt one part of
the towne; but the borderers of the Mers and Leut-
dale, not being halfe so manie in number as the o-
ther, set vpon them, slue, and toke manie prisoners,
and so constrained them to returne into England
with small honor.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 2.
pag. 408.

The gouernor after this (when he sawe the Eng-
lish overrun all the borders of Scotland) called a
parlement at Edinburgh, the 9. kalends of August,
to cure the same wound. Beside this, the French fear-
ing them selues (because of a prepared and well fur-
nished naue of the English which did euerie waie
coier and keepe the sea) sent manie (and those wise
and of excellent knowledge) vnto the gouernor, to re-
quest him that he should either by counsell persuade,
or by authoritie enforce his Scots to take armes a-
gainst the English. After which (the matter being
with great consultation and manie reasons tossed
in argument to and fro) it was decreed by common
consent of the parlement, that a chosen number of
souldiers should be prepared, to defend the borders
from the invasion of the enimie; & the more strong-
lie to repell the English force; it was concluded,
that the children of such as were slaine in that expedi-
tion, should be freed from all charges or troubles
that might light on them during their minority:
and further, that the toines of all such which had anie
landes (during their liues) fell in that conquest) should

after the death of their husbands keepe the same for
the terme of five yeres.)

The duke of Albanie, hearing of the great prepa-
ration that the earle of Shrewsburie made, to raise
an armie of foure score thousand men to invade
Scotland, he likewise (as it was before decreed) sent
vnto all the earles, lords, and nobles of the realme,
willing them to raise all such power as they could
make in defense of their countrie; which they did. And
so being assembled, the duke with a mightie armie of
Scottishmen and certeine Frenchmen, with great
artillerie, marched forward, till he came to the water
of Oke ouer against Carleill: and perceiving that
the English armie came not then forward, he did
what he could to persuade the noble men to enter in-
to England: but as they were in counsell together
about that earrest motion made to them by the duke,
a certeine graue personage said to them in this ma-
ner.

The duke of
Albanie rat-
feth an armie
to invade
England.

My lards, hither we be come by the commande-
ment of my lard gouernor duke of Albanie, and albe-
it we be readie to defend our atone native realme,
contrarie the invasion of our auld enimies of Eng-
land, yet neuerthelesse it seemeth not good, nor for
the wele of our realme of Scotland, to passe with-
in England with our armie to invade the same at
this time. And the earnest persuasions quhilk the go-
uernor makes to vs to doe the same, proceeds ala-
nerlie for the pleasure of France. It appereth to be
sufficient enough for vs so lang as the king our sou-
reigne lord is within age to defend our alon realme,
and not to invade: otherwile, we may put the haille
countrie and nobilitie thereof in hazard of tinfall:
for king James the fourth brought the realme of
Scotland to the best that it euer was, and by the
war it was brought to the worst almost that might
be: for by that warre, was he and his nobilitie tinte,
quhilk Scotland sore laments. Wherefore by mine
advice, let vs go to the gouernor, and know of him
the cause why he would persuade vs to invade Eng-
land.

The words
of a counsellor.

Then they all came to the gouernors tent, and the
earle of Arrane, an auncient wise man spake for
them all, and said: My lard gouernor, by your will
and commaundement here is assembled the mass
of the nobilitie of Scotland with their power, by
on a pretense to enter within England. My lards
here would know the cause and quarrell why this
warre is begun, gif it might please your goodnesse, it
should well satisfie their minds. The duke studied a
little space, and said: This question would haif bin
demanded yet now; for well you know, that I for-
berie late I beare to the realme of Scotland (of the
quhilk I haue my name, honor, and lignage) haif
passed the seas from the noble realme of France, in-
to this realme of Scotland. And great cause there
was for me so to doe, to bring you to a vnitie, when
ye were in diuision, by reason whereof, your
realme was like to haue bin conquered and destroied.
And also the king of France, by my suites and
intercession, will toine with you in aid against the
English nation: and when this warre was deter-
minate in the parlement, you made me captaine, au-
thorizing me to invade England with banner dis-
played. There was no demand made of the cause or
quarrell, and that I haif done, is by your assent and
agreement, and that I will iustifie. And to answer
your demand, me think you haif full cause to in-
uade England with fire, sword, and blood, gif ye be
not forgetfull; and without you will beare dishonor
and reproch for euer. For ye know that this realme of
Scotland is your inheritance, as a portion of the
world was of old to our nation, and annexed to our
lawes and customes. When there may there be better waies,
than

The earle of
Arrane decla-
reth to the go-
uernor the
mind of the
lords.

The gou-
ernor would
to the presi-
dents replie.

The dukes
answer to the
earle of Ar-
rane.

Means m
for peace.

The lord
cries.

than to mainteine this our naturall inheritance: Is it not daillie sene, the great inuasions that the Englishmen on vs make, the great manlaughters and murders, with thefts and spoiles that they do daillie: Is not this one cause of warre: To defend the countrie is the office of a king, the honoz of noble men, and the verie seruite of chualtie, and the dutie naturall of the communalitie: for I thinke it a iust quarrell, gif we might conquer the realme of Englaund, and annex it to our owne realme, for the great iniuries and wrongs done by that nation to vs and our predecessozs. For sene the begining of our habitation in this Ile of Britaine, the Englishmen and we haue euer bin enemies, and vs haif they euer hated, and yet haue we euer withstand them. Suppose, we at the last battell of Floddoun field by chance lost our soueraine lard, & diuerse noble men, quihilk was rather by treason of the lard chamberlaine, than otherwise, who would not relieue the kings armie when he might. And yet I thinke we wan the field, quihilk murder all we noble men ought to reuenge. Therefore I would that you suld courageously aduance your selues in this quarrell to get honoz, and to be reuenged.

1523.

The replie of a wise counsellor.

Then one wise man that was president of the counsell, answered the gouernoz, saing: My lard, fortune of weir is led by him that all leides, and he stricks the strake, we can warke na miracles, & heare are the lards of Englaund readie to incounter vs. And gif we inuade their realme, suerlie they will fight, for their power sall increase daillie, and ours will diminish. And gif God graunt vs the victorie (as I trust he sall) yet haue we not won the field, for readie comming is the earle of Shrewesburie samikell dead in Fraunce (as ye knaw well) with an great puissant armie, and there is na doubt, but the king of Englaund will send oʒ bring another armie gif we suld chance to get the first battell. And gif we get the secound field, that will not be without great losse of manie nobles, by reason thereof, the realme shall be weaker. And gif we be ouercommen how manie suld be slaine, God knawes. They that flee are woorthie to be reputed as traitozs to the king, and so by wilfulness and fule hardinesse, the realme may be in ieopardie to be vndone. I say, while the king is within age, we aught to moue na weir, least by weir we may bring him to destruction.

The gouernozs wordes to the president's replie.

Then said the valiant gouernoz: Here is an puissant armie of Scotland, gif we returne, we sall incourage our enemies. Therefore sene you thinke it not gud to inuade, my counsell is that we campe still on the bordures, while we see what the Englishmen pretends to do against our realme. To the which the nobles consented, and laie still there in campe certeine daies after. After this conference had betwixt the nobles and the gouernoz, the quene as then being not with them, but aduertised of all the proceedings and determinations, sent word to the gouernoz, and desired him that there might be a treatie of peace had, and she promised to get the warden of the English marches to come to the gouernozs campe, vpon pledges, wherunto the gouernoz condescended. Hereupon, the lord Dacres, warden of the west marches of England [with Thomas Musgrave] came vnto the gouernozs campe, and thither also at that time was the quene hir selfe come, and so vpon the eleuenth of September, an abstinence of war was taken and couenanted, that in the meane time the duke and quene should send ambassadoz into England, to treat and conclude a resolute peace.

The lord Dacres.

In the moneth of October next ensuing, there were thre ambassadoz sent into England, according to the agreement in the last treatie, but there were so hard and extreme conditions proponed on

the king of Englands behalfe, that the same could not be accepted, as being contrarie to the honoz and weale of the realme of Scotland, as the Scottishmen toke the matter. And so those ambassadoz returned without agreement oʒ conclusion of peace: thereupon followed great trouble betwixt them of the borders of both realmes. The earle of Northumberland was made warden of the whole marches, but shortly after, he began to make sute to be discharged of that office, & ceased not till he obtained it: and then was the earle of Surreie made generall warden, and the lord marquisse Dorset, warden of the east & middle marches; the lord Dacres continuing still in his office of wardenship ouer the west marches.

The earle of Northumberland made lord warden.

The earle of Surreie.

The lord marquisse Dorset.

The lord Dacres.

About the first day of March, the said lordes came to the borders, about which time, the duke of Albanie considering that the warres betwixt Scotland and England were irksome to the nobles of the realme, because the same wars were taken in hand chieflie to serue the French kings turne, therefore he passed by the west seas into France. And in the beginning of March, where he was verie hartlie and gladlie receiued of the king, his request was onlie to haue five thousand horsemen, and ten thousand footmen of Almaines, to be transported into Scotland: and doubted not, if he might haue this granted, but that with that power, and the assistance of the Scots, he should be able to ouerthrow the king of England in battell, oʒ else to driue him out of his realme. But the French king neither beleued this vaine brag, nor yet might spare anie such power, hauing warre at that time both against England, and the emperor: neuertheless, he promised him some aid, thereupon the duke abode and waited for the same a long season. In the meane while, the lordes of Scotland caused certeine noble men to lie vpon the borders moztly, in defense of the same against the Englishmen, daillie looking for support from France. Euerie companie remained their moneths, and then departed home as the custome is, and thus they continued still till September following. Much hurt was done on either part, and diuerse houses were overthrowne and destroyed both in England and Scotland.

The duke of Albanie goeth over into France. His request.

His vaine brag.

1523.

The borders watched.

During which time, the king of France prepared certeine ships, with men, and munition, to passe with the duke of Albanie into Scotland. But the king of England, to catch him by the way, had laid a great naue of ships in the pafe on the seas, as he should make his course. But the duke imbarquing himselfe with his people at Brest in Britaine, sailed by the west parts of Scotland: and the one and twentieth day of September landed at Kirkcubize in the west part of Scotland; he brought with him (beside a good number of Frenchmen) Richard de la Poole, a man of great parentage, bozne in England, and banished his countrie. Whilest the duke was on the sea making saile toward Scotland, the earle of Surreie, with an armie of twentie thousand men, entered into Scotland, and comming to Edinburgh, burned the towne and the abbey. [But Lesleus, lib. 9. pag. 407. saith it was Jedworth which the earle burnt.] It was thought they ment to haue passed further, but the Scottishmen assembling themselves against their inuasions, they were constrained to returne with losse (as some Scottishmen haue written.)

The duke of Albanie retarneth into Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Surreie in uaderth Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan. lib. 14.

* In this place, Buchanan (before he cometh to the parliament assembled by the duke of Albanie after his returne out of France) writeth in this sort. We haue shewed (saith he) how miserable the state of Scotland was the last summer (through the dissention which was amongst the nobilitie) by the English (with all kind of slaughter) spoiling the places bordering nere vnto them, and besetting the

the sea on euerie side, whereby we might be out of hope of all forren aid. For the deuise of the enimie tended to compell the fierce minds of the Scots (abated with such enils) to conclude a league with him; wherewith the Scots were not behind (by reason of the French faction) that by the means of the quene there might be a perpetuall truce taken betwene them. For when the lord Hume was (by death) taken away, the Dowglasse banished, and all the rest of the nobilitie rather met for companions than leaders in battels; such as had withdrawen their mind from the French, applied themselves to the quenes faction.

Whereupon the (to gratifie his brother, and to wrest all the gouernement into his owne hands) did (dissembling his greedie desire to rule) persuaade them, to deliuer their sonne (almost now past childish yeares) out of the hands of strangers, and themselves from the yoke of other mens bondage. For the quene did well foresee, that preparation and succor was made, and did come against his husband, whome before she had begun to hate extreamelie. The king of England also did commend and prefer to the Scots the counsell of his sister, by manie letters sent, and with faire promises offered; because he had none other mind, but that a perpetuall friendship might alwaies remaine betwene the adioined kingdoms; the which, as he had at other times desired; so now he mostlie wished it, not for aie commoditie to himselfe, but to the end that all men might well perceiue that he would embrace, defend, and almuich as rested within his abilitie, seeke the commoditie of his sisters sonne by all the means he might. And if the Scots would persuaade themselves to breake the league with the French, and ioine in amitie with the English; they should shortly well vnderstand, that the king of England did not seeke after soueraintie, glorie, power, or hono; but onelie studied for a concord amongst themselves, & a league betwene their nations. For which cause, he would bestow his onelie daughter Marie vpon James the king of Scotland; by which marriage, the Scots should not be subiect to the gouernement of England; but contrarie, the English vnder the rule of the Scots. For by that means, besides the quenching of great hatred betwene the nations (and intercourse of merchandize, exchange of mutuall courtesies and ioinings in affinitie) there should be an indissoluble knot made for the hono; of the whole Island.

And with this, they (for England) remembred the profit and disadvantage that might rise to the one from other, by the friendship or hatred of either kingdom, and the benefit that they might looke for from their English neighbours, more than by aie possibilitie they might obtaine from their French confederats. For on the one side, the English and they were borne in one continent, brought vp vnder the same influence of the heauen, and so like in all things, in tong, in maners, in lawes, in decrees, in countenance, in color, and in lineaments of bodie, as that they rather seeme one than two nations. On the other side, the French are not onelie different from them, by naturall soile and clemencie of the heauens; but more seuered from them in order and forme of living, being further such a people, as if they were enimies vnto them, they could not greatlie hurt them; and if they be their friends they can not greatlie helpe them. But the English are at hand with men, munition, and monie; when the French, being so far off, are onelie with allurements, inforcements, and for their owne commoditie drawen to take their part. Besides which, there can be no succor from France but by sea, which the enimie may easilie stop; and so the Scots not able

to be succored by them. But from the English they may haue aid by land with speed, and no man can hinder them thereof. Wherefore they should consider how discommodious (for the dispatch of their affairs) and how vnapt (for the defense of themselves) it should be, to hang all the hope of their succor vpon the fauor of the wind; and to place the most suertie of their estate in the vnconstant friendship of the vn-certaine elements. For (if neuer before) yet at this time the Scots might not onlie perceiue in thought but see in deed that helpe is to be hoped (in present dangers) from absent friends, when that the English can not onelie helpe you now, but at this instant do also keepe away your promised and long expected aid, which they haue so besieged vpon the sea, that you can receiue no benefit or helpe from them.

After that these things were thus laid abroad for the knitting of the English league, as there were not a few which gaue consent to that motion, so were there manie that stidie argued to the contrarie. For in that assemblie, there were manie pensioners of the French faction, who (increasing their priuat commoditie by the publike detriment) did vtterlie abhor from all peace; besides whome, there were also some, which suspected the facilitie of promise in the English: especiallie, since the whole estate of England did then chiefele hang vpon the backe of Thomas Wolseie the cardinall, an euill and ambitious person, and who referred all counsels and consultations to the amplifying of his owne priuat authoritie and dignitie; and for that cause, applied that and all other things to euerie blast of fortune. All our men although they were moued by diuerse reasons (as the varietie of diuerse witte byed diuerse minds) did yet with like endeuor tend vnto one end, which was alwaies to defend the French league; for they denied, that the same sudden liberalitie of the enimie, could aie way sozt to their benefit; since this was not the first time that the English had used that policie to intrap vntuarie men: as did Edward the first, who (swearing and binding himselfe with all bonds of law, when he was chosen an arbitrator to cease the strife of the kingdom of Scotland) did with great iniurie make a king of Scots at his pleasure: and of late also, Edward the fourth king of England (when he had promised his daughter Cecillie to the sonne of James the third) did (the maid being readie for the marriage) dissolve the same, by taking occasion of warre through our ciuill dissensions. According to which, the English do now also seeke none other matter, than (casting a vaine hope before vs to gouerne them, to bring vs into right seruitude; and (when we are destitute of all forren helpe) to oppresse vs with all the power of their kingdom.

Neither is that true also (wherein the chiefe strength of their speech consisteth) that the aid of our neighbors naere at hand, is better or surer to vs than further friendship. For how may we looke for aie good from those our neighbors, since commonlie amongst neighbors there neuer want occasions of dissention; which oftentimes chance byingeth forth, and the stronger (having small or no occasion) will manie times seeke to offer: at what time, he which is greatest in armes, must & will appoint lawes of agreement as seemes best to his liking. Beside, there was neuer yet so sacred or firme a bond of amitie betwene adioining kingdoms, which was not oftentimes broken, either by offered or sought occasions of displeasure & breach: neither is it to be hoped, that the English will abstaine from offering violence vnto vs; that haue not spared the blood of so manie of their owne kings. For the sanctitie of leagues, & the religion of an oth, and the faith of compacts

where the English haue killed one, the Scots haue murdered ten as the courtesies will well proue.

David Carr.
warke castell
besieged.

The earle of
Dumrie with
an armie of
foure thou-
sand men.
The marquis
Dorset appoy-
nted to keepe
Berwick.

warke at-
tainted.

The Scots
and French
retire backe
ouer the
water.

and covenants, are in truth firme bonds of amitie amongst the good: but amongst the wicked, they are nets to intrap others, if occasion of commoditie be offered for breach of them. All which benefits and iururies, doe dwell in people, whome nerenesse of bounds, conuersation of language, and not unlike maner of life hath ioined together.

And if all these things should be far otherwise, yet there be two things which we ought speciallie to foresee and prouide for; whereof, the one is, that we spend not our time in vaine by chiding and disagreement, as persons drawn into diuerse factions; the other, that we reiect not our old friends (for this new alliance) before we haue heard what they can say; especiallie in such a cause (as this) which may not be determined, but by the content of the parliament. Upon which, the French followers did earnestlie stand; that there should not anie thing be done therein; and therefore sent certeine of the French aid as ambassadoers about the cause. This thus ended, and the comming of the gouernour spread abroad, the same made manie glad, confirmed the doubtfull thereof, and withdrew others (that were inclined to the English part) from the same opinion they were of.]

The duke immediatlie after his arriuall came to Edinburgh, where he caused all the lords of the realme to assemble in that towne, where he declared the great loue and affection that the king of France bare to the realme of Scotland, inso much as hearing of the slaughters, murders and burnings, practised by the Englishmen, he thought that he felt the same done vnto him, reputing himselfe one of their members. And for reuenging thereof, he would be partner with them as their member: for more credit whereof, he shewed the kings letter, confirming his declaration. He therefore exhorted them to assemble an armie, in reuenge of iniuries & wrongs done to them and their countrie; for he had brought with him monie, men, and artillerie to the furtherance thereof. Hereupon it was concluded, that the armie should assemble at Dowglas dale the eighteenth of October: the which conclusion they kept, and from thence they marched to Caldreame vpon Tweed, and sent ouer the water certeine of their great artillerie, with a companie of Frenchmen and Scots, by the guiding of David Car; and being got ouer, they lay siege to the castell of Marke, which was kept by sir William Lisle capitaine thereof, hauing with him a strong garrison of English souldiers, and great prouision of artillerie, and all things necessarie: yet at the first assault, the vtter barnekin was woone, and the said companie of Scottishmen and Frenchmen lay within the same, indamaging the castell in all they might.

The earle of Surrie and diuerse others of the English nobilitie, with an armie of fortie thousand men, were at Antwike, not far distant from Marke, and the marquesse Dorset was sent with a great companie to keepe the towne of Berwike, for doubt least the same should haue bene besieged. Also in the meane time, a new assault was made to the inner barnekin of Marke; and the same woone likewise as the other had bene before. After this was the castell assailed, and part of it beaten downe with the artillerie lieng on the Scottish side of the water of Tweed. At which breach, the assault was giuen, and the same continued, till that through darknesse and lacke of light, the assailants were driuen to retire. Great slaughter was made at that assault on both sides, but especiallie of them within the house. The assailants went to haue giuen a fresh assault the next day, being the fourth of Nouember: but a soze and vehement storme and tempest of raine chanced

that night, so that they were constrained to leaue off that enterprise, and to get themselves ouer the river againe vnto the armie, least by the rising of the water of Tweed, they might haue bene cut off by their enemies, before they could haue bene succoured.

In the meane time, whilst this siege continued, a number of Scottishmen made a road into the countrie of Glendale within the English marches, and burnt and spoiled diuerse townes, cast downe sundrie piles, and returned without anie resistance: for the earle of Surrie would suffer none of his people to depart from the armie, nor breake order, for feare of more inconuenience. The duke of Albanie lieng on the Scottish side of Tweed, sent an herald vnto the earle of Surrie, willing him to call to remembrance, how in his absence he had inuaded Scotland with fire and sword: for the which cruell dealing, he required him vpon his honoz to come forward, and he would meet him in the confines of both the realmes, and giue him battell. To the which message the earle answered, that he had no commission to inuade Scotland at that time, but it onlie to defend. And (as some haue reported) he caused a secret messenger to passe to the quene, as then lieng a good way distant from the armie, to moue for some abstinence and truce, and further to persuaade the duke to retire home; which he did, so that by his labor, a truce was taken for that instant, and afterward confirmed for a longer time: and thus the duke returned with honoz (as the Scottishmen report.) This truce was well kept all the next winter following, and no inuasion made, till the moneth of Maie: and then was the erle of Surrie sent againe to the English borders, and the lords of Scotland on the other part monethlie laie on their borders by quarters, for defense of their countrie, as the vse is.

On Trinitie sondaie, being the one and twentieth of Maie, five hundred Scots entered England, to surprize the English merchants, and others, going that day vnto Berwike, where pærelle on that day the faire is kept; and so by reason thereof, they met with diuerse of them that went to this faire, and toke to the number of two hundred prisoners, whom they led with them into Scotland. But Hall saith, that by the comming of the young lord of Fulberie to the succors of the Englishmen, the Scots were chased, and lost two hundred of their numbers. On the fift of Iulie, sir William Fentwike, Leonard Pulgrau, & Bassard Heron, with diuers other, to the number of nine hundred Englishmen, entered into the Wers, and began to spoile and rob the countrie: but they were shortly compassed about with Scottishmen, & so hardlie assailed, that although they fought valiantlie a good while, yet by fine force they were compelled to giue ground, and seeke to saue themselves by flight, in which two hundred of them were taken prisoners, and Bassard Heron with diuerse other slaine. Amongest the prisoners, were sir Rafe Fentwike, Leonard Pulgrau, and diuers other gentlemen of good calling.

On the seventeenth of Iulie, the lord Marwell, and sir Alexander Fordein, with diuerse other Scottishmen in great numbers, entered England at the west marches by Caerleill, with displayed banners, and began to harrie the countrie, and burne diuers places. The Englishmen assembled on euerie side, so that they were farre more in number than the Scottishmen, and thereupon set fiercelie vpon their enemies, inso much that for the space of an houre, there was a soze fight continued betwixt them. But the lord Marwell like a right politicke capitaine (as of all that knew him he was no lesse reputed) ceased not to incourage his people: & after that, by the taking of

Glendale burned by the Scots.

An herald sent.

A truce.

See more of this matter in England. I 524.

Scots enter into England

Englishmen inuade Scotland.

Englishmen discomfited. Bassard Heron slaine.

I 524. Four thousand saith Hall.

The lord Marwell inuadeth England.

David Car. Marke castell besieged.

The earle of Surrie with an armie of fortie thousand men. The marquesse Dorset appointed to keepe Berwike.

Marke assaulted.

The Scots and French retire backe over the water.

re the which haue to one, the the haue hered ten e course their histo- will well e.

of Alexander Fordein & diuers others, they had bin put backe, he brought them in a raie againe, and beginning a new skirmish, recovered in maner all the prisoners, tooke and slue diuerse Englishmen, so that he returned with victorie, and led aboue thre hundred prisoners with him home into Scotland.

An assemblie
of the lordes.

After this iourneie, there was an assemblie of the lordes in Edinburgh, with the duke of Albanie, where some of the lordes were of mind that the warre should continue: other thought it not reason, that for the pleasure onelie of France, the realme should suffer such damage, as it had done by those thre last yeres wars now passed, and therefore they persuaded peace. Moreover, there was also much debating of the matter, touching the age and gouernement of the king; some of the lordes holding that he was now of age to take the rule vpon himselfe, and that the guardianship or tutorie of a king expired sooner than of another private person. The duke of Albanie perceiving how the lordes were diuided amongst themselves, and neither content with his gouernement, nor willing to mainteine the warres which he had so earnestlie perswaded for the pleasure of France, he declared to them that he wold returne into France, and so taking his leaue of the nobilitie, went to Striueling where the king was, of whome he toke leaue, also giuing vnto him such louing and faithfull counsell, as to his knowledge seemed expedient, and so went into the west countrie, where he toke the seas in September, and sailed forth into France, [neuer to returne into Scotland.]

The duke of
Albanie re-
turneth into
France.
Fr. Thin.

The king of England [before the rumoz of the departure of the duke of Albanie] hauing in the moneth of June sent ouer into France, vnto Archembald earle of Angus, that remained there vpon the commandement of the duke of Albanie, perswaded him to come from thence secretlie into England, which accordingly he did; and being safelie arrived in England, king Henrie procured him to passe into Scotland, that with the assistance of such lordes as would be readie to take his part, he might raise war against the duke of Albanie, which sought by all means (as the king of England was informed) to destroy him & his: but per the earle could come into Scotland, the duke was departed toward France. On the six and twentieth of Iulie, the king by the aduise of his mother, and certeine yong lordes, came from Striueling vnto Edinburgh; and thre daies after, the quene toke the whole gouernment of the king vpon hir, and entered into the castell of Edinburgh with the king, where they sojourned the most part of the next winter. The prouost of Edinburgh was discharged, whom the towne had chosen, and the lord Marwell was appointed by the quene, prouost in his place. For the performance wherof, there was a parlement also summoned to be holden at Edinburgh the third day of Februarie next ensuing [and the bishop of saint Andrews and Aberdeen (as saith Buchanan li. 14.) were cast into prison, who after gathering armes (and cursing all others) within the space of a moneth following were reconciled to the king.]

The quene
taketh the go-
uernment in-
to hir hands.

A parlement
summoned.
Fr. Thin.

A truce taken
for one yeare.

The king of England glad to heare that the duke of Albanie was departed into France, sent into Scotland in ambassage one maister John Wagnus, and Roger Katcliffe esquier, to declare vnto the quene and lordes, that he would be content that a truce might be accorded betwixt the two realmes of England and Scotland, now that the duke of Albanie was returned into France, who had bene the onlie procurer of the warres. Whereupon they agreed to take truce to indure for one yere, and in the meane time they appointed to send ambassadors into England to treat vpon a continuall peace, all-

ance, and amitie to be had betwixt both the realmes. In this meane while, the earle of Angus came into Scotland: and because of the displeasure which the quene bare him, there ensued occasions of great diuisions within the realme. Notwithstanding the quene by aduise of certeine lordes, sent the lord Gilbert earle of Cassels, Robert Cockeboz, the bishop of Dunkeld, and doctor Wille abbat of Cambuskenneth, ambassadors into England, in the moneth of December; the which were receiued at Greenwich by the king of England the foure and twentieth of the same moneth: where the bishop of Dunkeld made an eloquent oration in Latine, declaring the cause of their coming, the which in effect was for intreatment of peace, loue, and amitie betwixt the two realmes: and for the more sure establisment thereof, they required that a marriage might be concluded betwixt their king & the ladie Marie, daughter to the king of England.

Ambassadors
into England

He foreseteth
the castell of
Edinburgh.

The parties
are agreed.

Councillors
appointed.

This request was well heard by the king, who thereupon appointed commissioners to common thereof with the said ambassadors. Diuerse articles were proponed by the said commissioners on the king of England his behalfe, and in especiall one; which was, that the king of Scotland should renounce the league with the king of France; and that further he should come into England, and remaine there till he came to perfect age to be married. Because the ambassadors had not commission to conclude so farre, the earle of Cassels returned into Scotland, to vnderstand the minds of the lordes and counsell in these points, the other remaining at London till his returne to them againe. * Upon All saints day there was a great motion of wind, with such stormes and tempests of thunder and lightning which suddenlie arose, that the same (ouerthrowing manie priuat houses in Edinburgh, and the pinnacle of the tower of David in the same castell) entered into the quenes lodging with a great flame, which burnt so vehementlie, and went so farre, that it had almost consumed the same; which storme (ouerthrowing the buildings about the chamber of the bishop of Whitchurch) the bishops lodging did yet remaine safe not touched with the violence of the flame.)

When the day of the parlement appointed to be holden in the Tolbuth of Edinburgh was come, the king, quene, and lordes, fearing some tumult in the towne to be raised by the earle of Angus, would not passe forth of the castell, but kept the parlement within the same. Archembald Dologlasse earle of Angus, and John Stewart earle of Lennox, with diuerse others, to the number of two thousand men, came in the night season vnto Edinburgh, because they durst not enter the towne in the day time, for feare of the gunnes that late in the castell. The next day, being the fourteenth day of Februarie, the said earles with the archbishop of saint Andrews, the bishop of Aberdeen, that by the quenes appointment had bene kept before in ward, the bishop of Dunblane, Calene Campbell, the earle of Argyle, and diuerse other lordes and barons being in the towne, sent to the castell, alledging that the king was kept as prisoner by the quene, and iustice suppressed, with great damage of the common wealch; and therefore he desired, that the king might be deliuered vnto them, to be gouerned by the aduise of the thre states, and if they refused to deliuer him, they would besiege the castell, and if they won it, all their lines within should rest at their pleasures, the kings onelie excepted.

Fr. Thin.

1525.
Lelles lib.
pag. 414.

Candida Casa.

Crucce-
word.

Lelles lib.
pag. 417.

The king not
in his owne
power.

The quene
mother in
armes.

The earle of
Angus his
request.

The quene, by the counsell of the earles of Ardrane and Murray, refused not onelie to deliuer the king, but sent them word, that except they did depart the towne, they would merlie discharge all the artillerie

artillerie of the castell against them. Hereupon, great feare rose in the towne, speciallie among the burgeses, but by the diligence of certeine persons that trauelled betwene the parties, an assurance was taken on either side for certeine daies. In the meane time, the earle of Angus caused the castell to be forsaken, that neither meat nor other thing might be suffered to be conueied into it, except so much as might serue for the sustentation of the king's owne person. At length, all the parties were agreed, so that the fourth and twentieth day of February, the king came into the parliament holden in the Colthulph in most honorable wise, with the assistance of all the estates, having the erowne scepter, and sword borne before him, and from thence he was brought to the abbey where he remained.

In this parliament, there were eight lords chosen to be of the king's privie counsell, the which took the government of the king and realme upon them, as these: the archbishops of saint Andrews and Glascow, the bishops of Aberdeen and Dunblane: the earles of Angus, Argyle, Arrane, and Lennor: the quene was aduised to be in her principall, without whose aduise nothing should be done. From this parliament also was the earle of Cassels sent, with answer to the king of England; who came to London the nineteenth of March. But because the king had knowledge that the French king was taken at the battell of Pavia, he would not proceed in the treatie of marriage betwixt the king of Scotland and his daughter, till he had the emperors aduise, whome he affirmed to be his confederat friend: and so renewing the truce for three yeers and six moneths, the ambassadois returned into Scotland about the beginning of April next ensuing, without anie contract of marriage at that time. The agreement betwixt the quene and lords continued not long, for anon after died the bishop of Dunblane or Dunkeld (as saith Lesleus) whose benefice the earle of Angus obtained of the king for his brother William Dowglas, without the aduise of the quene and other lords. Whereupon the quene departed and went into Striueling, leaving the king with the earle of Angus, who took the whole rule and government of the realme and king vpon him, and made his vnckle Archembald Dowglas treasurer of the realme, and bestowed benefices, offices, and all other things, by the aduise of his brother George Dowglas, and the earle of Lennor, who assisted him.

In this meane time, the archbishop of saint Andrews, and the earles of Arrane, Argyle, and Murray, remaining with the quene at Striueling, alleged that the king was withholden from them by the earle of Angus force against his will: and therefore they sent vnto the earle, requiring him to deliuer him. But the earle caused the king to giue the answer himselfe, that he would not come from the earle of Angus, albeit he would gladlie haue bene out of his hands if he might; as by secret messages sent to sundrie of the lords, and likewise at that time it appeared, for he willed them by priuie meanes to assemble an armie, and to come & fetch him out of their hands that thus detained him. Hereupon shortly after, they raised a power, and coming therewith to Linlithgow, purposing to passe into Edinburgh, that they might get the king out of the earle of Angus his hands: the said earle, with the earle of Lennor and other his assistants being thereof aduertised, came to the field with the kings banner displayed, and brought the king with him, although partly against his will.

The quene and such lords as were with her there in the armie, for the reuerence they bare vnto the kings person, and also fearing the danger that might

chance to them if they buckled together in a fough ten field, they withholden themselves to Striueling, and from thence the quene went into Murray land with the earle of Murray, and there remained a long time after. The earles of Arrane and Argyle went into the west countrie, and the bishop of saint Andrews to Dunfermling: and then the earle of Angus took vpon him more boldlie the government of the king and realme, and sent to the bishop of saint Andrews (who was chancelor) for the great seale, which was deliuered to them that were so sent for it. The nobles of the realme remaining thus at variance, and diuided among themselves, there was small obedience of lawes & iustice. Diuerse slaughters in sundrie parts were committed, great thefts & robberies made by the borderers vpon the inland countries. Moreover, aduise this yeere (as some haue said) was sued before the archbishop of saint Andrews, betwixt the quene, and the earle of Angus his husband, and then afterwards she took to her selfe one Henrie Stewart, sonne to the lord of Arundale, the which Henrie was after created by the king lord of Methuen.

On the foure and twentieth of Iulie, the king being accompanied with the earle of Angus, the lord Hume, the barres & others, rode vnto Jedburgh, in purpose to haue reformed the misgovernance of the borderers; but after that they had remained there three daies with little obedience shewed towards them, they all returned. And vpon the 29 day of Iulie, at the bridge of Melrose, the lord of Wocclough, accompanied with a thousand horsemen, began to shew himselfe in sight, whose principall purpose was to haue taken the king from the earle of Angus and his assistants, being requested and commanded by the king himselfe so to do. The earle of Angus incontinentlie sent an herald vnto the lord of Wocclough, to know what his intention was to do; who answered, that he came to do the king honor and seruice, and to shew his friends and power as the wis of the borderers.

The earle of Angus, with the lord Hume, and the rest, not being content with this answer, because of the great feud betwixt him and the Humes, and the barres, sent vnto him a commandement in the kings name to depart, and not to approach nere to the kings presence, vnder paine of high treason. Wherevnto he answered, that he knew the kings mind well enough & would not spare for this commandement to come to his graces presence. Which answer receiued from him, incontinentlie the earle of Angus, the lords Fleming and Hume, the barres, the lord of Sesselford, with their friends, alighted on foot; the king remaining on horsebacke, accompanied with the earle of Lennor, the lord Marbell, George Dowglas, and Pinian Cretchton, tutor of Sainquhar.

The lord of Wocclough lighted also on foot, but because the most part of his men were of the theues and outlawes of the borders, commonlie called broken men, vpon their first comming to joining with their speares, they fled, leaving the lord of Wocclough with a small number of his owne seruants about him in all the danger: yet they defended themselves verie manfullie, and slue the lord of Sesselford and diuerse other, on the earle of Angus his side: but finally, oppressed with multitude, they were put to flight, and foure score of Woccloughes men slaine in the chase. After this, the king returned to Jedburgh, and remained there the space of foure daies, and then returned to Edinburgh.

All this while, the king was gouerned and holden against his will, by the earle of Angus and his assistants, although he did not outwardlie shew so in countenance, but dissembled the matter as well as he might,

G. f.

The great seale deliuered

A dispute betwene the quene and the earle of Angus.

1526.

The lord of Wocclough his enterprise, to take the king from the earle of Angus.

The lord of Sesselford slaine. The lord of Wocclough put to flight.

The earle of
Lennor ga-
thereth a pow-
er.

The earle of
Arrane ga-
thereth a
power.

The earle of
Lennor slaine
Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 14.

might, yet perceiuing two enterprises to haue qual-
led that had bene attempted for his deliuerance, he
thought to assaie the third; and hereupon, procured
the earle of Lennor to assemble an armie, with as-
sistance of the quene and his friends, to helpe to deli-
uer him from the hands of his enemies. The earle
of Lennor did so, and came with such power as he
could raise from the west parts unto Linlithgo. The
earle of Angus being aduertised, that the earle of
Lennor was gathering men, sent to the earle of Ar-
rane for aid, requiring him to come with such power
as he could make, and to meet him at Linlithgo. The
earle of Arrane immediatlie herewith gathered a
power, and with the same came to Linlithgo before
the earle of Lennor came thither, who hostlie after
comming with his people, approached that towne, but
to whom the earle of Arrane sent a messenger, re-
quiring him to stande and saue his enterprise, assu-
ring him, that albeit he was his sisters sone, he
would not spare him, if he held fast upon his
fourtie. The earle of Lennor herewith answered in
a great rage, that he would not fraie, till he came to
Edenburgh, or else die for it by the waie. The earle
of Arrane therfore nor staing for the earle of An-
gus, his coming from Edenburgh, issued forth of
Linlithgo at the west end of the towne, and incoun-
tered the earle of Lennor and his companie, where
there was a cruel onset given on both sides, but sub-
denlie the earle of Lennor his companie fled, and he
himselfe with the lord of Hunsford and diuerse other
gentlemen were slaine.

The death of which Dowlglas the king did great
lament, and hearing the clamor and noise that
was made in that conflict, did send forth (but all too
late) Andrew Wood (his familiar) to haue succored
the Lennor, if by any meanes he could. After this
victorie, the faction of the Dowlglases (to the end
that striking a feare in those that were enuious a-
gainst them, they might make them alwaies to be
in danger to them) began to moue questions and
sutes in law, against such as had borne armor a-
gainst the king: for feare whereof some bought their
peace with monie, some toke part with the Dowl-
glases, some followed the Hamiltons, and some
stidie standing in the matter, were followed and cal-
led into the law. Of which number Gilbert earle of
Castles (when he was earnestlie pressed by James
Hamilton the bassard, to yeld himselfe to the part of
the Hamiltons) being a man of great stomach, gaue
this answer, that the old league of friendship, which
was betwene their grandfathers (in which his
grandfather was alwaies the more honorable and
first named) should not make him now so forgetfull
of the honor of his familie, that he would seme to
degenerat from his ancestors, and willinglie grant to
be under defense (which is the next degree of
seruitude) of them, whose head in making an equall
league and couenant was contented with the second
place of honor.

Wherefore, when the said Gilbert appeared in the
law at the day appointed, for the deciding of his
cause: Hugh Kennedie his kinsman answered for
him, that he was present in that battell, as sent thir-
ther by the king, and not as enemie to the king, and
he would (if need required) bring forth the kings let-
ters therfore, notwithstanding the Hamiltons fro-
ning and fretting against his boldnesse: for the king
had written as well to Gilbert (going home) as to
manie others, to ioin with John Steward earle of
Lennor, who seeing the battell at hand, and that he
had not time left to call together his friends and fol-
lowers, did with his present companie (taking his
fourtie out of the waie) turne to Strimeling. Where-
fore (the power of the Hamiltons in that cause some-

what supposed) James Hamilton the bassard stirred
with great hatred against Kennedie, did procure
Hugh Campbell thirle of Aire to dispatch him out
of the waie, which he hostlie after did in his returne
home. Afterward this Hugh, in the end he might dis-
semble his conscience, or knowledge of this euill (the
execution wherof he had committed to his fellows)
was remaining at the day and time of the same
murder, with John Arskine, whose sister was the
wife of Gilbert Kennedie.

What he (as some as the heard of that deed) did with
manie bitter words, lay the fault unto him, because
by thating the noble house of the Kennedies, had al-
most bene thought to, utter destruction, had he not
less a yong sonne behind him. This yong earle,
after the death of his father, and to his kinsman Ar-
chibald Dowlglas, then the kings treasurer, to
whome he committed the defense of himselfe and his
familie. This done, Hugh Campbell was called in-
to law for the same, who being manifestlie conui-
cted thereof, was banished into an other place. Af-
ter this the Dowlglases with lesse bitternesse, ex-
cise their anger against James Watson, for bringing
their power to saint Andrews, which they spoiled, as
after appeareth.

In the meane time, the earle of Angus bringing
the king with him, arrived, and had come to the bat-
tell, but that the king was not willing to come forth
of Edenburgh in that quarrell (as some haue writ-
ten) and therefore made excuses, as he did also by the
waie, taking himselfe sicke: but George Dowlglas
droue and called upon his horse berie charpelle, and
constrained him to ride forth with faster pace than he
would haue done, giuing him manie iniurious
words, which he remembered afterwards, and would
not forget them. They went that night to Strime-
ling, and hostlie after passed through it, searching
for the quene, and the bishop of saint Andrews, and
because they were kept secretlie in their friends hou-
ses, so that they could not be heard of, they spoiled the
abbete of Dunfermling, and the castell of saint An-
drewes, taking awaie all the meueables which the
archbishop had within the same.

In the north parts also, the two families of the
Lelles and the Forboises, intangled with mutuall
hatred, raised great flames of tumults and parts ta-
king: which enimities did after grow to be the grea-
ter, because there were daily manie slaughters of
the nobles & other people committed in Spar, Car-
roth, and Aberden, whilste ech faction labored to de-
send it selfe against the others. For which cause (when
the common-wealth was much deformed thereby,
and all iustice seemed almost vicerlie ouerthrowne in
those parts) the earle of Angus and other of the no-
bilitie (which were of the kings priue counsell) did
not cease, untill they had made vnitie betwene those
two families. But in the end (the heire of the For-
boises, & the lord Lenthurke, hauing by wait killed the
noble baron Speldurme, which fauored the Lelles)
those buried contentions began againe to be raised
from the dead; whose enimities being once againe
knowne to the nobilitie (and what hurt might insue
thereof to the common state) they attempted all pos-
sible means once more to quench that deadly flame,
and afresh to ioin their minds together in amitie,
with this prouiso, that the murderers of Speldurme
should (for punishment of their offense) be banished
into France, where the greatest part of them died,
after manie miseries and reproches sustained in their
pitifull life. Which last league so sincerlie vnitied be-
twene the Forboises and the Lelles, was embraced
with such faith ech to other, by renewing thereof with
continuall marriages & other courtesies, that it conti-
nueth most firme euen unto this day.

The death of
the earle of
Castles.

1520.
Lelles lib. 9.
pag. 423.
154. &c.

Archibald

How tumults
in that fami-
ly.

The quene
sought for.

Fr. Thin.
Lelles lib. 9.
pag. 423.

1526.

The familie
of Speldurme
the cause sedi-
tious.

In

In which north parts also, the inhabitants (partlie following their naturall disposition, and partlie excited by the example of the former times long suffered to be used) did in like sort overrun and spoile all things, by reason of ouermuch libertie. But of all other stirs raised in those parts, that was the greatest and most troublesome, which was raised by the *Spakintolches*. Of which brutish people, the one familie was called the *Glencathens*, and the other was surnamed *Spakintolches* after the head of that kindred; in which, the chiefe was called *Lachlane Spakintolche* a man of great possessions, and of such excellencie in singolaritie of wisdom, that with great commendation he did containe all his followers within the limits of their duties, more than others did. Which contentments (when they could hardly beare (as loth to live in order) having so long passed their time licentiouslie) did withdraw the hearts of manie men from him. Amongest whome was *James Spalcolmeson* his kinsman (who thirsting after the desire to rule) took occasion (by the insurie of the time) traitorouslie with deceit to kill this *Spakintolche*; after which (fearing further trouble to insue towards him) he flieth to the *Isle* (at the lake *Rothmurcolle*) as a sanctuary or defense for him. But the rest of the familie of the *Spakintolches* did pursue him with such eager minds, that by force taking him in the *Isle*; they worthilie killed him, and manie of his confederats, guiltie of that wickednesse. After which (because the sonne of *Spakintolche*, for his tender yeares, was not sufficient with feare & punishment to brydle the minds of his fierce subiects) by common consent they chose the bastard brother of the slaine man (called *Hector Spakintolche*) to be head and leader of that familie, untill this young nephew might grow to yeeres, and might weeld the governement of his owne tribe.

Now when the earle of *Arrreie* perceived that if the sonne of *Spakintolche* were committed to the rashnesse of a people somewhat fierce and cruell, that he should (on euerie side) be oppressed with manie troubles; he did most goodlie (for the care he had of him his nephew being his sisters sonne) provide, that he should be caried to an other place, to the *Dgilluies*, the childs kin on the mothers side, where he should be well instructed and imbued with the precepts of all learning and vertue. Whereat *Hector* was greatly offended, to see that the child should so subtilie be taken from him. Wherefore (affirming that much of his authoritie was thereby diminished) he attempted (euerie way he might) to get the child againe into his possession, that thereby he might salve and recover his credit and authoritie. But some there were, which supposed that the great care and labor which he so much employed (for getting the child into his hands) was to none other intent, but that he might make him atwaie, and prepare a path whereby to lead his owne sonne to the governement of that familie. Which conceipt being deeplie graven in the mind of the earle of *Arrreie*, caused him to seeke the preservation of the child, that by no means he might fall into the hands of *Hector*.

Wherewith *Hector* being highlie incensed (and determining to spue out his choler, seeking reuenge by anie kind of means) he did cause his brother *William* & other of his kindred, that joining their force, they might stronglie ver the earle of *Arrreie*, and spoile his possessions: which they did with so great furie, that ouerthrowing the fort of *Dikes*; and besieging the castell of *Coinewaie*, they executed manie cruelties, slaughters, spoiles, burnings, and other mischietes vpon all sorts of people, men, women, and childzen, and all such as fauored them. For their hatred not limited against the earle of *Arrreie*, ex-

tended further against the familie of the *Dgilluies*, amongst whom the child was left in custodie for education cause. With which mind this *Hector* and his complices placing their campe at the castell of *Hettens*, which belonged to the lord of *Durnens* (one of the familie of the *Dgilluies*) they did so furiously besiege the same, as the people of the same were in the end forced to yield the fort: which when they had entred, they killed foure and twentie of the *Dgilluies*, whom they found therein. After vpon (their minds being now aduanced with spoiles and happie successes) they became so proud, as (trusting ouermuch to prosperous euent in all their actions) they neuer set end to their wicked crueltie, untill the erle of *Arrreie* did with force execute iust iudgement vpon them. For when the earle beheld them immoderatlie reioicing, in spoiling his lands, and committing other excessive evils; he obtained of the king and his counsell, that he might be made the kings deputie and gouernor in that battell, to brydle the rage and boldnesse of those in that order spoiling the common-wealth.

Wherefore the earle assembling an armie, did with such speedie valure come vpon them and their countrie, that at the first he took almost two hundred of their captiues, and committed them to the gallowes. All whose faith was so true to their captiue, as (when life was seuerallie promised to euerie one man as he was alone lead to the gallowes) there would not anie one of them confesse where their captiue *Hector* had hidden himselfe. For euerie one answered (with bold spirit) that they knew not where he was become; and if so be they did, that yet they would not (by anie paine or terrore of death) be induced to breake their faith and to betraye their maister. But hanging not being thought a sufficient reuenge (for such captiues as the earle had taken) there were more grauous punishments laid vpon *William Spakintolche* (brother to *Hector*) because in the beginning he nourished those coles of choler for his brothers cause. For after that this *William* was hanged, his head was chopped off and fastened vpon a pole at *Dikes*, and the other foure parts of his bodie were sent to the towne of *Elgin*, *Foressie*, *Inuernesse*, and *Alberne*, there to be set by publikelie to the reproch of them, and the example of others.

Now, after all these stirs, *Hector* (seeing his men were thus dispersed and executed, and that himselfe was excluded from anie other succor) fled to the faithfull helpe of *Alexander Dunbar* deane of *Arrreie*, by whose aduise he goeth humbly and secretlie to the king, beseeching his mercie and fauor to be extended vnto him: for he supposed it better, rather to craue the doubtfull mercie of his lord, than to make triall of the earle of *Arrreie*s certaine reuenge. Wherevpon the king (seeing his humble submission) receiued him into his fauor; and did with all his heart louinglie after embrace him, because he was valiant and wise in warre, and in counsell. But God, whose iustice is alwaies shewed in punishing of wickednesse, would not suffer this filthinesse of crueltie, theft, murder, & spoile (where with *Hector* did wickedlie defile his life) to go unreuenged with most grauous paine vpon the said *Hector*. For in the citie of *Saint Andrews*, sudden death (than which there can be no greater punishment) was laid vpon him by one *James Spente* a priest, who was himselfe afterwards beheaded. When the earle of *Arrreie* had shewed such reuenge vpon the friends of *Hector* and their companions; the people of the province of *Glencathen* did from thenceforth keepe themselves within the limits of their dutie: untill that the sonne of *Lachlane*

wonderfull
faith of enim
men to their
captiue.

lane Makintosh came to man's estate and full age. Which young man was in his first yeares imbued with such learnings and pollicie of life conformed thereunto, that when he was impleid about the common-wealth, all the capitans of them (who that rallie speake Irish in the furthest part of Scotland) did embrace him as a perfect paterne of all vertue, and an excellent workemaister to frame a well ordered state. Wherefore certene (not able to fullaine the brightnesse of his vertue) did ioine in counsell with such as were nearest of blood unto him, and had before laid violent hands on his father, to take his life away by forceable means. Whereof we shall more liberallie intreat in an other place.

This yeare the king by counsell of the earle of Angus, Arrane, and others, went with eight thousand men unto Jedburgh, to set some order amongst the borderers, for the keeping of better rule: and soon the eight of June, the principals of all the surnames of the clans on the borders, came to the king, binding themselves, and deliuering pledges for their good demerors. The seuententh of Iulie, there was a great assemblie of the lords at Holie rood house, at that time, there came a simple fellow (to looke upon) seruant and hozskeper sometime to the earle of Lennox, who in the midst of a great companie of people in the abbete close, strake sir James Hamilton knight verie desperatlie with a short prage or dagger in the bellie three seuerall stripes vp to the hait, and yet the said sir James died not of those hurts.

The man being taken, by & by confessed the deed without repentance, saieing; Why on the feoble hand quike wald not do that thing the heart thought, and was determinat to do. And being inquired what he was, and who caused him to do the same; he answered that he was a seruant of God, sent by him to do that deed. And albeit he was put to great torture and paines daillie by the space of a moneth, yet would he neuer giue other answer, and so he was hanged, and his head set ouer one of the gates of Edenburgh towne. About the same time, there came out of Germanie maister Patrike Hamilton, abbat of Freyne, brothers sonne to the earle of Arrane, who had bene scholer to Martin Luther, & others there. This man being conuented and examined vpon certene articles, as of iustificacion, predestination, of free will, and such like, contrarie to the doctrine taught by the church in that time, because he did as firme, and constantlie defend them, he was declared an heretike and burned.

The eighteenth of March, the king besieged the castell of Edenburgh, the queene and hir husband Henrie Steward, with James his brother being within it. But as soone as the queene understood, that hir sonne the king was there in person, she caused the gates to be set open, and vpon hir knees besought him of grace for hir husband and his brother; and would not rest, till she had obteneid the same; but yet they were kept in ward within the castell, till the king afterwards released them. In the yeare following, the king being now come to the age of seuentene yeares, and of god discretion and wit for his time, would not longer remaine vnder the gouernement of the earle of Angus and his companie. Therevpon he assembled diuerse noble men of Striueling, & by their counsell sent an herald vnto the earle of Angus & his assistants resident as then in Edenburgh, commanding them on paine of high treason, that they should depart forth of that towne, & that none of them should come within foure miles of the court, wheresoeuer the same chanced to lie.

Shortlie after, the king himselfe with two thousand men, followed the herald: wherevpon the earle of Angus, both being charged by the herald, and ad-

uertised of the kings coming toward the towne, departed thence immediatlie. And shortlie after, the same herald was sent vnto him againe with commandement from the king, that he should remaine prisoner within ward in the countrie of Murray, till the kings pleasure were further knowne: which he would not obeie; wherefore both he and his adherents were summoned to appeare in parlement to be holden at Edenburgh, in September next following. In this parlement begun at Edenburgh the first of September in this yeare 1528, the earle of Angus, with his brother George Douglas, his vnkle by his father Archibald Douglas, Alexander Monimond of Carnocke, and diuerse other, were by word & of parlement impeached, and forfaited for diuers offenses, and speciallie, for assembling the kings people to haue assailed the kings person: and because he had defended the king against his will with his sword the space of two yeares and more, all which time he stood in feare of his life.

In this parlement Henrie Steward the queenes husband was created lord of Methuen; and made maister of the ordinaunce. Besides which, in place of earle Douglas was Caluin Dunbar, the kings scholemaster made chancelor, a god and a learned man, and one in whome manie did desire more ciuill policie; and in the place of Archibald Douglas the treasurer was admitted Robert Carnicruce, more famous for his monie than his vertue. In this parlement there was onelie one found, called John Bannatine, who fauoring the Douglas, did boldly there protest, that what soeuer was therein don, ought by no meanes to be hurtfull to the earle Douglas; since just feare of his appearance there, was a iust cause to force him to be absent from thence. With in a few daies after, a brother of the earles called William, abbat of the monastirie of Holirhod died, partlie by sicknesse, and partlie by griefe of mind, being wearied with the present state of things; whose place Robert Carnicruce, a man of base birth, but well willed, did obteneid of the king: who had granted vnto him the auoidance of the next spirituall liuing. At length, the Douglas out of hope of all good successe, burnt the townes of Confrandie and Cranfoune, and so fled to the castell of Tantallon.

In October following, the king assembled a great companie of men, with artillerie, and diuerse kinds of munition, to besiege the castell of Tantallon, which the earle of Angus did hold, who aduertised of the preparation made for the same siege, furnished the castell with men and all kind of necessaries, and went himselfe into England. When the siege then was laid about the castell, it was so strong and so well prouided, that it might not be wone for all that could be done at that season: in so much that after David Fauconer, principall gunner of the kings side was slaine, the king caused the siege to be raised; yet at length (though not till a long time after this) it was deliuered to the king by appointment. Before the deliuerie whereof, the king depelle swore that he would not leaue one alie to succeed in the inheritance and name of the Douglas, so long as he liued and was king.

Wherevpon he came to Edenburgh, where (to the end he might distresse them the more) he determined by the aduise of his counsell to send a daillie companie (though no great number) to Coldingham, which should defend the husbandmen from the spoile. Which office appointed to Bothwell chiefe of Louthaine, he did utterlie refuse; either fearing the power of the Douglas (whereunto all the other strength of Scotland did of late, not seeme to be equal) or that he would not (being then young) imbue his hands with the destruction of so famous a familie. Wherevpon, since

1527. Lesle.

Sir James Hamilton
hurt by a desperat person.

The abbat of
Ferne burnt.

Edenburgh
castell besieged.
1528 Lesle.

The king being
seuentene
yeares of age,
refuseth to be
longer vnder
gouernement.

1528.
The earle of
Angus impeached.
The earle of
Angus impeached
by parlement.
Henrie Steward created
erie of Methuen.

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan.
lib. 14.

1529.

The earle of
Cathnes passed
over into
Denmark.

The earle of
Cathnes slaine.
The blindness
of the Danish
men.

An assemblie
of the lords.

King of
thewes.

Execution.

The earle of
Bothwell
conuict.

Fr. Thin.
Sanctified the
realm.

Fr. Thin.
Other lords
conuict, and
put in ward.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 14.

John Scot
killed for
dies without
receiving any
law.
1231. Buch.

since the king durst not trust the Hamiltons (as friends to his enemies, & being offended with them for the death of John Stewart earle of Lennox, nor durst commit the matter to anie of the adjoining nobilitie) at length the same came so about, that Calene Campbell (dwelling on the furthest borders of the kingdome, being a man of good estimation for his wisdom, and approved experience in feats of warre, and for his iustice deerele loued of the people) was sent by the king (with great authoritie) to the rebels. Whereby the Dowglas (being forsaken of the Hamiltons and their other friends) were brought to those extremities, that they were enforced to depart into England to H. Henrie the eight, who honorable and liberrallie received and entertained them. After this, the king (as is said) getting the castell of Tantillone by composition, did scarce keepe all the covenants of his grant thereof in writing; although he performed this, that Alexander Drumman at the request of Robert Bretton, had licence to returne home into his countrie, a little before which (as it seemeth) when James Colville and Robert Carnicruse were removed from the court (as persons suspected to fauor the Dowglas) their offices were bestowed upon Robert Bretton, then in great fauor with the king and courtiers, and aduanced to the gouernement of manie places.)

The eighteenth of Maie, in the yere 1529, the earle of Cathness and the lord of Sinclair, with a great armie by sea passed into Dykenie, to haue taken that Ile into possession; but the people of the countrie assembled at the commandement of James Sinclair of Kirkwall their capteine, who gaue battell to the earle and his armie with such courage, that he discomfited the enemies: the earle with five hundred of his men was slaine, and drowned in the sea, vnto the which they were drunen. The lord Sinclair and all the residue were taken. The Dykenie men held opinion, that their patrone saint Magnus was seene that day to fight in the field on their side against their enemies. In the same moneth on the fiftieth day, there was a great assemble of the lords in Edinburgh, where the king himselfe sate in iudgement. The lord of Hinderland called Cockburne, and one Adam Scot of Tushlatw, who was named king of theues, were accused of theft, and of receiuing and maintaining of theues, slaughters, and other crimes; of the which being conuict, they lost their heads, which were set ouer the Tolbuth of Edinburgh.

On the same day, the earle of Bothwell was also conuict for maintaining them and their crimes, and his life, lands, and goods, were in the kings hands. He was therefore kept in ward within Edinburgh castell, and after sent into Surrey land, & lastlie banished the realme during the kings daies [and remained at Venice.] Also, the lord Marvell, the lord Hume, the lords of Balguth, Fernhurst, Dolorst, Johnson, Marke Bar [with the earle Bothwell] and other principall men of the borders, were conuict by assise, and put in ward: by reason whereof, the borders kept better rule ener after, during the kings reigne. [Few moneths after, the king commanded the noble men (before imprisoned, and then to be banished, to be restored to libertie, taking pledges for their allegiance. Of which companie, one Walter Scot (killing Robert Johnstone a thiefe of noted crueltie, therewith to gratifie the king) began deadie enimitie with that familie, to the great hurt of both those kindreds.]

About this season, a landed man named John Scot, that had trauelled abroad in the world [ouer England, France, Italie and the holie land, as saith Lelcus] who now being returned into Scotland, (because it was byted in other countries that he

had fasted 40 daies without either meat or drinke) was for triall therof put in Davids tower in Edinburgh castell, and diligent watch set vpon him to see that he had no sustenance to relieue him withall, and so kept for fortie daies, he fasted all that time without anie kind of nourishment, to the great wonder of the people. In the summer of this yere 1529, Archembald Dowglas, that had bene forsailed (as ye haue heard) came alone to the king while he was on hunting in Striueling parke, & besought his grace of pardon, which he had obtained fullie at his hands, because he fauoured him more than anie of that surname, if he had not bene (as he was indeed) although determined that none of them should remaine within the land at that time, and so he banished him into France, where shortly after through grieve of mind he departed this life.

In the moneth of June, the king with an armie went to the borders to set order there for better rule to be kept, and to punish such as were knownen to be most culpable. And herevpon he caused fortie and eight of the most notable theues, with their capteine John Armstrong to be apprehended; the which being conuict of murther, theft, & treason, were all hanged on growing trees, to the example of other. There was one cruell thefe amongst the rest, which had burned a house with a woman and his children within it: he was burned to death. George Armstrong, brother to John, was pardoned, to the end he should appeach the residue, which he did; so that they were apprehended by the kings commandement, and punished for their misdoings, according as they had deserved. In August following, manie meruellous sights were seene about Striueling, as candels burning on the tops of hills in the nights, and in the morning afore sunne rising. Diuerse armed men appeared fighting vpon the ground, which was taken to be a foretoken of some trouble to insue in those parties. The fiftieth day of August, a great number of people being assembled at the market in Campscenneth, fiftie & two persons were drowned in the ferrie bote; amongst the which were diuerse honest men and women of the countrie.

The first of March, in the yere 1530, the abbat of Colrose called James Inglis, was cruellie murdered by the lord of Tulliallan and his seruants, amongst whom there was a priest called sir William Louthien, for the which they were apprehended, and the said sir William the twentieth and seventh of the same moneth, vpon a publike scaffold in Edinburgh was degraded (the king, quene, and a great companie of people being present) and after his degradation, he was deliuered to the earle of Argile high iustice, and the next day the said Tulliallan and the same priest were beheaded. This yere the college court of iustice called the sessions was instituted in Edinburgh by the king, with consent of the thre estates in parlement assembled, and after confirmed in Rome; in the which are fiftene counsellors ordinarie, eight of them being spirituall persons, of the which the most ancient is president, and seuen temporall men, but so as by this number the chancellor of the realme is aboue the president, when he is present. There are also foure counsellors extraordinarie, removablee at the princes pleasure. In the yere 1531, I find little done to make account of, for the erle of Angus remaining in England, could not perswade the king of England in his fauor, to breake the peace with Scotland, though the same earle earnestlie laboured to bring that to passe.

* The earle of Bothwell, for that he went priuily into England (being supposed to haue had secret conference with the earle of Northumberland) he was the 16 kalends of Februarie committed to the castell

1529.

Archembald Dowglas banished.

The king cometh to the borders.

Theues hanged.

These burnt to death.

Wonders seene in the firmament.

A ferrie bote drowned.

1530.

An abbat murdered.

The sessions instituted.

1531.

Fr. Thun. Buch, lib. 14 1532.

1529.

The earle of Cathness passing into Dykenie.

The earle of Cathness slaine. The blindness of the Dykenie men.

An assemble of the lords.

King of theues.

Execution.

The earle of Bothwell conuict.

Fr. Thun. Sauiaged the realme.

Fr. Thun. Other lords conuict, and put in ward.

Fr. Thun. Buchan, lib. 14.

John Scot fasted fortie daies without receiving any food. 1531. Buch.

castell of Edinburgh, & sir John Sandland knight was sent with authoritie to the hermitage (a castell in Liddesdale) to repress the spoiles and robberies committed there. When of ancient time there had bene no certeine daies and place appointed for the deciding of monie, contentions, or debts amongst the citizens and people of Scotland, John duke of Albanie obtained from the bishop of Rome, that a perrelie summe of monie (as much as should be sufficient to paie the stipend of a few iudges that shuld be appointed theretofore) should be leuted of the cleargie, of euerie one according to his estate and substance. Whereupon Gawin Dunbar bishop of Aberdeen for himselfe in the name of the cleargie, appeared to the said bishop of Rome. Which controuersie continued from the first Ides of March, untill the tenth kalends of Maie, at which day the college of the iudges of Edinburgh was established, of whom in the beginning there were many profitable things done, and law was equallie ministred; but yet the same end did not follow which was then hoped amongst them. For since in Scotland there be almost no lawes but such as are decreed by parlement, which are not commonlie perpetuall, but made for a time; and that the iudges as much as in them lieth do hinder the making of such lawes: the goods of all men were committed to the arbitrement of fixt men, which haue perpetuall power theretofore, being in truth but tyrannicall government, since their one lie arbitrements must stand for law. Thus much Buchanan.

But because Lesleus treateth in more ample and other sort of that matter; and for that I will not deprive the reader of the severall writings of them both touching one thing: I will also set downe Lesleus words, writing in this order. In this parlement (saith he) by the consent of the estates, it seemed good that the forme of iudgement used by our ancestors should be taken away. For where certeine of the cleargie, of the barons, and of the citizens, were chosen euerie yere to trauell ouer the foure parts of the realme, to giue iudgement of ciuill causes (as they terme it) and of other things intangled with the controuersie of law: and that then it oftentimes happened either by the ignorance of the iudge that did not attaine to the perfection of the law, or by the malice of them which were corrupted with bribes, that the worse part had vniustlie the upper hand against the right; to which discommoditie this was also ioined, that no cause could be well examined to the uttermost by one man at one time, because the iudges were so often changed; whereby it must needs follow, that severall iudges (having severall minds and wits) must for one matter giue inconstant & contrarie iudgements. Wherefore to take awaie this varietie of iudgements and other discommodities, therewith the common-wealth was afflicted; it pleased the parlement by the perswasion of the king, that a certeine defined number of senators (being persons of the greatest knowledge in law) should haue a permanent place at Edinburgh, to decide all matters of controuersie, the manner & order whereof we haue set downe in our former booke, saith Lesleus. And I for my part thinke not vnmeet for the more explaining thereof, to set it downe in this place out of the same Lesleus.

The companie (saith he) of these men (whom we call the senat of the publike wealth) receiue none but such, whose praise of vertue and sharpenesse of wit (especiallie in matters of law) doth aduance them to that place. This court is so apted of the cleargie and secular nobilitie (as a man may fearme them) that the one part of the lattie doth answer the other number of the cleargie. Which we thinke to be

done by the great benefit of God, that the religion and simplicitie of the cleargie may temper the singular wisdom of the tempozaltie, obtained by the experience of worldlie causes; and againe, the iudgement of the lattie may further and moderate the pure religion and ancient simplicitie of the cleargie. Duer all these is one chiefe and head (which is a spirituall man) who hath the highest place in sentence and pronouncing of iudgement; except the iudgement of the chancelor of the kingdome happen to come in place; for then therunto the Scots giue the chiefeest prehemine in all the affaires of the common-wealth. Thus much he.)

In the yere 1532, sir Arthur Darcie was sent to the borders, who being at Berwikke, by the counsell of the earle of Angus then being there, they made a rode into Scotland, and burned certeine places; whereupon the Scots assembling themselves to defend their countrie, made towards the Englishmen, who retired themselves to Berwikke againe. After this were diuerse inuasions made on euerie side by the borders, and ships likewise taken by sea, and yet no warre was proclaimed. In September, in the yere 1533, certeine commissioners of either realme were at Newcastle, to treat for a redresse and recompense to be made for burning of townes and villages, taking of goods, casting downe of piles, taking of ships, slaughters of men, and diuerse other spoiles and iniuries done, as well by the sea as by the land, from the 23 day of Aprill in the yere 1532, unto the day of the meeting of the same commissioners; which dowings were little lesse in effect than had bene used in time of open warre, although the same was not proclaimed. Because therefore that the scathes & iniuries fell out to be so great on both sides, that particular redresse could not be had, the order thereof was referred to the pleasure of both the princes.

Further it was agreed, that for a perpetuall peace to be concluded, certeine commissioners should be appointed to treat therof at London, as afterwards they did. For the king of Scotland there were sent as commissioners about this treatie, William Steuart bishop of Aberdeen, Robert Reid the abbat of Kinlos, and sir Adam Sterburie knight; (as saith Lesleus li. 9. pa. 439.) Adam Otterburne (the which accompanied with diuerse other knights, barons, and gentlemen, came to London, and were there right honorablie receiued the 25 of March. After they had bene before the kings presence, there were certeine commissioners appointed by him to treat with them of peace, the which agreed upon certeine conditions and articles for a peace to continue betwixt both kings during their naturall liues, and one yere after the decease of that prince which first chanced to depart this world: and so the commissioners returned into Scotland in the moneth of Maie next ensuing.

About the same time were sent into France Dauid Beton abbat of Arbuth, and James Erskine secretary, as ambassadoes to require the duke of Mandosmes sister in marriage for the king: with which motion the ladie and hir friends were verie well contented. Whereupon the ladie (as afterwards shall appere) the king himselfe passing secretlie into France in proper person, when he had once seene the ladie, he liked hir not; & so became a suter to the French king his eldest daughter Magdalen, whom he obtained: wherefore the duke of Mandosmes sister would neuer after marry hir selfe with anie other in marriage, but professed hir selfe in a house of religion, where she remained the residue of hir life time. The king of England sent ambassadoes into Scotland, the bishop of Durlesme, sir Thomas Clifford, the prior of Durlesme,

The peace concluded with England.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 439. 1534.

1532. Sir Arthur Darcie sent to the borders.

He maketh a rode into Scotland.

1533.

Justice m. d.

English fr. times receiued into Scotland.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan li. 1.

1534.

1534. Lesle.

Fr. Thin.

A peace concluded.

Ambassadors sent into France.

The king himselfe passing secretlie into France.

153. The pope's death into Scotland.

153.

refuse, and one doctor Maginus, who were honorable received in the moneth of Julie: and then was the peace before concluded by the ambassadoys at London, confirmed by the king himselfe, and the charter thereof interchangable sealed, with the great seales of both the realmes, during the liues of both the princes (as before ye haue heard.)

* The king in those daies did shew such hope of honorable vertue in him, that the wisest and the most ballant princes of the world did honor him with the ornaments of their orders: for first Henrie king of England adopted him into the order of the garter, the emperor made him a fellow of the golden fleece, and shortly after the French king clothed him with the order of saint Michael. In remembrance of all which (for a note to be left to posteritie) he caused the armes of Scotland, honored with these three orders, to be set vp ouer the gate of his palace of Lithquoe, with the ornaments of the honor of saint Andrew, which are proper to the kingdome of Scotland.)

The same yere, the king passed through the north parts of his realme, and caused iustice done to be ministered in places where he came, against offenders. Moreover, in Edinburgh was great inquisition made, and punishment exercised against such as were detected to hold opinions against the religion then used, the king himselfe assistant thereto. Master Forzman Corleie that was abjured before, and Andrew Stratton that would not renounce his opinion, were burned. The shiriffe of Linlithgow, and diuerse other, that were fled for feare of punishment, were conuict of heresie. Diuerse Englishmen that held against the diuorce betwixt king Henrie, and the ladie Katharine Dowager, fled this yere into Scotland, and were receiued.

* About this time (to conclude a league with Charles the first, emperor) this Charles sent Godescall Errike (to the end the matter might be handled more secretlie) from Toledo (by Ireland) into Scotland, who when he had declared his message to him from the emperor [containing the iniuries done to his aunt Katharine queene of England, & to his daughter by Henrie the eight, king of England: the calling of a generall counsell: the ouerthrow of the Lutherian heresie (to vse Buchanans word) and for contracting of marriage] the said ambassadoy did deliuer to the king the emperors letter, wherein was set downe the offer and choise of which of those three Marias the king would take to wife: which were Marie (the sister of Charles) a widow by Lodowike of Hungarie, his husband slaine by the Turke: Marie of Portingale his nece by his sister Leonara: or Marie of England his cosine germane by his aunt Katharine. Whereunto the king answered, that the marriage with England should be most profitable, but the same was a thing of vncertaine hope, of greater danger & laboꝝ, & of longer delate than his carefulnesse (being the onelie man left of that line) might well indure. Wherefore of all the emperors kindred, that marriage by manie reasons should be most beneficiall for him, to take to wife the daughter of Christern, king of Denmark, begotten vpon Isabel sister to the emperor. Whereunto for deniall thereof, Charles did shortly make answer (at Madrid) that he was affianced to another.)

In the yere 1535, the pope sent a messenger into Scotland, requiring king James to assist him against the king of England, whome he had decreed an heretike, a schismaticke, a wedlocke breaker, a publicke murderer, and a sacrileger; and therefore he had declared him to be depriued of the said kingdome, the which he would bestow vpon him, and other catholicke princes. In the yere 1536, the king toke the sea with fine ships, without knowledge of the most

part of the lords of his realme, and sailed about the Isles of Skie and Lelues, and the other Isles, and by Forne was driuen to take land at saint Piniens in Galloway, & so returned to Striueling, from whence he passed on foot in pilgrimage vnto our ladie chappell of Lauret beside Dunkelburgh, and afterward sent for diuerse of his lords, and by their counsell toke his boiage againe by sea with fine ships, to passe into France, as he was minded to haue done the first time: but what caused him to alter his purpose then, we find not. This second time he embarked at Harke, kaldie the last of August, and with good and prosperous wind he shortly after arrived in France, there being with him in companie the earles of Argile, and Arrane, the lords Bold and Fleming, with diuerse other barons, knights, and gentlemen; and before him there were in France the earles of Murray, Lennox, and Castiles, the lord Erskin, the abbat of Arbuthnot, and others.

Immediately after his arrivall, he rode in secret manner disguised vnto Wandolmes in Picardie, taking with him but one seruant named John Tennent, whome he caused to take vpon him as he had bene maister; and so comming to the duke of Wandolme his place, got sight of the ladie who shuld haue bene his wife; but not liking hir, he returned againe without talking either with hir or hir friends: and comming to Rouen where his companie were abiding for him, he passed from thence towards Paris, where the Dolphin of France was appointed by the king his father to meet him seven leagues from the citie, who brought him to the king, who receiued him in such hartie manner, as if he had bene his owne sonne, and with as much honor as might haue bene shewed to the greatest prince in earth. There were iustes, tourneys, and other princelie pastimes practised and set forth; in which iustes and other exercises of warlike feates, he shewed himselfe as hardie, cunning and ballant, as anie other person within all the realme of France, for the which he wan passing great praise.

In the meane time, he caused his ambassadoys and the noble men that were with him, to declare vnto the king of France, that the cause of his comming was for marriage to be had betwene him and the ladie Magdalen, eldest daughter to the king, whome he loued & fauoured aboue all other within his realme. The French king was glad hereof, that the ancient band betwixt Scotland and France might thus with new aliance be confirmed, and therefore declared that he would willingly giue him his daughter in marriage. But herewith he let him vnderstand, that his daughter was much subiect to sicknesse, and therefore he referred that vnto the king of Scotland his owne pleasure, whether he would haue hir, or his yongest daughter the ladie Margaret, who was after married to the duke of Sauoy. This offer of choise being reported to the king of Scotland, he continued in his former purpose, which was, to match with the ladie Magdalen, who was in deed a pleasant yong ladie, beautifull, of good fauour, louelie countenance, and comelie manners, aboue all others within that realme.

Wherevpon the marriage was contracted betwixt them, and an hundred thousand crownes of the sun promised with hir in dowrie, with thirtie thousand franks of pension, during the life of king James: which monie was deliuered vnto him at his returne homewards, besides manie rich hangings, cupboards of plate, sumptuous apparell, and rich iewels giuen to him and his wife, farre aboue the summe of an other hundred thousand crownes, with two great ships (the one called the salamander) and great plenty of artillerie, powder, and other munition. Moreover,

The kings boiage about the Isles.

He saileth into France.

He rideth to Wandolme.

He is receiued into Paris.

He is a tutor for marriage.

The marriage contracted betwixt the king of Scots and the ladie Magdalen.

The peace concluded with England.

Fr. Thin. Lellius lib. 9. pag. 439. 1534.

32. Arthur the first boiers.

akeeth into land.

533.

Justice ministered.

English fugitives receiued into Scotland.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 14. 1534.

4. Lelle.

Thin.

ence cometh.

ambassadoys France.

king him passeth into France.

1535. The pope sendeth into Scotland.

1536.

uer, all his charges and expences were borne by the French king, during his being within the realme of France. At the same time also, was the ancient league and bond of amitie betwixt the two realmes of Scotland and France renewed, and the day of the solemnization of the marriage appointed to be holden the first of Januarie.

In the meane time, great preparation for the same was made, and all the nobles of France sent for to be there at that day. On the which within the church of Notre dame in the citie of Paris, the king of Scotland openlie married the said ladie Magdalen, in presence of the king his father, the king of Navarre, seven cardinals, and diuerse great dukes, marquesses, earles, lords, barons, bishops, & others. After the solemnization of the marriage, king James remained in France, till the moneth of Maie, passing the time with all kind of pleasure and disport that might be deuised for his honorable interteinement. Finally, the king and his wife quene Magdalen toke their leaue of the king of France their father at Paris, about the latter end of Aprill, and so rode to Rouen; where they were receiued with great triumph, and from thence they passed downe the river to Newhauen where they embarked, being accompanied by the admerall of France, and manie other noble men of the realme, appointed by the French king to attend vpon them into Scotland, & so they sailed forth with pleasant wind and prosperous weather, through the seas, till they came into the Forth, and there landed at the peare of Liethauen, the 29 of Maie, in the yeere 1537, where a great number of earles, bishops, barons, & other noble men & gentlemen of Scotland were readie to receiue them with passing ioy and gladnesse, & from thence with great triumph they were conueied to the abbey of Holie rood house.

This noble ladie with hir louelie countenance and seemlie demeanour, at hir first arrivall wone the loues and hartie good wills of all the nobles & people of the realme, and withall contented so highlie the mind and fantasie of the king hir husband, that there was neuer more hope of wealth and prosperitie to succeed within the realme, than at that present. But fortune ennieng so great felicitie, would not suffer them to continue anie longer time together: for about the end of June she fell sicke of a vehement fever, whereof she departed this life the tenth of Julie next ensuing, and was buried in the church of Holie rood house, for whose death the king was verie sorrowfull, & stirred not abroad of a long time after: [whose death (saith Buchanan) was so lamented of all men, that then (as he supposeth) began the first vse of mourning garments amongst the Scots, which yet at this day, not being past fortie yeeres, is not verie common, though publicke orders and manners doe uerie day grow worse and worse.]

In the summer of this yeere, Jone Dowglas the ladie of Glames, sister to the earle of Angus, was apprehended, and likewise hir husband David Lion, and both of them brought to Edinburgh, where they were accused and conuict by an assise, for conspiracie of the kings death: the said ladie was burned, and hir husband hanged. Hir son the lord Glames was also conuict for misprision and concealment of that crime, and therfore forfaiting all his lands, was condemned to die: but because he was young and of tender yeeres, the king pardoned him of life, and commanded him to perpetuall prison, in the which he remained so long as the king liued. [This yeere was Bothwell, for that he was ouer familiar with the English, banished into France (as saith Buchanan.)] Shortlie after, John maister of the Forbois, and eldest sonne to the lord Forbois, who had married a si-

ster of the said ladie Glames, was at Edinburgh likewise indicted and conuict by an assise, by procurement of the earle Huntley, for the like conspiracie of the kings death, for the which he was beheaded and quartered, and his head and quarters set aloft vpon the gates of Edinburgh. His father the lord Forbois, vpon suspicion of the same conspiracie, was long after kept in prison within the castell of Edinburgh; but at length when nothing might be proued against him, he was released and set at libertie.

This yeere, the king in September caused iustices to sit in the north parts of the realme, and likewise in October; and in the winter following he caused the like to be done in the south and west parts. The king himselfe was often times present, assisting the lords whome he had appointed his commissioners for the furtherance of iustice, and maintenance thereof throughout all parts of his realme. The king appointed an assemblie of the nobles, by whose consent an edict was made to confirme the former law, in which all his grants made at Roane in his minority were voided and of no authoritie. At what time also by the said persons it was brought to passe by great labor, that the kings patrimonie should be augmented with manie possessions. Wherefore when they perceived that the kings charge and dignitie could not be maintained with so small reuenues, they aduanced his foure sonnes (borne of diuerse women) to the rich abbeies & priories of Melrose, Kelso, Coldingham, Holie rood, and of saint Andrewes, whose reuenues they transferred to the kings coffers so long as he liued: by which (perhaps) there came no lesse monie (saith Lesleus) vnto his coffers, than did arise of his kinglie inheritance.)

The king by the aduise of these noble men of his realme, thinking it necessarie for him to match againe in marriage with some noble princeesse, sent into France vnto the earle of Murray, and David Beaton abbat of Arbroth [whome (as saith Lesleus lib. 9. p. 447) Paule the third had made a cardinal, & they of France had made bishop of Airopeuse] his ambassadors there resident, willing them by the aduise of the French king to treat for a marriage to be had betwixt him and the ladie Marie de Lorraine, dutchesse of Longuile, widow, daughter to the duke of Guise. And being aduertised from his said ambassadors, that the king of France, the ladie hir selfe, and hir friends, were well contented therewith, he sent in the beginning of Maie the lord Robert Marwell, and the maister of Glencarne, well accompanied into France, to ioine with his other ambassadors for the contracting of that marriage, the which according to their commission treated thereof, and concluded vpon resolute articles, and so espoused hir by procurators, as the vse is amongst such estates, with great triumph in the citie of Paris, whereat the king and manie noble men were present.

After this she was conueied to Newhauen, and there taking the seas, passed through the same till she came to Carrell in Fife, where she landed the tenth of June; and from thence she was conueied to the new palace in the abbey of saint Andrewes, being honorable prepared for the receiuing of hir. And there the king accompanied with manie noble men, openlie solemnized and confirmed the fore said marriage with the said ladie in the abbey church, with great ioy and triumph. The king with his quene remained there the most part of that summer. And within a few moneths after the marriage, she conceived with child, to the great comfort of the king and the whole realme, for the hope of succession thereby; and therefore general processions and publicke praiers were made throughout all parts of the realme, for the prosperous success of the same. After that the king had pacified the borders

1539.
The marriage
contracted.

1537. Lesle.

The king
with his
quene retur-
neth into
Scotland.

Quene Mag-
dalen depar-
teth this life.

Fr. Thin.

The ladie
Glames and
hir husband
conuict of
treason.
1537. Lesl.

Fr. Thin.

The maister
of Forbois
beheaded.

Great quiet-
ness in Scot-
land.

1539.

The king sai-
th worth-
wards to the
kings of France
and others.

Iustices ap-
pointed to sit
in diuerse
parts of the
realme.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 14.
pag. 447.

1538. Lesle.

The king is a
sutor for ma-
riage to the
dutchesse of
Longuile.
Fr. Thin.

The out Alex-
brought to
good order.

Fr. Thin.

The quene
delivered of a
sonne.

The marriage
solemnized.

The quene
mother depar-
teth this life.

Certaine per-
sons burnt
by religion.

borders and all other parts of his realme, by exercising of iustice, and traueilling about the same in his owne person through all places (where need required) so that there was as great quietnesse, rest, and policie vsed in Scotland, as euer was in anie kings daies before him: yet neuertheless there were certaine disobedient persons in the Isles.

The king therefore, to bring them to order, caused to prepare a good nauie of ships, and in the moneth of Maye went aboard the same in the rode of Lethy, hauing with him the earles of Arrane, Huntlye, Argyll, and diuerse other earles, lords, and barons, with whom he sailed forth by the coasts of Fife, Angus, Aberdeen, Murray, Southerrland, and Cathness, till he came to Orkney, where he landing and all his companie with him, were receiued with honorable by the bishop Robert Marcell. Here they furnished themselves with fresh vittells, and other such things as were necessarie; and taking the seas againe, sailed to the Isles of Skie and Lewes, where Mac Clewd of the Lewes, a principall clan of his kin, was brought vnto the king, who sent forth also a companie to Mac Clewd Bangh, who came likewise out of his Ile, and presented himselfe to the king.

From thence the king sailed by the coast of Rosse & Buntail, to the Ile of Eranternes, where diuerse of the Maconiles, such as the lord Magarrie, John Godart, and others (who alledged themselves to be of the principall blood, and lords of the Isles) were brought also to the kings presence. From thence traueilling through the residue of the Isles, Macclane and James Maconile of Winter, being the two principall capteins of the small Isles, came likewise to the king who at length landed at Dunbretton, and sent the capteins and ships with prisoners to passe the same waie he came round about the coast, so to come to Edinburgh, where the same prisoners being arrived, the chiefe heads of them were kept in ward as pledges for good rule in their countries, and were not suffered to depart so long as the king liued, whereby there followed great quietnesse, and as good obedience to the lawes throughout all the Isles, as there was in anie part of the realme; and as good account and payment made to the kings controller in his exchequer for the lands of the same Isles pertaining to the crowne, as for anie part of the reuenues belonging thereto within the maine land. [In this yere (saith Buchanan lib. 4.) were manie taken for Lutheranisme, wherof some were burnt; nine recanted, and manie were banished: amongst whom, George Buchanan was one, who escaped by a rope out of a window of a chamber.]

Whilest the king was in this bondage, the quene was deliuered of a sonne at saint Andrewes, where of the king being aduertised at his landing, hastied with all possible diligence to the quene; and shortly after was the child baptised, and called James. The archbishop of saint Andrewes, and the earle of Arrane were godfathers, and the quene the kings mother was godmother. For the birth of this prince, there were bounties made through all parts of the realme, with great triumph and giuing of thanks to God for the same. After this the quene, mother to the king, returned vnto Methuen, where after she had remained a certaine time, a sicknesse took hir, of the which shortly after she departed this life, and was buried in the Charterhouse church of saint Johns towne, by the towne of king James the first. The king himselfe and manie nobles of the realme were present at the funerals, which were kept in most solemne and pompous manner.

The same yere were burnt at Edinburgh for heresie (as it was then taken) a regular canon, two

blacke friers, and a secular man. Also two priests were degraded, and condemned to perpetual prison. The same time there was a grate fier in the citie of Glasgow burnt for the like cause, and manie other summoned; and because they would not appeare, they were deniounced hereticks. About the same time, James Beton archbishop of saint Andrewes, a man of great age departed this life, and was buried in saint Andrewes. Before his departure, he had provided successours to all his benefices, first to his archbishops see, and to the abbey of Arbroth, maister David Beton, afterwards cardinal; and to the abbey of Dunfermling maister George Durie that was archdeacon of saint Andrewes. These men, without anie gainesaying of the king, entered with his good will into the same benefices, immediately after his deceasse. This James Beton builded a great part of the new college of saint Andrewes, and left great summes of monie and treasure to go through to make an end of the same worke.

This yere in the moneth of August sir James Hamilton of Finhart knight, remaining as then in the towne of Edinburgh, was arrested by David Wood controller to the king, who charged him in the kings name to go to ward within the castle of Edinburgh. Which commandement he willingly obeyed, thinking himselfe sure inough, as well by reason of the good seruice he had done to the king, specially in repairing the palaces of Strueling and Linlithgow; as also for that the king had him in so high fauor, that he stood in no feare of himselfe at all. Neuertheless, shortly after he was brought forth to iudgement, and confuted in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, of certaine points of treason laid against him, which he would neuer confesse; but that notwithstanding, he was beheaded in the moneth of September next ensuing [after that he had liberallie confessed at the place of execution, that he had neuer in anie sort offended the kings maiestie, and that this death was yet more thanlie inflicted vpon him by the diuine iustice; because he had often offended the lawes of God to please the prince, thereby to obtaine greater countenance with him. Wherefore he admonished all persons, that (moued by his example) they should rather follow the diuine pleasure, than vnjustlie seeke the kings fauor, since it is better to please God than man.]

This summer the quene remaining at Strueling, was deliuered of another prince, which was baptised in the chappell of Strueling, and called Arthur; but within eight daies after, the said prince deceased at Strueling aforesaid. On the verie same daie, prince James the kings eldest sonne being at saint Andrewes departed this life also, in such wise, that there was but onlie six houres betwixt the time of their departures out of this world; which caused no lesse lamentation through the whole realme, than there was ioy at their births. After this, the quene went vnto saint Johns towne, where she was honorably receiued with great triumph made by the towne. She was accompanied with the principall men of the countrie, and from thence the roade to Aberdeen, the king then being come vnto hir, where, by the towne and vniuersitie they were receiued with great ioy, triumph, pageants, verses, & plates, set forth in the best manner for their pastime. They remained there the space of fiftene daies, and were highly entertained by the bishop of that place.

There were exercises and disputations held in all kind of sciences in the colleges and scholes, with diuerse orations made in Greeke, Latine, and other languages, to the high praise and commendation of the maisters & students in that vniuersitie. From thence the king with the quene returned to Dun-

1539. Lesle.
The death of James Beton archbishop of saint Andrewes.

1540.
Sir James Hamilton arrested.

Sir James Hamilton beheaded.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 9.
pag. 411.

The quene deliuered of another son.

The two young princes departed this life.

The king and quene at Aberdeen.

Great quietnesse in Scotland.

1539.

The king sailed northwards to the Isles of Orkney and others.

The out Isles brought to good order.

Fr. Thin.

The quene deliuered of a sonne.

The quene mother departed this life.

Certaine persons burnt for religion.

Capteine
Bozthwike
accused of he-
resie.

Fr. Thin.
Lefleus lib. 9.
pag. 453.

A small por-
tion in d. d.

1541.
The king of
England sen-
deth to the
king of
Scots.

Fr. Thin.

dee, where a coffie entrie was prepared for them also, and after they had bene right princelie interteined there, they came to Falkeland. In the moneth of Aprile, sir John Bozthwike, commonlie called capteine Bozthwike, suspected, defamed, and accused of heresie, was summoned to appeare in saint Andrews before the cardinal, and diuerse other bishops and prelates there present, where (notwithstanding his absence) the same being proued by sufficient witnesse against him (as was thought) he was conuicted and declared an heretike. An image was made to resemble him, and at the market crosse of the said citie, as a signe and memorie of his condemnation, it was burned, to the feare of others, but he himselfe escaped their hands and got into England, where he was receiued.

The king of Scots (hearing of the maner of the king of England, and how he honored himselfe) toke in euill part, that the king of England in all generall assemblies of the states of Ireland did call himselfe king of Ireland, when all his predecessours before were onelie intituled by the names of lords of Ireland. For by that new title, king James his authoritie did seeme to be diminished, when the king of England did write himselfe king of all Ireland: whereof a portion by many ages was vnder the rule of the king of Scots. Yet at length k. James did yeld therunto; and that the rather, because the king of England vnder this title and authoritie, did not dispossesse the heires of the Scot Spakeconell; and other his Scots of those lands which they there inioied in that countrie.]

This yere the king of England aduertised of the meeting of the emperor, the French king, and pope, at the citie of Nice, doubting some practise to be devised there against him, sent to the king of Scotland the bishop of saint Dauides, & the lord William Howard, desiring him as his most tender kinsman and nephue, to meete him at the citie of Forke in England, where he would communicat such things with him, as should be for the weale of both the realmes. And therewith the king of England, trusting that the king of Scotland would haue fulfilled his desire, caused great preparation to be made at Forke for the receiuing of him. But albeit the king of Scotland was willing of himselfe to haue passed into England, to haue met and seene his uncle; yet after long reasoning and deliberation of his counsell and prelates [especiallie James Beton bishop of saint Andrews, and George Crichtoune bishop of Aberdeen (as saith Buchanan. lib. 14.) assembled for that purpose, casting in their minds (as they toke it) what danger might fall to him and his realme, if he should passe into England, in case he should be staied and holden there, contrarie to his will, as king James his predecessour was, hauing no succession of his bodie.

And againe, for that it was certeinlie knowne, that the principall cause, why the king of England required this meeting or interuiew, was to persuaade the king of Scotland to vse the like order in Scotland, as he had done within his realme of England, in abolishing the popes authoritie, making himselfe supreme head of the church, expelling religious persons out of their houses, and seizing the iewels of their houses, their lands and rents, and such like inuormation. And if it chanced the king should attempt the like, they should lose the friendship which was betwixt him, the pope, the emperor, and French king, that were his great friends and confederats. Whereupon they persuaaded him to staie, and by their aduise sent pleasant letters & messages vnto the said king of England, desiring him to haue him excused, for that he could not come into England at that time,

hauing such lets and causes of abiding at home, as thoztie he should vnderstand by his ambassadors, whom he ment to send to him, as well for this matter as other causes. And thoztie after sir James Leirmouth was appointed to go as ambassador into England, as well to make the kings excuse for his not coming to meet the king of England at Forke; as also to make complaint vpon certein inuasions made by the borderers of England into Scotland, and also for the vsing of the debatable ground betwixt the two realmes.

But the king of England soze offended that the king of Scots would not satisfie his request, to meet him at Forke (as before is recited, would admit no excuse, but determined to make warre into Scotland, albeit as the Scottishmen allege, he would not suffer the same to be vnderstood, till he had prepared all things in a readinesse. In the meane time he sent commissioners to meet with the Scots commissioners vpon the debatable ground, to talke for redresse to be made of harmes done vpon the borders, but no good conclusion could be agreed vpon by these commissioners, neither touching the debatable land, nor yet for repairing of wrongs done by the inuasions. ¶ But that the truth concerning the causes of this war, moued at this present by that noble prince king Henrie the eight, may the better appeare; I haue thought good here to set downe the same, as they were drawen forth and published in print to the whole world by the said king in a little pamphlet, vnder this title.

A declaration containing the iust causes and considerations of this present warre with the Scots, wherein also appeareth the true and right title that the kings most roiall maiestie hath to his fouereigntie of Scotland, and thus it beginneth.

BEing now inforced to the war which we haue alwaies hitherto so much abhorred & fled, by our neighbour & nephue the k. of Scots, one who aboue all other for our manifold benefitts toward him, hath most iust cause to loue vs, and to reioice in our quietnesse; we haue thought good to notifie vnto the world his doings and behauiour in the prouocation of this war, & likewise the meanes & waies by vs to eschew & auoid it, & the iust & true occasions wherby we be now prouoked to prosecute the same, and by vtterance and disclosing of that matter, to disburden some part of our inward displeasure and griefe: and the circumstances knownen, to lament openlie with the world the infidelitie of this time, in which things of such enormitie doe burst out and appeare.

The king of Scots our nephue & neighbor, whom we in his youth and tender age preserved and maintained from the great danger of others, and by our authoritie and power conducted him safelie to the roiall possession of his estate, he now compelleth & inforceth vs (for preservation of our honor & right) to vse our puissance & power against him. The like unkindnesse hath bene heretofore shewed by other in semblable cases against Gods law, mans law, & all humanitie; but the oftener it chanceth, the more it is to be abhorred, and yet in the persons of princes, for the raritie of them, can so happen but seldome as it hath now come to passe. It hath bene verie rarelie & seldome seene tofore, that a king of Scots hath had in marriage a daughter of England. We cannot nor will not reprehend the king our fathers act therein, but lament and be sozie that it toke no better effect.

The king our father in that matter minded loue, & amittie,

Sir James
Leirmouth
ambassador
into England

1542.
The king of
England
meaneth to
make warre
into Scot-
land.

A declaration
of the iust causes
of the war
against the
king of
Scots.

amitie, and perpetuall friendship betwene the posteritie of both: which howe sone it failed, the death of the king of Scots, as a due punishment of God, for his vniust inuasion into this our realme, is and shall be a perpetuall testimonie of their reproch for euer. And yet in that present time could not the vniuersitie of the father extinguish in vs the naturall loue of our nephue his sonne, being then in the miserable age of tender youth. But we then forgetting the displeasure that should haue worthilie prouoked vs to inuade that realme, nourished and brought vp our nephue, to attaine his fathers possession and gouernement, wherein he now so vnkindlie vseth and behaueth himselfe towards vs, as he compelleth vs to take armes and warre against him.

It is speciallie to be noted, vpon what grounds, and by what means we be compelled to this warre, wherein among other is our chiefe grieue and displeasure, that vnder a colour of faire speech and flattering words, we be indeed so injured, contemned and despised, as we ought not with sufferance to permit and passe ouer. Words, writings, letters, messages, ambassages, excuses, allegations, could not more pleasantlie, more gentlie, nor more reuerentlie be deuised and sent, than hath bene made on the king of Scots behalfe vnto vs: and euer we trusted the tree would bring forth good fruit, that was of the one part of so good a stocke, and continuallie in appearance put forth so faire buds: and therefore would hardlie beleue or giue eare to other, that euer alledged the deeds of the contrarie, being neuertheless the same deeds so manifest, as we must needs haue regarded them, had not we bin so loth to thinke euill of our nephue, whome we had so manie waies bound to be of the best sort toward vs.

And therefore hauing a message sent vnto vs the yere past, from our said nephue, and a promise made for the repairing of the said king of Scots vnto vs to Porke, and after great preparation on our part made therefore, the same meeting was not onelie disappointed, but also at our being at Porke in the lieu thereof, an inuasion made by our said nephue his subiects into our land, declaring an euident contempt and despite of vs. We were yet glad to impute the default of the meeting to the aduise of his counsell, and the inuasion to the lewdnesse of his subiects, and according thereto gaue as benigne and gentle audience to such ambassadoes as repaired hither at Christmas afterwarde, as if no such cause of displeasure had occurred, speciallie considering the good words, sweet words, pleasant words, effronteries proponed by the said ambassadoes, not onelie to excuse that was past, but also to perswade kindnesse and perfect amitie to insue.

And albeit the king of Scots hauing (contrarie to the article of the league of amitie) receiued and entertained such rebels as were of the cheefe and principall, in stirring the insurrection in the north against vs, with refusall before time, vpon request made to restore the same; yet neuertheless, vpon offer made, the said ambassadoes to send commission to the borderers, to determine debates of the confines in the same, with so great a pretense of amitie, and so faire words as could be in speech desired, we were content for the time to forbear to presse them ouer extreame in the matter of rebels. Albeit we neuer remitted the same, but desiring to make triall of our said nephue in some correspondence of deeds, condescended, to the sending of commissioners to the borders, which to our great charge we did, and the king of Scots our said nephue the semblable.

Where after great trauell made by our commissioners, this fruit insued, that being for our part challenged, a peece of our ground plainlie vsurped by the

Scots, and of no great value, being also for the same shewed such euidence, as more substantiall, more authenticke, plaine and euident, cannot be brought forth for anie part of ground within our realme: the same was neuertheless by them denied, refused, and the euidence onelie for this cause reiected, that it was made (as they alledged) by Englishmen: and yet it was so ancient, as it could not be counterfeited now, and the value of the ground so little, and of so small weight, as no man would haue attempted to falsifie for such a matter. And yet this deniall being in this wise made vnto our commissioners, they neuertheless by our commandement departed as friends from the commissioners of Scotland, taking order as hath bene accustomed, for good rule vpon the borders in the meane time.

After which their recess, the lord Darwell wariden of the west marches of Scotland, made proclamation for good rule; but yet added therewith, that the borderers of Scotland should withstand their goods from the borderers of England; and incontinent the Scottishmen borderers, the fourth of Julie entered into our realme suddenly, and spoiled our subiects contrarie to our leagues, euen after such extremitie as it had bene in the time of open warre, whereat we much marvelled, and were compelled therefore to furnish our borders with a garrison for defense of the same. Wherevpon the king of Scots sent vnto vs James Leirmouth maister of his household, with letters deuised in the most pleasant manner, offering redresse & reformation of all attempts. And yet neuertheless, at the entrie of the said Leirmouth into England, a great number of the Scots then not looked for, made a forraie into our borders, to the great annoiance of our subiects, & to their extreme detriment. Wherewith, and with that vnseemlie dissimulation, we were not a little moued, as reason would we should; and yet did we not finally so extreamelie prosecute and continue our said displeasure, but that we gaue benigne audience to the said Leirmouth, and suffered our selfe to be somewhat altered by his words and faire promises, tending to the perswasion that we euer desired, to find the king of Scots such a nephue vnto vs, as our proximity of blood (with our gratuitie vnto him) did require.

In the meane time of these faire words, the deeds of the borderers were as extreme as might be, and our subiects spoiled: and in a robe made by sir Robert Bowes for a reuenge thereof, the same sir Robert Bowes, with manie other were taken prisoners, and yet detained in Scotland without putting them to fine or rancome, as hath bene euer accustomed. And being at the same time a surseilance made on both sides, at the sute of the said Leirmouth for a season; the Scots ceased not to make sundrie inuasions into our realme, in such wise as we were compelled to forget faire words, and onelie to consider the king of Scots deeds, which appeared vnto vs of that sort, as they ought not for our dutie in defense of our subiects, we could not in respect of our honor, be passed ouer vnreformed: and therefore put in a readinesse our armie, as a due meane whereby we might attaine such a peace, as for the safeguard of our subiects we be bound to procure.

After which preparation made, and knowledge had thereof, the king of Scots ceased not to vse his accustomed meane of faire words, which in our naturall inclination wrought effronteries their accustomed effect, euer more desirous to find in the king of Scots such regard & respect to be declared in deeds, as the correspondence of naturall loue in the nephue to such an vncle, as we haue shewed our selfe toward him, doth require. Wherefore vpon new request and sute made vnto vs, we determined to state our armie

mie at Poike, appointing the duke of Norfolke our lieutenant, the Lord primate seale, the bishop of Durham, and the maister of our hostes, there to commen, treat, and conclude with the ambassadoys of Scotland, for an amitie and peace, vpon such conditions, as by reason and equitie were indifferent, whereby the warre might be eschewed, being by sundrie inuasions of the Scots then opened & manifest.

In this communication betwene our and their commissioners, after diuerse degrees of commission shewed by the Scots, and finallie one that was by our commissioners allowed, matters were proposed for conclusion of amitie, nothing difficult or hard of our part, but so agreeable to reason, as the commissioners of Scotland said they doubted not, but if it might be brought to passe that the king of Scots our nephew might haue a meeting with vs, all matters should easilie be compounded and determined: whereupon they left speaking of anie articles of amitie, and the ambassadoys of Scotland made much outward toy in communication of meeting. They shewed themselves in words, fashion, and behauior much to delight in it, to reioice in it, and therewith thought it easie and facile to be concluded and accomplished, and for their part they took it then for a thing passed, a thing concluded, and most certeine to take effect, and onelie desired six daies to obtaine answer from their maister, and our armie, from that time to staie and go no further: wherevnto our commissioners then agreed.

After these six daies was sent a commission out of Scotland, with power to conclude a meeting precise at such a place, as they knew well we should not, nor could not in winter obserue & keepe. Whereupon when our commissioners were discontent, the ambassadoys of Scotland to relieue that displeasure, and to temper the matter whereby to win more time, shewed forth their instructions, wherein libertie was giuen to the ambassadoys to exceed their commission in the appointment of the place, and to consent to anie other that by our commissioners should be thought convenient. Which manner of proceeding when our commissioners refused, alledging that they would not conclude a meeting with men hauing no commission therevnto: the ambassadoys of Scotland vpon pretense to send for a more ample and large commission, agreeable to their instructions for appointment of the place, obtained a delaye of other six daies, to send for the ample commission without restraint of place.

Now after these six daies they brought forth a new commission, made in a good forme, and without exception: but therewith also they shewed new instructions, containing such a restraint as the former commission did containe, so as the libertie giuen to the commissioners in the commission was now at the last removed and taken away by the instructions, with addition of a speciall charge to the ambassadoys, not to exceed the same. And thus, first the ambassadoys of Scotland seemed to haue a will and desire to conclude on a place seemelie and convenient, which for want of commission they might not do, and at the last might haue concluded a meeting by vertue of their commission; and then for feare of the commandement in their second instructions they durst not. And so they shewed their first instructions partlie to excuse their king, who should seeme secretlie to will more than in the commission he did openlie professe.

Then with an ample commission from the king, they shewed their secret instructions for defense of themselves, why they proceeded not according to their commission, not caring how much they charged therein the king, whose fault they disclosed to dis-

charge themselves, trusting that by the benefit of the winter approaching, and the time lost in their communication, their maister should be defended against our power for this yeere, without doing for their part what by honor, right, law, and leagues they be obliged and bound to do. And in this meane time our subiects being taken prisoners in Scotland, could not be deliuered vpon any rancome, contrarie to all custome and vse of the borderers in the time of peace and warre: and in this meane time staied a great part of our armie already pressed, and in our wages to go forward.

In this time ambassadoys (as ye haue heard) assembled to make of an amitie, but concluded none. The treating of amitie was put ouer by communication of a meeting. The communication of meeting was so handled by alteration of commission and instructions on their behalfe, as it appeareth a plaine deuise onelie inuented for a delaye, which hath giuen vs light, wherevpon more certeinly to iudge the king of Scots inward affection toward vs: whose deeds and words well weighed and considered, do vs plainlie to vnderstand, how he hath continually labored to abuse vs with sweet and pleasant words, and to satisfie the appetites of other at home and abroad with his triking and displeasing deeds. In his words he professeth an indissoluble amitie, he allegeth kindred, he acknowledgeth benefits, onelie the fault is, that he speaketh another language to all the world in deeds, and thereby so toucheth vs in honor and denegation of iustice, as we be enforced and compelled to vse the sword, which God hath put in our hands as an extreme remedie, whereby to obtaine both quietnesse for our subiects, and also that is due to vs by right, pacts, and leagues.

We haue patientlie suffered manie delusions, and notable the last yeere, when we made preparation at Poike for his repaire to vs. But should we suffer our people and subiects to be so oft spoiled without remedie? This is done by the Scots, whatsoever their words be. Should we suffer our rebels to be detained contrarie to the leagues without remedie? This is also done by them, whatsoever their words be. Should we suffer our land to be usurped contrarie to our most plaine euidence, onelie vpon a will, pride and arrogancie of the other partie? This is done by them whatsoever their words be. All these be ouer presumptuouslie done against vs, and giue such signification of their arrogancie, as it is necessarie for vs to oppresse it in the beginning, least they should gather further courage, to the greater displeasure of vs and our posteritie hereafter. And yet in the intreating of this matter, if we had not euidentlie perceived the lacke of such affection as proximity of blood should require; we would rather haue remitted these iniuries in respect of proximity of blood, to our nephew, than we did to fore his fathers inuasion.

But weeing that we be so suerlie ascertained of the lacke thereof, and that our blood is there frozen with the cold aire of Scotland, there was neuer prince more violentlie compelled to war, than we be by the vnikind dealing, vniust behauior, & vnpincelie demeanour of him, that yet in nature is our nephew, & in his acts and deeds declareth himselfe not to be moued therewith, nor to haue such earnest regard to the obseruation of his pacts & leagues, nor such respect to the intertainment of the administration of iustice, as naturall equitie bindeth, & conseruation of equitie requireth. Which we much lament & be sorie for, & vse now our force and puissance against him, not for reuengement of our priuate displeasure (being so often deliuered as we haue borne) but for recouerie of our right, the preservation of our subiects from iniuries, and the obseruation of such leagues as

as haue passed betwene vs, firmelie trusting, that almightie God, vnder whome we reigne, will assist & aid our iust proceedings herein, to the furtherance and aduancement of the right, which we doubt not shall euer preuaile against wrong, falshood, deceit, and dissimulation.

Hitherto appeareth how this present warre hath not proceeded of anie demand of our right of our superiortie, which the kings of Scots haue alwaies knowledged by homage and fealtie to our progenitors euen from the beginning: but this warre hath bene prouoked and occasioned vpon present matter of displeasure, present iniurie, present wrong mistred by the nephue to the vncle most vnnaturalie, and supported contrarie to the deserts of our benefits most vnkindlie, if we had minded the possession of Scotland, and by the motion of warre to attaine the same, there was neuer king of this realme had more opportunitie in the minoritie of our nephue, nor in anie other realme a prince that hath more iust title, more euident title, more certeine title, to any realme that he can claime, than we haue to Scotland.

This title is not deuised by pretense of marriage, nor imagined by couenant, nor contriued by intencion of argument, but lineallie descended from the beginning of that estate established by our progenitors, and recognised successiuelie of the kings of Scotland, by deeds, wordes, acts, and writings continuallie almost without interruption, or at the least intermission, till the reigne of our progenitor king Henrie the first, in whose time the Scots abused the ciuill warre of this realme, to their licence and boldnesse, in omitting of their dutie: which for the proritie of blood betwene vs, we haue bene slacke to require of them, being also of our selfe inclined to peace, as we haue euer bene alwaies glad, rather without preiudice to omit to demand our right if it might conserue peace, than by demanding thereof to be seene to moue warre, specialie against our neighbour, against our nephue, against him whome we haue preserved from danger, and in such a time as it were expedient for all christendome to be in vnitie and peace, whereby to be more able to resist the common enimie the Turke.

But for what considerations we haue omitted to speake hitherto of the matter, it is neuertheless true, that the kings of Scots haue alwaies acknowledged the kings of England superior lords of the realme of Scotland, & haue done homage and fealtie for the same. This appereth first in histories written by such, as for confirmation of the truth in memorie haue trulie noted and signified the same. Secondly, it appeareth by instruments of homage made by the kings of Scots, and diuerse notable personages of Scotland, at diuerse & sundrie times sealed with their seales, and remaining in our treasure. Thirdlie, it appeareth by registers and records iudicialle and autenticallie made, yet preferred for confirmation of the same. So as the matter of title being most plaine, is furnished also with all maner of euidences for declaration thereof.

First, as concerning histories, which be called witnesses of times, the light of truth, and the life of memorie, and finally the conuenient way & meane whereby the things of antiquitie may be brought to mens knowledge, they shew as plainlie this matter as could be wished or required, with such a consent of writers as could not so agree vpon an vntruth, containing a declaration of such matter as hath most euident probabilitie and apparance. For as it is probable and likelie, that for the better administration of iustice amongst rude people, two or more of

one estate might be rulers in one countrie, united as this Ile is: so it is probable and likelie, that in the beginning it was so ordered for auoiding dissention, that there should be one superiour, in right of whom the said estates should depend.

According whereunto we read, how Brute, of whome the realme then called Britaine took first that name (being before that time inhabited with giants, a people without order or ciuilitie) had three sonnes, Locrine, Albanact, and Camber, who determining to haue the whole Ile within the ocean sea to be after gouerned by them three, appointed Albanact to rule that now is called Scotland, Camber the parties of Wales, and Locrine that now is called England: vnto whom (his being the eldest sonne) the other two brethren should doe homage, recognising and knowledging him as their superiour. Now consider, if Brute conquered all this Ile, as the historie saith he did, and then in his owne time made this order of superiortie as afore; how can there be a title deuised of a more plaine beginning, a more iust beginning, a more conuenient beginning, for the order of this Ile, at that time specialie, when the people were rude: which cannot without continuall strife and variance containe two or three rulers in all points equall without any maner of superiortie, the inward conscience and remorse of which superiortie should in some part dull and diminish the peruerse courage of resistance and rebellion.

The first diuision of this Ile, we find written after this sort, without cause of suspicion why they should write amisse. And according herunto we find also in historie set forth by diuerse, how for transgression against this superiortie, our predecessors haue chastised the kings of Scots, and some depose, and put other in their places. We will here omit to speake of the rudenesse of the antiquitie in particularitie, which they cared not dissimulie to commit to writing. But some authours, as Antonius Sabellicus, amongst other, diligentlie searching what he might trulie write of all Europe and the Ilands adioining, ouer and besides that which he writeth of the natures, manners, and conditions of the Scots, which who so list to read, shall find to haue bene the verie same in times past, that we find them now at this present: he calleth Scotland, part of England, which is agreeable to the diuision aforesaid, being in deed as in the land continuall without separation of the sea, so also by homage and fealtie vnto the same, as by particular declarations shall most manifestlie appere, by the testimonie of such as haue left writing for prooue and confirmation thereof.

In which matter, passing the death of king Humbar, the acts of Dunwald king of this realme of England, the diuision of Beline and Bren two brethren, the victories of king Arthur; we shall begin at the yeere of our Lord, nine hundred, which is six hundred fortie two yeeres past, a time of sufficient antiquitie, from which we shall make speciall declaration and euident prooue of the erection of our right and title of superiortie euer more continued and preferred hitherto. Edward the first, before the conquest, sonne to Alured king of England, had vnder his dominion and obedience the king of Scots. And here is to be noted, that this matter was so notorious and manifest, as Marian a Scot, writing that storie in those daies, granteth, confesseth, & testifieth the same: and this dominion continued in that state three and twenty yeeres.

At which time Athelstane succeeded in the crowne of England, and hauing by battell conquered Scotland, he made one Constantine king of that partie, to rule and gouerne the countrie of Scotland vnder him, adding this princelie word, that it was more

honorable to him to make a king, than to be a king.
 Twentie foure yeres after that, which was the yere
 of our Lord 947, king Edward our progenitor Athel-
 stanes brother, toke homage of Trise then king of
 Scots. Thirtie yeres after that, which was in the
 yere of our Lord 977, king Edgar our predecessour
 toke homage of Rinald king of Scots. Here was
 a litle trouble in England by the death of saint Ed-
 ward king and martyr, destroyed by the deceit of his
 mother in law. But yet within memorie, fortie yeres
 after the homage done by Rinald to king Edgar,
 that is to say, in the yere of our Lord 1018, Mal-
 colme king of Scots did homage to Knute our pre-
 decessour.

After this homage done, the Scots uttered some
 peere of their naturall disposition: whereupon, by
 warre made by our progenitor saint Edward the
 confessor, twentie nine yeres after homage done,
 that is to say, the yere of our Lord 1056, Malcolme
 king of Scots was vanquished, and the realme gi-
 uen to Malcolme his sonne, by our said progenitor
 saint Edward: to whome the said Malcolme made
 homage and fealtie, within eleuen yeres after that
 William Conqueror entered this realme, whereof
 he accounted no perfect conquest, untill he had like-
 wise subdued the Scots. And therefore in the said
 yere, which was in the yere of our Lord 1068, the
 said Malcolme king of Scots did homage to the said
 William Conqueror, as his superior by conquest
 king of England. Twentie five yeres after that,
 which was in the yere of our Lord 1092, the said
 Malcolme did homage and fealtie to William Ru-
 fus, sonne to the said William Conqueror: and yet
 after that was for his offenses and demerits depo-
 sed, and his sonne substitute in his place, who like-
 wise failed of his dutie: and therefore was ordeined
 in that estate (by the said William Rufus) Edgar,
 brother to the last Malcolme, and sonne to the first,
 who did homage and fealtie accordinglie.

Seven yeres after, that was in the yere of our
 Lord 1100, the said Edgar R. of Scots did homage
 unto Henrie the first our progenitor. Thirtie seauen
 yeres after that, David king of Scots did homage
 to Mathild the emperesse, as daughter and heire to
 Henrie the first. Wherefore, being after required by
 Stephan, then obtaining possession of the realme, to
 make his homage; he refused so to do, because he had
 before made it to the said Mathild, and thereupon for-
 bare. After which Davids death, which ensued shortly
 after, the sonne of the said David made homage to
 the said king Stephan. Fouretene yeres after that,
 which was in the yere of our Lord, a thousand one
 hundred and fiftie, William king of Scots, and Da-
 uid his brother, with all the nobles of Scotland,
 made homage to Henrie the seconds sonne, with a
 reservation of their dutie to Henrie the second his
 father. Twentie five yeres after, which was in the
 yere of our Lord 1175, William king of Scotland,
 after much rebellion & resistance, according to their
 naturall inclination, king Henrie the second then
 being in Normandie, William then king of Scots
 knowledged finally his error, and made his peace
 and composition, confirmed with his great seale, and
 the seales of the nobilitie of Scotland, making
 therewith his homage and fealtie.

Within fiftene yeres after that, which was the
 yere of our Lord 1190, the said William king of
 Scots came to our citie of Canturburie, and there
 did homage to our noble progenitor king Richard
 the first. Fouretene yeres after that, the said Wil-
 liam did homage to our progenitor king John, upon
 a hill besides Lincolne, making his oth upon the
 crosse of Hubert then archbishop of Canturburie, be-
 ing there present, a marvellous multitude assembled

for that purpose. Twentie six yeres after that, which
 was in the yere of our Lord 1216, Alexander king
 of Scots married Margaret, the daughter of our pro-
 genitor Henrie the third, at our citie of Pothe, in the
 feast of Christmasse, at which time the said Alexander
 did his homage to our said progenitor, who reigned
 in this realme fiftie six yeres. And therefore betwene
 the homage made by the said Alexander king of
 Scots, and the homage done by Alexander, sonne to
 the said king of Scots, to Edward the first at his co-
 ronation at Westminster, there was about fiftie
 yeres: at which time the said Alexander king of
 Scots repaired to the said feast of coronation, and
 there did his dutie, as is aforesaid. Within twentie
 eight yeres after that, which was in the yere of our
 Lord 1282, John Balioll king of Scots made his
 homage and fealtie to the said king Edward the first
 our progenitor.

After this began Robert Bruce to usurpe the
 crowne of Scotland, and to moue sedition therfore
 against them of the house of Balioll, which made for
 a season some interruption in the said homage; but
 yet no intermission without the termes of memorie:
 for within fortie foure yeres after, which was the
 yere of our Lord 1326, Edward Balioll after a
 great victorie had in Scotland against the other fac-
 tion, and intoting the crowne of Scotland, made ho-
 mage to our progenitor Edward the third. And
 twentie yeres after that, which was in the yere of
 our Lord 1346, David Bruce, who was ever in the
 contrarie faction, did neuertheless in the title of the
 crowne of Scotland, whereof he was then in posses-
 sion, make homage to our said progenitor Edward
 the third.

Within nine yeres after this, Edward the third,
 to chastise the infidelitie of the Scots, made warre
 against them: when after great victories, Edward
 Balioll, hauing the iust and right title to the realme
 of Scotland, surrendered clearlie the same to our said
 progenitor, at the towne of Norburgh in Scotland,
 where our said progenitor accepted the same, and
 then caused himselfe to be crowned king of Scot-
 land, and for a time interteined it, and inioied it, as
 verie proprietarie and owner of the realme: as on
 the one part by confiscation acquitted, and on the o-
 ther part by free will surrendered vnto him. And then
 after the death of our said progenitor Edward the
 third, began seditions and insurrections in this our
 realme, in the time of our progenitor Richard the se-
 cond, which was augmented by the alteration of the
 state of the said Richard, and the deuolution of the
 same to Henrie the fourth: so as the Scots had some
 leasure to plaie their vagues, and follow their accu-
 stomed manner. And yet Henrie the fift, for recou-
 rie of his right in France, commanded the king of
 Scots to attend vpon him in that iourneie.

In this time, the realme of Scotland being des-
 cended to the house of the Stewards, of which our ne-
 phue directlie commeth: James Steward king of
 Scots, in the yere of our Lord 1423, made homage
 to Henrie the first at Windsoze, which homage was
 distant from the time of the other homage made by
 David Bruce, thre score yeres and more, but farre
 within the fresh memorie of man. All which homages
 and fealties as they appere by storie to haue bene
 made and done at times and seasons as afoze, so do
 there remaine instruments made thereupon, and
 sealed with the seales of the kings of Scotland, testi-
 fieng the same. And yet doth it appere by storie, how
 the Scots practised to steale out of our treasure di-
 uerse of these instruments, which neuertheless were
 afterward recovered againe.

And to the intent ye may know of what forme
 and tenure the said instruments be, here is inserted the

the effect in word and sentence as they be made, which we do, to meet with the cauillation and contriued euasion of the Scots, alleging the homage to haue bene made for the earledome of Huntingdon, which is as true as the allegation of him that is burnt in the hand, to say he was cut with a sickle. And therefore the tenure of the homage is this.

The forme of the homage.

Iohn R. king of Scots shall be true and faithfull vnto you lord Edward by the grace of God R. of England, the noble & superiour lord of the kingdome of Scotland, as vnto you I make my fidelitie of the same kingdome of Scotland, the which I hold & claime to hold of you. And I shall beare to you my faith and fidelitie of life and lim, and worldlie honoz, against all men; and faithfullie I shall knowlege, and shall do to you seruice due to you of the kingdome of Scotland aforesaid: as God so helpe and these holie euangelists.

Now for the third part, touching records and registers, we haue them so formall, so autenticall, so seriously handled, and with such circumstances declaring the matters, as they be and ought to be a great corroboration of that hath bene in stories written & reported in this matter. For among other things we haue the solempne act and iudiciall processe of our progenitor Edward the first, in discussion of the title of Scotland, when the same was challenged by competitors (that is to saie) Florentius comes of Holandie, Patricius de Dunbar comes de Perthia, Willielmus de Wesci, Willielmus de Rosse, Robertus de Winkent, Nicholaus de Soules, Patricius Galightlie, Rogerus de Mundeville, Joannes de Comin, D. Joannes de Hastings, Joannes de Balliolo, Robertus de Bzuse, Ericus rex Norwegie.

Finallie, after a great consultation and mature deliberation, with discussion of the allegations proponed on all parts, sentence was giuen for the title of Ballioll, according wherevnto he intioed the realme. But for confirmation of the dutie of the homage before that time obserued by the R. of Scots, it appeareth in those records, how when those competitors of the realme of Scotland repaired to our progenitor, as to the chiefe lord for discussion of the same, inasmuch as the authoritie of the iudgement to be giuen depended thereupon; it was then ordered that the whole parlement of Scotland, spirituall & temporall, & of all degrees assembled for that purpose, and considering vpon what ground & foundation the kings of Scotland had in times past made the said homages and recognition of superiourtie, the said parlement finding the same good & true, should (if they so deemed it) yeeld and giue place, and by expresse content recognise the same.

At which parlement was alleged vnto them, as appeareth in the same records, not onelie these acts of the princes before those daies, and before rehearsed: but also besides the testimonie of stories, the writings and letters of forren princes at that time reciting and rehearsing the same. Wherevpon the said parlement did there agree to this our superiourtie, and insuing their determination did particularlie and seuerallie make homage & fealtie with proclamation, that whosoever withdrew himselfe from doing his dutie therein, should be reputed as a rebell. And so all made homage and fealtie to our progenitor Edward the first. And the realme of Scot-

land was in the time of the discussion of the title ruled by gardians deputed by him. All castels and holds were surrendred to him, as to the superiour lord in the time of vacation. Benefices, offices, fees, promotions passed in that time from the mere gift of our said progenitor, as in the right of this crowne of England. Sherriffes named and appointed, writs, and precepts made, obeted, and executed.

Finallie, all that we do now in the duchie of Lancaster, the same did our progenitor for the time of the contention for that title in the realme of Scotland, by the consent of an agreement of all estates of the realme assembled and consulted with for that purpose. At which time the bishops of saint Andrews and Glasgow were not (as they now be) archbishops; but recognised the archbishop of Dorkie, which extended ouer all that countrie. Now if the Scots will take exception to the homage of their princes as made in warre, and by force, which is not true; what will they say, or can they for shame allege against their owne parlement, not of some but of all confirmed, & testified by their writings and seales; wherevnto nothing inforced them but right and reason, being passed in peace and quiet without armor & compulsion: If they say they did it not, they speake like themselves; if they say they did it, then do they now like themselves, to withdraw their dutie, not so much to be blamed, as to be amended.

Thus appeareth vnto you the beginning of the right of superiourtie, with a perpetuall continuance, without intermission within memorie. Certaine commissions and forbearings vpon the grounds and occasions before specified we denie not, whereby they haue manie times sought and taken their opportunities to withdraw the doing of their dutie in knowledge of our superiourtie ouer them; which to auoid, they haue not cared what they said or alleged, though it were neuer so vntrue, lieng alwaies in wait when they might annoie this realme, not without their owne great danger & perill, & also erreame detriment. But as they detracted the doing of their dutie, so God granted vnto this realme force to compell them thereto within memorie, and notwithstanding anie their interruption by resistance, which vnto the time of our progenitor Henrie the first neuer endured so long as it made intermission within time of mind, whereby the possession might seeme to be empaiued. From the time of Henrie the first, vnto the seventh yeare of our reigne, our realme hath bene for a season lacerat and torne by diuersitie of titles, till our time; and since also by warre outwardlie bared and troubled. The storie is so lamentable for some part therof, as were too tedious to rehearse.

Since the death of our progenitor Henrie the first, our grandfather Edward the fourth reigned, who after great trauels to attaine quietnes in his realme, finallie in the time of preparation of warre against Scotland died. Richard the third, then usurped for a small time in peaces, whome the king our father by the strength of Gods hand overthrew in battell, and most iustlie attained the possession of this realme, who neuertheless, after the great tempestuous stormes, finding all matters not yet brought to perfect quiet and rest, ceased and forbore to require of the Scots to do their dutie; thinking it policie rather for that time to assate to fame their nature by pleasant confunction & conuersation of amicitie, than to charge them with their fault, & require dutie of them, when oportunitie serued not by force & feare to constrain and compell them. And thus passed ouer the reigne of our father without demand of this homage. And being our reigne now foure and thirtie yeares, we were one and twentie yeares letted by our nephew his minoritie, being then more careful how to bring

him out of danger, to the place of a king, than to receive of him homage; when he had full possession of the same.

Wherefore being now passed, since the last homage made by the king of Scots, to our progenitor Henrie the first, 122 yeares, at which time the homage was done at Windsor by James Steward, then king of Scots, as before 56 of these yeares the crowne of this realme was in contention, the trouble wherof ingendred also some businesse in the time of the king our father; which was three and thirtie yeares: and in our time one and twentieth yeares hath passed in the minority of our nephew. So as finally, the Scots resorting to their onelie defense of continuance of possession, can onelie allege iustitie but 13 yeares of silence in the time of our reigne, being all the other times since the homage done by James Steward, such as the silence in them (had they bene neuer so long) could not haue ingendred prejudice to the losse of anie right that may yet be declared and proued due. For what can be imputed to king Edward for not demanding homage being in strife for that estate, wherunto the homage was due? What should Richard the third searce for homage in Scotland, that had neither right ne leasure to haue homage done vnto him in England? Who can blame our father, knowing the Scots nature neuer to do their dutie but for feare; if he demanded not that of them, which they would eschew if they might, seeing his realme not clearelie then purged from ill seed of sedition, sparkled and scattered in the cruell ciuill warres before.

Law and reason serueth, that the passing ouer of time not commodious, that the purpose is not allowable in prescription for the losse of anie right. And the minority of the king of Scots hath indured twentieth one yeeres of our reigne, which being an impediment on their part, the whole prescription of the Scots, if the matter were prescriptible, is thus deduced euidentlie to thirtene yeere, which thirtene yeere without excuse we haue ceased and forborne to demand our dutie, like as the Scots haue likewise ceased to offer and render the same: for which cause neuertheless we do not enter this warre, ne minded to demand anie such matter now, being rather desirous to reioice and take comfort in the friendship of our nephew as our neighbour, than to moue matter vnto him of displeasure, whereby to alienate such naturall inclination of loue as he should haue towards vs: but such be the works of God superior ouer all, to suffer occasions to be ministred, whereby due superiority may be knowne, demanded, and required, to the intent that according thereto all things gouerned in due order here, we may to his pleasure passe ouer this life to his honor and glorie, which he grant vs to doe in such rest, peace, and tranquillitie, as shall be meet and conuenient for vs.

When therefore the king of England had set forth this declaration of the causes that moued him to make warre against Scotland, he prepared to prosecute the same both by sea and land, and hauing rigged and furnished diuerse ships of warre, he sent the same forth to the sea, that they might take such Scottish ships as were to returne from their voyages made into France, Flanders, Denmarke, and other countries, whether they were gone for trade of merchandise, with which the English ships incountred, took 28 of the principall ships of all Scotland, fraught with all kind of merchandise and rich wares, which they brought with them into the English ports.

The king of Scotland aduertised therof, sent with all speed an herald, desiring restitution of his ships, as he thought stood with reason, seeing no war was

proclaimed: but the king of England thought it no reason to depart with them so soone, till other articles of agreement might be concluded, and therefore refused not onelie to deliuer their ships, but also sent sir Robert Bowes with men to the borders, giuing him in charge to invade Scotland, who according to his commission, with three thousand men rode into Scotland, and began to burne and to spoile certeine small townes: whereupon the fraic being raised in the countie, George Gordon the earle of Huntley, who was appointed to remaine as lieutenant vpon the borders, for doubt of such sudden inuasions, immediately gathered a number of borderers, and set vpon the Englishmen, and put them all to flight: sir Robert Bowes, and his brother Richard Bowes, with diuers other, to the number of six hundred, were taken prisoners; and the said sir Robert Bowes and other the principall landed men were kept still in Scotland till after the kings death. This victorie chanced to the Scots, at a place called Walden Rig in the Pers, vpon saint Bartholomewes day, which is the twentieth fourth of August.

After this, the king of England sent the duke of Norfolk with the earles of Shrewesburie, Darbie, Cumberland, Surreie, Hertford, Angus, Rutland, and the lords of the north parts of England, with an armie of fortie thousand men, as the Scots esteemed them, though they were not manie aboute twentieth thousand, who entered into Scotland the one and twentieth of October, and burnt certeine townes vpon the side of the water of Tweed: but the earle of Huntley, hauing with him ten thousand of the borderers and other, so waited vpon them, giuing them now and then skirmishes and alarms, that they came not past two miles from the water of Tweed within the Scottish bounds at that season.

In the meane time, the king of Scotland being aduertised hereof, gathered a great armie through all the parts of his realme, and came to Sowtraie hedge, where they mustered, and were numbred to be thirtie six thousand men, with the which he came to Falla Mure, and there incamped, determining to giue battell to the Englishmen, as he pretended: howbeit, if the duke had taried longer, as it was thought he would haue done, if the time of the yeere and provision of vittels had serued, the Scots would yet haue bene better aduised, before they had joined with him in a pight field. But true it is, that after the duke had remained there so long as vittels might be had and recovered from anie part, he retired with his armie backe into England, not without some losse of men, horses, and spoiles, which the Scots vnder the earle of Huntley and others tooke from the Englishmen in that their retire, speciallie as they passed ouer the riuer of Tweed.

After the Englishmen were thus departed and withdrawne home forth of Scotland, king James being of an high and manlie courage, in reuenge of harmes done by the Englishmen within his countie, thought good that his whole armie should passe forward and invade England, himselfe to go there with in proper person. And herein he requested the consent of his nobilitie, who after long reasoning, and good aduise ment taken in the matter, gaue answer [by the earle of Murray] to the king in this sort, that they could not thinke it good that they should passe within England, and to seeke battell, the king himselfe being with them, considering that his two sons were lately deceased, so that he had no succession of his bodie: for in case that they lost the field, as in chance of battell is most uncerteine, then the king of England hauing great substance, might therewith follow the victorie, and put the realme of Scotland in great hazard.

Therefore

Sir Robert Bowes invades the borders.

The earle of Huntley giueth an overthrow to the Englishmen, 1542. Lelle.

The king goeth to the west borders. 1541. Lelle.

Oliver Shindler.

The lord wharton.

The enimie of the lords against Oliver Shindler.

The Scots discomfited by the Englishmen.

The grieue of the king for the overthrow of his men.

Scottish ships taken.

Therefore they thought it sufficient to defend their owne bounds, and to confine the enemies for feare to leave the invasion thereof, as presentlie they had done; and declared that they were determined to have given battell to their enemies, if they had continued within the realme, and doubted not by the helpe of God, they having so iust a cause; and being invincible in their countrey, but that they should have obtained the victorie. The king hearing these determinations, albeit his high courage pressed him to invade; yet the approved wit of his nobles and counsellors persuaded him to follow their advice, and so returned with his army backe againe, the first of November, the army of England being first discharged, and the onlie of Northfolke in his returne towards London.

Shortlie after, the king of Scotland went himselfe in person to the west marches of his realme, where the lord Marwell was warden, whome together with the earles of Caillies, and Glencarne [the lord Fleming] and certeine other lords there with him, the king appointed to invade the English marches on that side, taking with them the power of the borders, and sent also with them Oliver Sinclair, the brother of Roseline Comarck, and the residue of the gentlemen of his household. These earles and lords entering into England on saint Bartholmes euen, being the foure and twentieth of November, began to burne certeine towines upon the water of Esk. But as soone as the scire was raised in the countrey, the lord Cherton warden of the west marches of England, suddenly raised the power of the countrey, and came to a little hill, where they shewed themselves in sight unto the Scottish armie.

The Scottish lords perceiving the Englishmen gathered, assembled themselves together, and inquired who was lieutenant generall there by the kings appointment; and incontinentlie Oliver Sinclair was holden by on two mens shoulders, where he shewed forth the kings commission, instituting him lieutenant to the king of that armie. But howsoever that was read, the earles and lords there present, thought themselves imbolded too much, to have such a meane gentleman advanced in authoritie above them all, and therefore determined not to fight under such a capteine, but willinglie suffered themselves to be overcome, and so were taken by the Englishmen, not shewing anie countenance of defense to the contrarie, and without slaughter of anie one person on either side.

This rode was called Solowate Spolse, at the which were taken prisoners men of name, these persons following: the earle of Caillies and Glencarne, the lord Marwell, the lord Fleming, the lord Somerville, the lord Oliphant, Oliver Sinclair, the lord of Craggie, and sundrie other gentlemen, the which were led prisoners to London, where they remained till after the king was dead. The king being in Carlauerocke upon the borders not farre from Solowate Spolse, when this misfortune fell upon his men: after he heard thereof, he was meruelouslie amazed, the more, in calling to remembrance the refusall made by his nobles, assembled with him in campe at Falla upon his request to invade England. Where with such an impression entered his mind, that he thought with himselfe that all his whole nobilitie had conspired against him, and thereupon took such a vehement and high displeasure, increased with a melancholious thought, that he departed suddenly from thence to Edinburgh, and after removed to Falkeland, where he remained as a man desolate of comfort, being soe bereft in spirit and bodie, and would not permit anie manner of person to have access to him, his secret & familiar servants onelie excepted. Soe, as he was thus disquieted, newes were

brought him that the quene his wife was brought to bed of a faire young princeesse the seventh day of December, the which newes he liked verie euill; and added the griefe thereof to his former displeasure, insomuch that he perceived the end of his life to approach, and withall said, that he foresaw great trouble to come upon the realme of Scotland, for the pur suit which the king of England was like to make thereupon against the same, to the end he might bring it under his subiection, either by marriage, or by some other meane. It was reported that he was disquieted with some unkindlie medicine: but howsoever the matter was, he yielded up his spirit to almighty God, and departed this world the fourteenth of December, in the yere of our redemption, 1542, the thirtieth yere of his age, and thirftie two of his reigne.

Shortlie after his departure, his bodie was conveyed into Falkeland unto Edinburgh in most honorable wise, the cardinall, the earles of Arrant, Argyle, Rothes, Marshall, and diuerse other noblemen being present, and with all funerall pompe (as was requisite) was buried in the abbeye church of Holyrood house, beside the bodie of quene Margarete, daughter to the king of France, his first wife. There was great lamentation and moene made for his death throughout all parts of his realme, for he was verie well belovied among his subjects. He was of sweet countenance and courteous speech, greatly esteemed, having a diuine mind in all whatsoeuer, neither certeine in doubtful things, nor doubtful in things of certentie, auoiding dangers with graue counsels, performing hard matters with great nobilitie of mind, and foreseeing what might follow with an incredible iudgement: in such sort that he was neuer bnprouided against the danger of anie thing, or was dyatone from it by the difficultie thereof, or was hindered by the obscuritie therein; where by he might incur the note either of a rash, fearefull, or slow person.

All which singular commendations seemed to flow out of this spring, that he did not by heat of youth (rashlie) but with great deliberation (soundlie) manage the whole affaires of the common-wealth, for as he did chieflie labor that his table might not exceed for gluttonie, nor be ouersparring for miserie: so if his apparell were decent, he esteemed not the shew of womanish attire after the courtlie fashion. He was so farre from pride, that he alwaies shewed himselfe offended with the bles thereof. He was an obseruer of iustice, a defender of the law, and a sharpe shield for the innocent and poore: for which cause he was of the nobilitie called the king of the commoners. For he set at libertie the poore oppressed with the tyrannie of the rich, and repressed the rich from spoiling of the poore: all which he did with a certeine severity, but yet such, as in the same there appeared a wonderful gentleness of his naturall disposition, because he seldom put anie of them to death, but did either by prison or milt punish the offense. For he was wont to say, that he would neuer take life from anie, but onelie to keepe the law sound, and for the example of others: and to keepe downe the boldnesse of such as dwelt about the borders. With these conditions he left the realme plentifully furnished with riches, and his owne treasure not emptie, but abundantly stored with gold, silver and other furniture: for which cause it should not seeme strange, that his death was greatlie lamented of his subjects, to whom he was a perfect patrone, and a louing father.

Of whome also Buchanan lib. 14 testifieth, that his vices did almost equall all his great vertues; but that they were rather to be imputed to the iniquitie of the time than the inclination of his nature,

The birth of the Scottish quene.

Fr. Thin, Lescus lib. 9, pag. 460.

Robert
des mung.
the bo.

earle of
leic gi-
an ouer-
to the
thymen,
L. Lelle.

The king
witheth by
the armie.

The king go-
eth to the west
marches.
1541. Lell.

Oliver Sin-
cler.

The lord
Cherton.

The emite of
the lords a-
gainst Oliver
Sincler.

The Scots
discouraged by
the English-
men.

The griefe of
the king for
the ouerthrow
of his men.

for the libertie of althings had then dissolved the public discipline, which could not be staied but by great severitie of correction. And this made him more covetous of monie, because that he was kept extreme hard when he was under the government of others. Whereby, when he came to be at libertie, he was a new to furnish all his courts with household stuffe, finding his houses empty, and all things consumed awaie: for his tutors had consumed the kinglie patrimonie upon those whome he willingly would not to have received it. Besides, for his excesse of women the fault grew by such as were his tutors, who gave him libertie thereto, supposing thereby to keepe him the longer in their danger. The nobilitie did not greatly take his death grievouslie, because he had fined manie, imprisoned more, and caused no small few (for avoiding his displeasure) to die into England, and rather to commit themselves to the enemy than to his anger.)

Queene Marie.

1542.

The lord Levingston.

David Beton cardinall.

His forging of a will.

The protestants espied the cardinals craftie ingling.

1543 Lelle. Fr.Thin.

The eternall God calling to his mercie James king of Scotland, the first of that name; Marie his onelie daughter and heire began his reigne over the realme of Scotland, the eighteenth day of December, in the yere of our Lord 1542. Francis the first of that name then reigning in France, & Henrie the eight over the Englishmen. She was not passing seven daies old when his father departing this life, left unto him his kingdome, his mother lieng in childbed in the castell of Lithquo, of which place the lord Levingston being capteine, had the charge committed to him, both of the daughter & mother, with the mothers good agreement and free consent.

Howsoever, immediatlie after the kings death (because he deceased without making anie will, or taking anie direction for the gouvernement either of the realme, or custodie of the yong queene his daughter) David Beton, cardinall and archbishop of S. Andrews, the speciall minister & factor of the French causes, to the advancement and continuance thereof, invented and forged [by Henrie Balfoure] a will and testament of the late king now departed, in which (amongst other things) he established himselfe chiefe regent, adjoining with him the earles of Murray, base brother to the king deceased, Huntleie and Argile, not once mentioning the earle of Lennox then absent in France, nor yet James Hamilton earle of Arrane his cousine, being there present in Scotland,

Those that professed the reformed religion, being then called protestants, to whome the said cardinall was ever a cruell enemy and sharpe scourge, espied forth his uniuersall dealing in this behalfe, and trusting by the gentle nature and good inclination of the said earle of Arrane, to haue some libertie to embrace the gospell, set him against the cardinall: so that by the helpe of his owne and their friends, he removed the cardinall and his adherents from the usurped roome and authoritie, and therewith was the said earle of Arrane proclaimed gouernour and protector of the realme. [And thereupon shewing his authoritie, he entereth the kings palaces, as saith Lelleus lib. 10. pa. 464. and beth the kings treasure, and calleth the officers of the treasure to account, whereof he reteineth some, and changeth others at his pleasure.]

This earle of Arrane made a title to haue and inioie that office and roome, as next in blood to the yong queene, as descended from a sister of H. James the third, married to his grandfather lord Hamilton. In the yere 1475, by reason of which marriage he was created earle of Arrane, as by act of parlement holden the same yere at Edinburgh, it was agreed and ordeined. The king of England that noble prince Henrie the eight, aduertised of the death of the king of Scots, considered with good aduise, that

now there was offered a most readie means and iust occasion, whereby the two realmes of England and Scotland might be brought into one entier monarchie, without warre or bloodshed, by the marriage of his sonne prince Edward, being then little past six yeres of age, with the yong queene of Scotland.

The king of England being resolved fullie to bring the same to passe, either by quiet means or by force, and sending for the earles of Castile, and Glencarne, the lords Sparrowell, and Flenning, and other prisoners that had bene taken at Soloway mosse, caused them to be conueied unto Hampton court; where the seuen and twentieth of December they being right curiously intertained, he made unto them an overture of his purpose and whole intent, proponing the whole matter unto them, requesting them for their parts, to helpe (with their consents) that a contract of marriage might be made betwene his sonne the prince, and the yong queene, promising to them libertie without ransome, besides other pleasures and benefits, if they would do their indue to persuade the gouernour, and other the nobilitie of Scotland to be agreeable hereto.

The Scottish earles and lords accepted the kings offer, and withall promised to do their diligence to persuade the rest of the nobilitie in Scotland at their coming home: whereupon they were licenced to depart, and so coming to Newcastle, remained there with the duke of Suffolke, then the kings lieutenant of the north parts, till he had received forth of Scotland certeine pledges of the chiefe of these lords, for performance of their promises. Likewise the king of England sent with them the earle of Angus, and his brother sir George Dowglas with his letters to the gouernour, requesting effectuouslie, that they might be restored to their roomes, lands and possessions in that realme.

These lords arriving at Edinburgh, about the midd of Januarie, declared to the gouernour their message and proposition made by the king of England, with such efficacie, that the gouernour being persuaded thereto by their words, sent for the lords and nobilitie of the realme to come to Edinburgh, to a convention there, to be holden the seven and twentieth of that present moneth: where they concluded that a parlement should be kept in March next ensuing. And doubting lest the cardinall (being there present) should go about to persuade the nobilitie not to consent to their desires, they caused him to be put in ward within the castell of Dalketh: the lord Seton being appointed to haue the custodie of him. About the same time, sir Robert Bowes, and all other the Englishmen that were prisoners, and had bene taken at Halbing rig on saint Bartholomewes day (as before ye haue heard) were sent home by the gouernour into England, and sir Rafe Sadler was sent ambassadour from king Henrie unto the said gouernour, and other the lords of Scotland, and came thither before the said parlement, to persuade the lords to agree unto the king his masters motions, travelling so diligentlie in the matters whereabout he was thus sent, that it was concluded by act of parlement, to send ambassadoys into England, for the better satisfaction of king Henries desires.

And so the earle of Glencarne, sir George Dowglas, sir William Hamilton, sir James Leirmouth, and the secretarie being named and appointed thereto, departed in the moneth of March, and coming into England unto the king, remained there till the latter end of Aprile. In which meane time, such covenants, contracts, and promises were had and concluded, passed and sealed interchangeablie, as stood with the pleasure and good liking of king Henrie, so as the marriage

The marriage confirmed.

The king of England taketh with the lords of Scotland prisoners for a marriage betwixt his son and their queene.

Fr. Thin. Lelleus. lib. 10. pag. 465.

1543. Buch.

Duke of Suffolke Buchanan.

The earle of Angus sent home into Scotland.

1543. Lelle. 1542.

A convention of the Scottish nobilitie.

The cardinall committed to ward.

Halbing rig.

Sir Rafe Sadler.

Ambassadors sent into England.

The French king misliketh of the match with England. Matthew earle of Lennox.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan. lib. 15.

The marriage confirmed.

marriage was fullie contracted, and a peace concluded for ten yeres, by authoritie of the aforesaid parliament. Wherewith also the lord gouernour shewed himselfe to imbrace the reformed religion, causing one frier Guilliam to preach against images, and fruitlesse ceremonies, and gaue libertie that the bible called The new and old testament, should be had in English, & vniuersallie published through the realme of Scotland.

Also he commanded not onelie the cardinall (as befoze ye haue heard) but also ordeined that the queene mother should remaine in Lithgow with the yong queene hir daughter, vnder some manner of safe custodie, and the cardinall to be removed vnto his owne castell of saint Andzeuoes, with warders about him to see him safelie kept. * Not long after, the cardinall was restored to vnhoped libertie, and the earle of Angus, George Douglasse, and the lord James, the heire of James Hamilton, with manie others, by the consent of the three estates, were wholie restored to all their goods, and deliuered from the sentence of banishment.

John Hamilton abbat of Passelet, brother of the gouernour, returning out of France (where he had imployed himselfe to studie) did (with certeine learned men, as Dauid Pantier, and others, whom he had in his companie) visit the king of England, of whome they were most courtesilie interteined. After which this Hamilton returning into Scotland, was made treasurer of the kingdome, which office he discharged with great commendation, so long as his brother kept the gouernement, whom he did not onelie helpe in counsell for ordering of the kingdome, but also shewed him selfe a ballant and industrious man in the warres against the English, for defense of the kingdome of Scotland. About this time, the earle Bothwell, which was banished, and had remained long at Venice, did returne into Scotland, whither he was honozable welcommed, as a person much desired of his friends and kindred.)

The realme being thus brought in quiet, and vnder good gouernement, the French king soze mistaking this new coniunction of the Scots with England, and doubting least the old former bond of alliance betwixt France and Scotland might thereby be utterly dissolued and shaken off, he sent for Mattheu Steward earle of Lennox, then abroad in his seruice in the wars of Italie, and vpon his comming backe from thence to the court, he declared to him the decrease of the late king of Scots, the intrusion of Arrane, and the attempts in that realme begun, with all the circumstances from point to point as he knew; and further discoursed with him what wrong he had to be set aside, and displaced from his right of gouernement; and therefore exhorted him to repaire home to recover the same, offering not onelie to assist him with men, monie, and munition, but also to ioine his friends in Scotland with him in aid to attaine the place of regiment, and to remove Arrane and others from it.

The earle of Lennox herebpon with commission and instructions deliuered to him by the French king, had also letters from him directed to the lords that were of the French faction, wherein the said king requested them to remaine and continue in their former good meanings towards him, and to assist the earle of Lennox in all things, as should be thought expedient. * Now, befoze the earle of Lennox returned out of France, the cardinall had vsed manie persuasions against the English, as well that the Scots set at libertie by the king, should breake their faith with him, as also to draw them to the French faction, and rather to suffer their pledges to receiue what king Henrie would vse vnto them, than by kee-

ping promise to the English, to conueie the yong queene vnto them.

Wherebpon, when the greater part of those nobles (whome the matter touched, could easilie find anie coloz for the excuse of their fault) had consented to the cardinals persuasion, onelie one amongst the rest would not yeld thereto, which was Gilbert Kennedy earle of Cassiles, who could not be drawn from that constancie (in obseruing his faith) either by bribes, flatteries, or threats. For he (hauing two brothers pledges for him in England) did openlie protest, that he would returne to prison, and by no feare laid befoze him commit such a fault, as that he would redeme his life with the blood of his two brothers: for which cause he went forthwith to London, although euerie man spake against it. Wherebpon, the king of England did singularlie commend the constancie of the yong man, and further (to the end that his vertue might be knotone to all men) did set him at libertie with his two brethren, and sent him home honozable rewarded.

Now the realme of Scotland being thus in great byroz by means of the queenes and cardinals factions, whereof the last drew all (such as he could) to support the French league, they sent ambassadors into France, to request the French king to send home Mattheu Steward earle of Lennox, as one that was not onelie emulous against Hamilton, but also his deadlie enimie for the slaughter of his father at Linnmoch: which yong Steward (beside his beautie and comelinsse of bodie, in the vertie flower of his youth; the memorie, carefulnesse, and dangers of his father, a verie popular man, and beloued of the people; the worthinesse of that familie brought almost to an end, and that the same was of great power, and linked in marriage with manie nobles) did win and draw the minds of manie men, desirous to helpe him, for the great fauor they bare vnto him.

To the which further procurement of the peoples loue also, there might be soined, that he was next heire to the crowne by the kings appointment, if he died without issue male; the which king James, if he had liued, would haue established by parlement: besides which likewise, there wanted not flatterers, which did not onelie stirre by his noble mind (now gaping after great things, and vndefended against deceits) to the hope of gouerning of the kingdome for these one and twentie yeres and moze, during the queenes minozitie, and to the rule and power ouer his enimies, whereby he might vse reuenge vpon them: but also they promised him to marrie the queene Dowager: and in the meane time (if anie thing happened otherwise than well to the yong queene) that he should obtaine the crowne, whereby he should both be king, and the next lawfull heire of James Hamilton latelie deceased, since the gouernour was a bastard, and could not onelie by law not loke or hope for the kingdome, but also not so much as hope to be heire to his owne familie. To all which were added the persuasions of the French befoze mentioned. Wherebpon, the yong man (whose mind was credulous, being tickled and intised with these hopes) determined to go into Scotland.)

The earle therefore fullie instructed by the French king, how to deale and proceed, toke his leaue, and with all speed taking the sea, directed his course into Scotland, where (after his arriuall) he came to Edinburgh, in which towne all the lords being assembled together with the gouernour, he declared to them the effect of his commission from the French king, his request to them, & good affection to mainteine them against England, if in case they would continue the old league with him, and not seeke to make anie new alliance with the king of England.

But

The earle of Lennox passed into Scotland;

Fr. Thin. Lellous. lib. 10. pag. 465.

The French king mistaketh of the match with England. Mattheu Steward earle of Lennox.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 15.

But perceiuing that the gouernor and his friends were minded to satisfie the king of Englands desires, he would not farrie for a resolute answer, but by the counsell of the earle of Argyle, William earle of Glencarne, and others of the French faction, he suddenly departed forth of Edinburgh toward the west countrie, highly displeased (as should seme) with the gouernor, and taking Lithgow in his way, he conferred with the quene Dowager (as they termed hir) deuising how to assemble the noble men of the French side, to bring hir and hir daughter to libertie, out of the danger of the lord gouernor: because it was supposed that he ment to conuie hir into England.

About the same time, through practise of the abbat of Dalkeith, brother to the gouernor, and others, the castell of Edinburgh was got out of the hands of sir Peter Creighton, and the keeping thereof committed by the gouernors appointment vnto James Hamilton lord of Stanehouse. But the erle of Lennor, with the assistance of the earles of Huntly, Montrose, Pentife, Argyle, and others of the French faction in August following, conuicted the young quene with hir mother from Lithgow vnto Strueling. The cardinall also was there with them latelie before, hauing corrupted his keepers, & gotten abroad at libertie. Here with was a day appointed and proclaimed for the coronation of the young quene. The earle of Arrane then gouernor, with the earles of Angus, Castles, the lords Marwell, Somerville, and diuerse others, called the English lords, remaining still at Edinburgh, aduertised the king of England of all the doings of Lennor, and other of that faction, requirring his aduise and counsell how to deale for disappointing of their purposes, that sought to continue the amitie still with France, to the preiudice of peace with England.

The king of England aduertised hereof, as well thus from the gouernor, and other the Scottish lords, as also from sir Rafe Sadler, his maiesties ambassador there, doubted greatly least these lords, in whose hands the quene then was, in respect of the fauour which they bare to the French king, should conuie hir ouer into France: whereupon he requested the gouernor, and the other lords that fauoured his side, so to deale, that she might be sent into England, there to remaine, till the marriage might be consummate betwixt hir and his sonne prince Edward: hauing in the meane time such lords of hir countrie about hir to attend vpon hir, and to see to hir bringing vp, as should be thought expedient. To conclude, his maiestie not onelie sent his princelie comfort by waie of counsell and good aduise, but also according to their desire, and as by the duke of Suffolke (his highnes lieutenant then in the north) it was thought expedient.

Thomas lord Wharton, with two thousand men from the west marches, and the lord Guers with other two thousand from the east borders, were appointed to enter Scotland, and to ioint themselves with the gouernor, and his friends, to assist them against their aduersaries. But as they were in readiness to march, through the secret labor of the cardinall, wishing the aduancement of the earle of Arrane his kinsman (whome he thought he should well enough frame to be at his appointment) rather than Lennor that was knowne to be of a greater stomach, the matter was so handled, that by the cardinall and the earle of Huntlye of the one part, and the quene Dowager on the other, that the earle of Arrane reuolting from the king of England, came in to the Dowager, and iointed himselfe with the cardinall, and other the lords of the French faction: by reason whereof, they all concluded to mainteine him

in the estate of lord gouernor, and not to place Lennor, as their purpose was to haue done, if Arrane had continued faithfull to the king of England.

Shortlie after, the young quene was crowned at Striueling, the cardinall taking vpon him to order things as he thought good, appointing the gouernor to beare the crowne as chiefe person, & next in bloud to the quene, and the earle of Lennor to beare the scepter. After the coronation, a parliament was called and holden at Edinburgh, at the which, in presence of the patriarchy of Apuleia the popes agent, and of the French kings ambassadores, monsieur la Brosse, and monsieur Penage, latelie before come into the realme, the earle of Arrane was newlie confirmed gouernor. And for the sure preservation (as they pretended) of the young quene, it was agreed by the gouernor and the estates, that she should remaine with the old quene hir mother in Sterling castell, during hir minority, and certeine rents of that seignorie were assigned for maintenance of such traine as was thought expedient to be attendant about hir: and further, the lords Levingston, Erskin, and Fleming (as saith Buchanan) the lord Grams, John Arskine, John Lindesay, & William Levingston were appointed to abide continualie with hir, for the better safeguard of hir person.

Thus was euerie thing ordered as seemed to stand with the pleasure of the cardinall. Whereupon the earle of Lennor, perceiuing how vncourteouslie he was vsed, to haue his aduersarie thus confirmed in authoritie by the French side, and himselfe reiecte, he first sent to the French king, informing him thoroughly of the iniuries to him done, putting him in remembrance of the promises made to him when he departed from him; also the constantnesse of his seruice, the hazard he had put himselfe in for his sake; and notwithstanding how he was yet vnkinde dealt with, that through trust of his promised aid and assistance, he was brought out of credit in his countrie, and subiecte vnder the commandement and authoritie of his enimie, and wrongfullie disappointed of his right, which he looked to haue recovered, and to haue bene mainteined therein by his support.

In consideration whereof, he renounced his seruice, willing him from thenceforth not to looke for the same any more at his hands. Here with Lennor iointing himselfe with the earles of Angus, Castles, and Glencarne, the lords Marwell, and Somerville, the shiriffe of Ayr, the lord of Dumlanrig, and other of that side, called the English lords, set himselfe against the gouernor, the cardinall, and others of that faction, so that the residue of this yere was spent in ciuill dissention betwixt them. And here is to be noted, that a little before that the earle of Arrane reuolted to the French part, there was arrived in the mouth of the river of Cleide on the west coast, five ships, which the French king had sent to the aid of his friends in Scotland, vnder the conduction of James Stewart of Cardonold, and of the forenamed monsieur de la Brosse, & monsieur Penage, the French kings ambassadores.

There came with them also the patriarchy of Apuleia, of whome ye haue likewise heard before. They had brought aboard in these ships fiftie thousand crownes, and munition to the value of ten thousand crownes. The earle of Lennor therfore, when he first resolved to turne to the English part, with the aduise of his confederats, seized vpon those ships, got the fiftie thousand crownes, and the most part of the munition into his hands, and brought it to the castell of Dunbretton, reteining it to his owne vse, where it was sent to haue bene imployed to the maintenance of the French faction, against the king of England, and the lords that leaned to his side.

The

The earle of Lennor conferreth with the quene Dowager.

1543. Lesle. The castell of Edinburgh recovered to the gouernors ble.

The young quene conuicted to Striueling.

The king of Englands doubt.

The lord wharton. The lord Guers.

The earle of Arrane a faithfull breaker.

The coronation of quene Marie.

A parliament.

The patriarchy of Apuleia.

Order for the custodie of the quene.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Lennor his displeasure.

He renounceth his seruice to the French king.

Ciuill dissention in Scotland.

French ships arriving in the river of Cleide.

The earle of Lennor seized vpon the French ships.

The earle of Lennor raised an armie.

An appointment taken. Pledges delivered.

The earle of Lennor cometh to the gouernor. He departed from him as gainne. He fortifieth Glasgow.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 48.

1543. Lesle.

The earle of
Lennor rais-
eth an armie.

In appoint-
ment taken,
pledges deli-
uered.

The earle of
Lennor com-
meth to the
gouernor,
he departed
from him as
gaine.
he fortifieth
Glasgow.
Fr. Thin.
Lellcus lib. 10.
pag. 468.
1543. Lellc.

The earle of Lennor therefore, raising a power of men of warre with the assistance of the lords of his faction, came with them vnto Lethagatist the gouernor that was then in Edinburgh: but through the diligent trauell of the cardinall, the earles of Huntley, Murray, and Argyle, the matter was taken by, and an appointment accorded: so that sir George Dowglas was deliuered as a pledge for his brother the earle of Angus, the maister of Glencarne for his father the earle of Glencarne, the abbat Cassaghole for his brother the earle of Castles, to remaine in safe keeping where it pleased the gouernor to appoint. The earle of Lennor came vnto Edinburgh to the gouernor, but within six daies after, they went both to Lithuho, from whence the earle of Lennor secretly departed from the gouernor without bidding him farewell, and comming to Glasgow, fortified the castell.

When the gouernor had receiued true intelligence that the earle had taken Glasgow, he assembling such power as he could make, as well of his friends and followers, as of others, especially of the lord Boid went vnto Glasgow, in which place the earle of Glencarne had before placed his armie, to the end there to trie the matter with his enemies. But before the battell the earle of Lennor had withdrawn himselfe vnto Dunbretton, to gather a greater assemblie, thortlie after to retorne to Glasgow. The earle of Glencarne, with Tilbarne, Housstone, Buchanan, Macfarlane, Drumquhassile, and other barons and nobles of the Lennor, Hamfrie, and other places adioining, with the citizens, ecclesiasticall persons of all orders, and the other sort of common people, departed out of the towne to the plaine thereof (being a mile from the towne) there to trie the event of battell (before the comming of the earle of Lennor) more in haste than good speed. Whereupon the gouernor (perceiuing himselfe to be drawne forward to battell) commanded the trumpets to sound to the alarmes. Whereupon the battels ioined, the hostes began to fight violently, and the conflict grew to be extreme on both parts: in which (with great slaughter) they long time fought with vncertaine victorie.

But in the end (what with the force of his armie, and the encouragement of the capteine) the full conquest fell to the gouernor, who put his enemies to flight. At what time, of the fauourers of the Lennor there were manie slaine, partlie of the nobles (as the sonne of the earle of Glencarne, and Monnepennie capteine of the footmen) and partlie of the common sort (as the citizens of Glasgow, and manie ecclesiasticall persons.) Besides all which, there had manie more perished, if the gouernor (through his naturall clemencie) had not (when the victorie began to leane towards him) giuen a signe of retreat, & with much speed saued manie of them. On the gouernors part were few missing, except Cambusketh (the head of that familie) and the baron of Argentine. The gouernor pursuing this victorie, entered the towne of Glasgow, where he vsed (by the persuation of the lord Boid) wonderfull fauour towards the citizens, (farre beyond their deserts) although that he deputed some (of the chiefest condition amongst them) from all the use and benefit of their goods.

The earle of Lennor remaining at Dunbar, receiued into the castell the earle of Glencarne, and others, which had escaped the battell, who sometime after did rest (being feared with the ouerthrow) from a nie further turmoiles or troubles. But in the end, they which fauoured the Lennor, do afresh stirre him to take weapon against the gouernor: whereupon he doth restrengthen the towne and steeple of Glasgow, determining to gather a new supplie, and once

more to cast the dice of war. But the gouernor (indring to prevent all his indeuour by swift counsell) did (being accompanied with the cardinall) call to him about Glasgow, all the nobles of the south parts, and (bringing forth the hired souldiers) commanded the great peeces to be planted against the citie. Whereupon (entering the towne) he besieged the castell and steeple of the church (in which place were both Scots and Frenchmen) and in the end (after a slaughter of some of them) enforced the other to yield their forts. After that the castell was thus comitted to the gouernors hands, he hanged eightene of the chiefest and best loued vnto Lennor, and permitted the rest to depart at libertie. The earle of Lennor (vnderstanding that his affaires began to waver, and to obtaine such euill successe) doth send the earle of Angus and the lord Marwell to the gouernor, to treat of peace betwene him and the earle of Lennor, the which they laboured with great diligence, according to the trust reposed in them.

But the gouernor caused them both to be secretly conueied from the counsell by the backside of the blacke friers of Glasgow, vnto the castell of Hamilton, and from thence the earle was sent to Blackenese. The lord Marwell was kept still in hold at Hamilton, and George Dowglas, and the maister of Glencarne in Edinburgh castell. These persons thus imprisoned stood in great doubt of their liues (as some supposed:) but as diuerse other did suspect, they were rather committed for a colour, than for a nie euill that was meant towards them. Howsoeuer it was with them, the earle of Lennor by the aduise of his friends sent the earle of Glencarne, and a gentleman called Thomas Bishop, vnto the king of England with offer of his seruice, and request to haue in marriage the ladie Margaret Dowglas daughter to the Earle of Angus, and neece to the said king.

Herevnto the king granted, for the performance whereof (and the dispatch of other things) he sent the lord Wharton and diuerse others. And on the earles part, the bishop of Cathnes his brother and the earle of Glencarne were appointed, who met at Carleill to performe the agreement. The quene, the cardinall, and the other of the French faction, did helpe the gouernor all they might, with counsell, power, and monie; because they perceiued that he repented such friendship with England as he had taken in hand by the counsell of Angus and of others. In the meane time there was a parlement assembled at Striueling, in which by common consent, the earle of Lennor was condemned of treason: wherefore the sentence of banishment was executed against him, and all his goods with his patrimonie were confiscat to the quene. Whilst the French king was ascertained that Lennor had forsaken his faction, & committed himselfe to the king of England, he suddenlie committed to prison John Stewart lord of Aubigne baron in France, brother to the earle of Lennor, and deputed the said John Stewart of all such honors and offices as he possessed in France. For he was generall capteine of all the Scottish lands in France, being either such as had gard of the kings bodie, or bowmen, or men at armes: for the king of France hath Scots in wages of all the orders.

But let vs now returne to the Patriarch, who was honorablie receiued by the cardinall and the bishop of Scotland into the citie of Glasgow: during whose abode there, great contention arose betwene the cardinall and the archbishop of Glasgow, who should in that citie be of greatest authoritie and honor. Which in the end came to this issue, that both families fell together by the eares, which of them should go before

The earle of
Angus and
the lord Mar-
well committed
to ward.

Angus opti-
ons for the
imprisoning
of the earle of
Angus.

1544.
The earle of
Lennor sen-
deth to the
king of Eng-
land.

Fr. Thin.
Lellcus lib. 10.
pag. 470.

foze with his crosse bozne byright. For the cardinall archbishop of saint Andzeus and primat of the kingdome, did affirme that the archbishop of Glasgou should not haue his crosse bozne in his owne church, so long as the cardinall was present. Which the seruants of the archbishop of Glasgou toke in such disdain, that they plucked downe the cardinals crosse and threwe it to the ground. Whereupon, the gouernor (vnderstanding the whole matter, and that it was now come from wordes to swordes) made hast to appease this factious commotion, & caused the Patriarch therewith to be brought to Edeburgh accompanied with the clergie, where he remained all the winter following. In which towne he was honozable entertained and feasted of the quene, the gouernor, and other of the nobles, whome he requited with the like courtesie.

Amongest these of the nobilitie, the earle of Murray had the Patriarch on a day to a banquet, in which this Murray did shew an honozable thing not accustomed amongest others. For where he abounded in store of silver vessels, yet he commanded his seruants to furnish a great cupbord with christall glasses brought from Venice, & that in the midst of dinner he should ouerturne the cupbord as it were unwillinglie. Which the servant at the time appointed did performe. The noise of breaking of which glasses did suddenly fill the eares of all the companie: and the Patriarch seeing the hurt, was somewhat moued. But the earle making no account of this thing, commanded his man astrictly to furnish the same cupbord with as manie and fairer vessels of glasse than the former were, to the Patriarchs great admiration. For the Patriarch affirmed that the glasses of Murraue and Venice did not anie way excell these. Cruellie this earle of Murray was honozable, wise, iust, and famous amongest manie princes for his manifold vertues, & manie ambassages most happilie performed amongest them. Who shortly after this, departing the court, died of the stone at his castle in Turnwaite.

This Patriarch shewed to the gouernor (besides other priuileges that he had from the see of Rome) his great authoritie, in that he was legat from the popes side, amongest the Scots, as long as he remained there. Which office, when he departed to Rome, he procured to be transferred to the cardinall; at what time the Patriarch also in the name of the pope, did promise much helpe, and monie to be sent to Scotland against England. For he studied by all means he could, to hinder the marriage of those two kingdoms: because he suspected thereby, that some alteration might be made in Scotland touching the religion; with the ouerthrow of churches and monasteries. Now, after that the Patriarch had remained all the winter in Scotland, he departed from thence in March, who as he was honozable entertained in all places, so he spared not to recount to the French king and other princes (whome he visited in his iournie) the humanitie he found in Scotland, which he also imparted to the bishop of Rome, to the other cardinals, & to the senat of Venice; not without singular praise and honoz to the Scottish nation.

They that were sent, so solicited the earles cause, that in the end the king was perswaded that Lennor ought of right to haue the gouernement of the realme of Scotland, and to be second person in the same. And herewith, in consideration how vnjustlie not onelie his maiestie had bene dealt with, but also how vnthankfullie and discourteouslie Lennor had bene used, both at the hands of the French king, and also of his adherents in Scotland, by the cardinall & others: he both thankfullie receiued his gentle offer of seruice, & also promised to aid him in his

title and all other lawfull causes: and herewith prepared an armie to passe into Scotland by sea, appointing the earle of Hertford, and the lord Lile to haue the conduction of the same, who shipping at Tinnmouth with their people, arrived in the Forth vnder Werdie castell, a mile & a halfe above Leith the third of Maie, the whole nauie containing aboue the number of two hundred ships. Here at Newhauen, a quarter of a mile from the said castell, they landed their armie of ten thousand men of warre, with great artillerie, and all kind of munition.

The lord gouernor being at that present within the towne of Edeburgh, hearing of their arriual, went forth of the towne accompanied with the cardinall, the earles of Huntlee, Argile, Bothwell, and others, purposing to stop their landing: but perceiving the puissance of the aduersaries to be such, as they could not resist the same, they returned to Edeburgh againe, and sent maister Adam Ottenbozne prouost of Edeburgh, and two of the bailiffs to the earle of Hertford, to vnderstand the cause of his coming; and withall offered, that if there were anie iniuries or wrongs done by anie of the Scots nation, he would appoint commissioners to talke with such as by him should be authorized thereto, for the full answering thereof, & to that effect he would gladlie receiue them into the towne of Edeburgh.

The earle of Hertford answered that he had no commission to talke of anie such matter; but rather to take reuenge of the vnjust dealing and breach of promise on those that had falsified their faith. And therefore minding to burne the towne of Edeburgh, as well as other within that realme, he willed the inhabitants and all all those that were within the same to come forth, and submit themselves before him the kings lieutenant, to stand vnto the kings will and pleasure, or else he would not faile to proceed in execution thereof. The prouost answered that he would rather abide all extremities, than accomplish his request and desire in that behalfe; and thereupon returned to the towne.

After the gouernor had heard what answer was made to the prouost, he caused the castell to be furnished with all things necessarie for defense, and departed straightwaies to Striueling. The English armie lodging that night in Leith, marched the next day toward Edeburgh, passing by the Cannogat street to enter at the nether bow, where they found some resistance made by the Scots, so that diuerse were slaine on both parts. Towards night, the Englishmen, after they had continued long in skirmishing that day with the Scottishmen, retired to Leith. The next day the whole armie with the great artillerie came forward towards the towne, and breaking open the Cannogat, they entered the towne by the same, bringing their ordinance within sight of the castell, purposing to plant the same in batteries against it; but the capteine of the castell caused the artillerie within to shoot off at them in so great abundance, & so good measure, that they slue diuerse Englishmen, and dismounted one of their peeces, so that in the end they were constrained to draw backe their ordinance & retired; but yet in the meane time they set fire on the towne, and burnt the most part of all the houses in the same. They burnt also the Cannogat street, and the abbey of Holie rood house. The gouernor at that present released out of prison the earle of Angus, the lord Marwell, the maister of Glencarne, sir George Dowglas, and others.

In this meane time also there came from the borders by land foure thousand of English horsemen, vnder the conduction of the lord William Cuiers, and his sonne sir Rafe Cuiers; who joining with the armie at Leith, scowred the countrie on euery

The king of England meaneth to aid the earle of Lennor.

The English armie landeth by Leith.

The earle of Lennor.

Fr. Thin. Leilus lib. 10. p. 474.

1544.

The prouost of Edeburgh sent to the earle of Hertford.

The earles answer.

Edeburgh entred by force.

So more hercol in England.

Edeburgh burnt.

Prisoners set at libertie.

Buchanan. lib. 1.

rie side of Edinburgh. Finallie, after the English armie had lien in Leith a certeine space, they burnt that towne also, and sent their ships awate fraught with pillage and spoiles (got as well in that towne, as in Edinburgh, and abroad in the countrie) backe towards England. And therewith the earle of Hertford, the lord admerall, and others, returned by land through the countrie vnto Berwick, as in the English historie more at large appeareth. Whilest the English armie was thus occupied in that part of Scotland, the erle of Lennor with an armie of men which he had raised, was readie to come on the backs of the gouernor and his adherents, if they had assembled their forces and come forward to haue giuen the Englishmen battell. For all this season the ciuill contentions still continued, and sundrie conflicts and skirmishes chanced betwixt the parties.

* The Scots which inhabit the mountains, and the Isles, did now in these turmoiles begin to shew some tokens of their inconstancie. For they (which paid pærelie tribute in the time of James the first, kept the peace, liued within the bounds of law, and well obeyed the gouernor) did now (after they saw all things on a flame) begin againe to spoile and destroye their neighbors, in the same uttering the humors of their naturall disposition. Whereupon the gouernor (to restraine their boldnesse) called vnto him George Gordon earle of Huntley, and the earle of Argyle, whereof he made the one gouernor of the north parts of Scotland, of the Orkades, and Shetland; and to the other, he committed the rule of Argyle, and the Isles Hebrides. Whereupon Huntley with all speed gathered an armie from the north parts, and determined to byrde the Glencamerons, the Genconelles, the Mudiardes, & the Kindiardes, with force and authoritie. The capteins or heads of which families, were Ewin Allanson, Ronald Mac-koneilglas, and John Mudiard, who did possesse the lands of the lords Grant, and Louet, hauing expelled them by force from the same.

But when they first vnderstood that Huntley had incamped nere vnto them, they fled euerie one home to their owne possessions: which being defended partly by the west sea, and partly included about with the mounteins, stopped Huntley, so that he might not haue anie passage vnto them: by meanes whereof (these disseisors being banished) the lords Grant and Louet were restored to their right inheritance. But it fell out contrarie for Louet, who going to take his owne into his hands, fell into danger of his enemies. For at that time both the companies were disposed into such order, that neither partie could absteine from fight. Whereupon they first discharge their bodies one against another, and their arrowes spent, they after flie to their swords, with which they fought so egerlie, that the night cutting off the battell, it could not be well knowne to which part the victorie gaue place. In which there was so great slaughter on both parts, that till the next morning in viewing the dead bodies, the victors were not knowne. Amongest whome of the part of the Glencamerons and Mudiardes there were manie slaine.

But by reason of the death of the lord Louet, and of his sonne and heire (a youth of singular hope, and brought vp in France) with three hundred of the bloud and surname of the Fraisers (for Louet was the head and leader of that familie) the hurt seemed to be the greater on their part. For there was a rumor spread, that there was not one of the familie of the Fraisers left aliuie that was of mans state. But it happened by the singular benefit of God, that they left their wiues with child when they went to the fight, by which meanes the familie was after raised

and restored. Huntley (greatlie grieved that the Fraisers had receiued this grievous wound) gathered a power together, and with armes so pursued those factious people, that he took and beheaded Ewin Allanson, and Ronald; with diuerse others, and put the rest in prison. The earle of Argyle discharged the office committed to him as well as Huntley did and with more happie successe, for all the Island men humbly submitted themselves vnto him; and delivered pledges to liue quietlie hereafter.)

About this time the earle of Lennor, accompanied with Alexander the maister of Glencarne, or therwise called lord of Kilmaise, Walter Graham brother to the earle of Montrose, sir John Borthwick knight, and sundrie other gentlemen, took the sea to passe into England, and arriued at Wexhamster about Midsummer: & passing from thence to the court, he was iustly receiued. And immediately thereupon was the mariage celebrated betwixt him and the ladie Margaret Douglas, daughter & heire to the earle of Angus, and to Margaret his wife queene of Scots, sister to king Henrie the eight, at what time there was assured to him by way of inheritance, lands to the value of seuen hundred marks of pærelie rent of assise, in consideration of this mariage with the kings nece, and in recompense of lands lost by him in France, to the which he was inheritor after the deceasse of Robert Stewart lord Dbenie, one of the foure marshals of France.

Wherupon, king Henrie being now upon his iourne towards Bullongne, as well for the auoiance of his highnesse enemies in Scotland, as for recouerie of the said earles right in that realme, appointed the said erle to enter Scotland in the moneth of August, accompanied with sir Rife Mansfield, sir Peter Hewitt knights, maister Thomas Audleie, maister Thomas Wokes, old maister Winter comptrolor of the kings ships, and his sonne sir William Winter that now is, and sundrie other capteins, hauing vnder their charge two hundred hackbutters, two hundred archers with long bowes, and two hundred armed pikes, beside the mariners belonging to those ships that were appointed to go forth on this iourne, being in number about twelue or fourteen saile, belonging to Wiffow, and other of the west parts.

Upon their arrivall on the coast of Scotland, they burnt the Ile of Arrane, and rased the gouernors castle there to the ground. And afterwards arriuing at the Ile of Bute, they entered the same, and took the castell of Koseie standing therein (from whence the Stewards kings of Scotland had their originall) the capteine they had a while prisoner with them into England. Here also they took two French ships laden with wines, and this done they entered the firth of Clyde, thinking to find none but their friends in the castell of Dunbretton. But true it is, that in this meane time the earle of Glencarne with sundrie gentlemen being left in that castell, with the capteine thereof called Houson, to keepe it in the name and to the behoofe of the erle of Lennor, were in his absence persuaded thorough practise of the queene Dolmager, not only to renounce their promised faith to him, in defrauding him of that castell; but also to intrap and wind him within their danger to take him prisoner.

For this purpose they so dissembled the matter, that they had got him on land onelie with three hundred men: and so farre forth they were growne in talke, that the erle of Lennor being entered into the castell with a few other with him, the monie was laid downe on the board, to be paid to the capteine for his satisfaction. But in the meane time, the earle of Lennor, & such as were with him, perceiving some treasonable

Buchanan saith that this battell as it was belated, was procured by Huntley to destroye the Fraisers.

The earle of Lennor goth into England

The marieth the ladie Margaret Dowglas.

Lord Dbenie.

The earle of Lennor returneth into Scotland.

The Ile of Bute taken.

The earle of Lennor in danger to be betrayed & taken.

treasonable practise in hand, got forth of the house againe vnto their companie below, leauing the monie behind them, and after made shift to get to their ships, and not before it was high time.

For if they had staied that night, they had bene intrapped by George Douglas, who with foure thousand men was secretlie drawne thitherwards, and entered the towne of Dunzetton, shortly after that the earle of Lennox was thus departed, and got to his ships lieng there at hand in the riuer of Clide, downe the which he retired to the sea, not without danger to haue lost the same ships, by reason of the narrownesse of the water: for the erle of Argile being gotten betwixt him and the sea with a great power of men, with banners displayed, hailed the ships with shot of ordinance from the castell of Dinnune, annoieng the earle of Lennox his passage as much as he could. But he escaping with the English gentlemen, and the ships out of danger, toke aduise together at the Ile of Bute what they were best to do.

The earle soze moued to haue bene thus repelled from Dunzetton, and stomaching the matter soze, to be so discountenanced by his enimie the earle of Argile, with the aduise of the English gentlemen, he returned with them, and with great thew of manhood toke land beside the castell and towne of Dinnune, where the earle of Argile with seuen hundred men was readie to incounter him, & to keepe him off from landing: but by the helpe of the shot out of the ships, and great sroze of botes, the Englishmen landed, slue foure scoze of the enimies, most part gentlemen, and put the residue to flight, with the losse of thre men onlie on the English side.

This done, the towne of Dinnune was burnt, and the church spoiled, that was full of goods and ornaments. When the night approached, by reason the Englishmen had no powder, nor other prouision on land, the earle with his people returned to shipboard in safetie, howbeit not without offer of skirmish made by the enimies though to their losse, namelie of those that aduanced themselves most forward. About foure or fve daies after, the earle of Lennox with fve hundred men landed in another part of Argile, and remaining on land a whole day together, burnt, spoiled, and wasted the countrie: the earle of Argile with two thousand men giuing the looking on, and not once offering the skirmish, so that the earle of Lennox with his souldiers retired to his ships without incounter.

After this they invaded the Ile of Bute, where James Mackonell dwelled, burnt manie places in that countrie, toke and caried awaie great boties of cattell and other goods. All the coasts of Kile, Carrike, & Coningham, and likewise of Galloway remained in continuall feare, so that oftentimes their beacons were fired, and manie of the noble men constrained to come to the earle of Lennox, suing to him for assurance. In these exploitess the earle had with him Walter Macferlane of Tirbat, and seuen scoze men of the head of Lennox, that spake both Irish, English, & the Scottish twongs, light footmen, well armed in shirts of male, with bowes, and two handed swords, and being ioined with the English archers and shot, did much available scrvice in the stretts, the marishes, and mountaine countries.

* During these things, they which had gouernment of the Scottish affairs (as the quene dowager, the cardinall, and the gouernor) called a councell, in which they decreed that all such of the nobilitie as had force and armoz, should be readie to follow the gouernor whither soeuer he went, and there to remaine with him for the space of eight daies. Shortly

lie after there assembled eight thousand men, and in the sharpe winter battered the church of Colbington, standing in armoz a whole day and night to the great toile and wearinesse of the men and horses. The next day the gouernor, either to accuse his tenderesse susteined in the last daies laboz of warre, or else fearing the inuasion of the enimie (for he was certified of an armie of men that should come from Bertwike) suddenlie (vknownte to the other nobilitie) did sie to Dunbar with a few of his owne traine. They which went about to excuse the defame of this flight, reported how he feared that he should haue bene betrayed to the English by his host, for hatred which they had conceiued against him for manie of his offenses.

This departure of the gouernor brought great trouble to the armie, & so much the more, because the secreter it was (and the reason vknownte) the more cause it gaue to the rest to feare some further euill. Wherefore the greater part remained in this obstinate mind, that euerie one should returne the next way home, and leaue the artillerie at randon. But others (who were more carefull, and would seme lesse fearefull) do agre to stufte the peces full of powder, and to breake them, rather than they should fall in the hands & helpe of the enimie. To the which deuise onelie Archembald Douglas did resist, least he should ad a wicked deed to a wicked flight. When he could not staie any man, either by threat, in treatie, or authoritie, he exclaimed with a lowd voice (for euerie one to heare him) that for his owne part he had rather die an honest death, than to haue a feare cure and rich life with such dishonor. Wherefore you my friends consider what you will do, for either I will bzing awaie this artillerie, or I will not returne home with life; wherefore I meane to make this the last end both of my life and glorie. When he had spoken this, a few (whose honor was deare vnto them) were moued therewith, but the rest (despairing by reason of the shamefull flight of the gouernor) did scatteringlie depart, wandring whither they thought good, without anie order. The Douglasse with such companie as he had (placed in god order) followed the artillerie, and brought the same to Dunbar, the horsemen of his enimies in vaine hastening after them behind at their backes. This expedition by the gouernor rashlie begun, and shamefullie performed, brake the hearts of the Scots, and aduanced the minds of the English, who gloriouse applied the dauidnesse of the gouernor to their owne glorie.)

To conclude, after the earle of Lennox and his companie had atchiued these enterprises afore mentioned, he returned towards England, and sent sir Peter Helwates knight, & Thomas Bishop a Scottish gentleman, to aduertise the king of England of his proceedings, who found him at the siege of Bullongne, where they declared to him the whole circumstance of euerie thing, as the same had passed in the earles soznie, which the king toke in verie god part. And vpon his returne into England, after the conquest of Bullongne, the earle of Lennox was also called home to the court by letters to him directed, he being then at Bristow.

About the middelt of Februarie, sir Rafe Eure commonlie called Euers, lord warden of the English middle marches, entred Scotland with a power of foure thousand Englishmen, Irishmen, and assured Scots, and comming first vnto Jedworth, lodged there that night. And therewithall vnderstanding that the gouernor and the earle of Angus were at the abbeye of Melros, about eight miles distant from thence, the next morning he was got forth so earlie, that he was almost vpon the enimies in such wisse on the sudden, that they fled out of their lodgings, and

The earle of Lennox landeth at Dinnune.

The towne of Dinnune burnt.

The earle of Lennox landeth againe in Argile.

Winter inuaded.

Walter Macferlane.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 15.

He defaceth the monuments of the Douglasse.

Fr. Thin. Buch. lib. 15.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. li. 15.

Fr. Thin.

Sir Peter Helwates.

1545. Sir Rafe Euers inuadeth Scotland.

1544. Lesle. Buchanan. Sir Rafe Euers & others came.

and left their beds and all their household furniture which they had in store there with them, not having time to conuie it awaie at their departure; their warning was so short. Sir Rafe Cuers at his coming thither, finding them fled and gone, spoiled the towne and abbete, utterly defacing the townes and monuments of the earles of Douglas; greatlie to the displeasure of the earle of Angus; and those of his linage.

* After this (the coming of the English being looked for the next yeere) the minds of the borderers were greatlie troubled, because they were hopelesse to attaine anie succor from the gouernor, which used the aduise of the clergie, but chieflie of the cardinall. Whereupon Archembald Douglas earle of Angus (greatlie moued partlie with his priuat losses, for he had great possessions in the marches, and in Linot, and partlie to see his ancestors monuments defaced) came to the gouernor, and fullie laid before him the greatnesse of the danger wherein the realme did stand, perswading him to encounter and resist the same. At what time also (after the gouernour had opened vnto him, that he was forsaken of the nobilitie, and now left alone) the Douglas shewed that the same happened vnto him by his owne fault, and not by the nobilitie, which would implete their liues, linings, and goods, for the defense of the common-wealth. For he contemning their counsell, onlie leaned to the spiritualtie, who were cowards in warre, and seditious in peace.

Out of this founteine (saith he) a suspicion (that you dare not trust one another) is growne betwene you and them, which is the onelie cause why things are no better perfozmed. But if you determine (in great affaires) to take the aduise of them (who will not refuse to spend their blood therein) I doubt not but that we shall be able to execute as great matters as euer our ancestors did: but if we shall (by our slouth) permit the enemie to take all things from vs, then of necessitie will follow, that either they shall shortly banish vs, or bring vs into perpetuall seruitude: the inconueniences of anie of which cannot well be spoken. As touching our selues I know that thou art suspected to be a coward, and I a traitor, which reproch if thou thinke to purge (for thou canst not auoid it) prepare to cleare the same, not with painted speeches, but with bloudie weapons.)

Whereupon the gouernor and the said earle (soe aggrieved to be thus foiled at the Englishmens hands) assembled together [vnder the leading of Porman Lesle son of the earle of Rossfele] all such forces as they might recouer, so that they had quicklie got them about fixtene hundred men, whereof eight hundred at the least were gentlemen. Who hearing that the Englishmen were retiring towards Jedworth, they met them at a place called Pannier hugh, or Womehouse, where both the parties alighting on foot, ment to trie the quarell by plaine force of hand. But as they were redy to ioine, the assured Scots, to the number of seven or eight hundred resolted vnto the part of their countreimen, by reason whereof, after a right sharpe and fierce conflict, the Englishmen in the end were constrained to flie, whome the Scots right egerlie pursued, slue sir Rafe Cuers, the lord Ogile, sir Brian Leiton, and other gentlemen & souldiours to the number of eight hundred. They toke also about two thousand prisoners, with certeine peeces of artillerie and other munition.

This victorie fell to the Scots the seventeenth day of Februarie, the report whereof was right displeasing to the English nation, but speciallie the losse of that worthy gentleman sir Rafe Cuers was greatlie bemoined, and that euen of the king

himselfe, for the noble prowesse and great loialtie which at all times had bene found in him. His seruice had bene such in these wars against Scotland, that he had brought the more part of the Scots within twentie miles space of the English borders, vnto the obedience of the king of England, although at length they holpe to worke his confusion, as before we haue heard. ¶ Of this gentleman & his singular seruice in the field, I omit here to speake, because he was imployed otherwise, besides Scotland: wherefore I remit the readers to the twentieth yeere of king Henrie the eight, where to his high commendation this gentleman is recorded.]

* The occasion of the English ouerthrow (as saith Lesleus) and the Scots victorie, were chieflie by these meanes. First they fought vpon equal ground, and with vnequall helpe. For the Scots with the sunne on their backs (being declined toward setting) came forth of a narrow & marshy place, and set vpon the English (at the side of an hill which was betwene them) hauing the sun in their faces, by which meanes they could neither well perceiue what number the Scots had, nor with their gunnes hurt anie of the Scots. But those that fought in the first battell, whereunto was ioined (a feare not in vaine) which they had conceived of the Scottish march-men, who in great number hauing red crosses (the note of the English) ran vp and downe hither and thither to see the euent thereof.)

About the same time that the victorie before mentioned chanced to the Scots, Robert Corncoise bishop of Ross departed this life, to whome succeeded David Pantane, secretaire to the gouernor, and prior of Saint Marie Ile. In Aprill, William Steward bishop of Aberdeen likewise deceased, and maister William Gordon chancelor of Purteie, vncle to George erle of Huntley, was by the cardinals sute promoted to that see, greatlie to the displeasure of the earle of Angus, that labored to haue preferred an other thereto. For this and other causes, the cardinall was greatlie in hatred of the Douglasles.

* About that time, the king of England by pisse & pries perswaded the Flemings to take fixtene of our ships harbozed in the haven, and to conuert the commodities (therewith they were fraught, being verie costlie) to their owne commoditie. By means whereof at one time we had warres with two nations, England and Flanders. But sith the Flemings did not the same maliciously for hatred to the Scots, but carefullie for the loue vnto the English, as the Scots did certeinlie know, they shewed none other token of enimitie to the Flemings, but that they forbade them to fish on their coasts, and did sometimes intercept their ships, without further iniurie done vnto them.)

This yeere also, Montgomerie, other wise called monsieur de Loges, knight of the order of saint Michaele, was sent by the French king with foure thousand Frenchmen into Scotland to assist the Scots against England. He landed at Dunbretton, & came in good order to Edinburgh the thirtenth of Maie: he brought with him from the French king the order of saint Michaele, to inuest therewith the lord gouernor, the earles of Angus, Huntley, and Argile. Herewith also was an armie of Scots raised, and ioining with the Frenchmen, they approached the borders, where they laie for a season: but the earle of Hertford lieutenant generall of the north parts coming downe, toke such direction for the safe keeping of the English borders, that after the Scots had laine there in campe a certeine space without atchiuing anie great enterprisse, though some notable exploit was looked for to haue bene attempted by them at that present, they brake vp their armie & went home.

I. i.

* This

This seruice against the Scots.

Abr. Fl.

Fr. Thin: Buchanan, lib. 10. pag. 478.

Death of his ships.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus, lib. 10. pag. 479.

1545. Buch. Montieur de Loges sent into Scots land.

Knights of saint Michaeles order.

An armie of Scots lieth on the borders.

He defaceth the monuments of the Douglasles.

Fr. Thin. Buch, lib. 15

Fr. Thin.

Peter notes.

1545. Rafe Cuers & his army on the borders.

1544. Lesle.

Buchanan.

Sir Rafe Cuers & others slain.

* This castell of Dunbretton was at that time so carefullie kept by the captein therof, that he determined neither to deliuer it to the gouernor, nor to anie Englishman, nor to anie Scot. Whereupon, the gouernor fearing least it should fall into the hands of the English, prepare to besiege the same; the newes wherof comming to Glencarne, he signified the same vnto Lennor, affirming, that if he would come thither, he should shortly obtaine the castell. The king of England reioicing of that newes, prepareth two ships, and in the meane time sent the bishop of Cathnesse into Scotland, which should forthwith be receiued into the castell. Therefore the gouernor making the more hast, commeth to Dunbretton together with the cardinall, and the earles Huntley, and Argyle, laing present siege to the same, which was stronglie done, and the castilains pressed to great extremitie by the slaughter of manie people. But at length by the policie of the earle Huntley, it was to agreed, that the castell (which was by nature inerpugnabile) should be deliuered. Which the gouernor receiued (with certeine conditions) and honorable intreated the captein for the singular discharge of the trust committed to him: and therewithall he restored the bishop of Cathnesse, brother to the earle of Lennor to his bishoprike, which before he had lost by his going into England.)

The sixteenth of September, thre or foure hundred Scots, with Marwell, Lochinuart, and Johnstone, aided with the Frenchmen, attempted to enter into England on the east borders: but the Englishmen perceiuing where they were about to passe by a certeine freit, they set vpon them with their archers, discomfited them, sleaing, & taking to the number of seuen score of them. Among other that were taken, one of the sonnes to the lord Hume, with a French capteine, and George Elphinston archer of the corps to the French king, were accounted chiefe. Also on the west borders, Robert Marwell eldest son to the lord Marwell, was taken in a robe made by him and others, into the English confines on that side, although at an other time certeine Englishmen making a robe into Scotland were distressed, the more part of them being taken or slaine. At a parliament holden at Linlithquho, begun there the twentieth eight of September, and continued till the first of October, Mattheu earle of Lennor, and Thomas bishop of Abeltree, were forsailed, and all their lands and goods giuen auaie and annered to the crowne.

In this meane time, the king of England desirous to haue the seruice of the Isles of Scotland for sundrie great causes and respects, moued the earle Lennor to deale with them to that end: which he did. And his trauell toke such effect, that the Island men were contented to rest at the king of England his deuotion, partly for that they were in a manner sworne enemies to the earle of Argyle, and his familie; and partly for that they doubted the king of Englands puissance, if he should attempt to inuade those parties: and againe, bearing an old speciall fauour to the earle of Lennor and his house, hauing an ancient bond of alliance and amitie with the same, they were the more readie to satisfie his motion. Whereupon, they elected amongst them a lord of the Isles, the next of blood: a title long since verie odious to the state of Scotland, and by the inducement of the earle of Lennor, he was contented as the king of Englands pensioner, to receiue two thousand crownes of him yearly, with certeine rich apparell of cloth of gold and siluer from the said earle.

The first proofe he attempted to shew of his seruice in the king of Englands behalfe, was this. Hauing instructions thereto from the earle of Lennor, vnder colour of conference for matters touching

the estate of the countrie, he had suborned one of his alliance and seruants, called the clane Reginald, to intrap the earles of Argyle and Huntley. And although they escaped verie narrowly, the lord Hume an ancient baron, & great friend to those two earles, was slaine by the said clane, together with seuen hundred of his kinsmen and friends; insomuch that there remained not but one young boy of that linage to succeed in that lords lands [which is before more

fullie handled out of Lefleus.] After this, the lord of the Isles, with six thousand men imbarked in certeine vessels, passed over into Carrick, harried and burnt the lands of the earle of Castles, then a great enemy to the king of England. In this voiage he got great spoiles, and slew manie of the enemies. After which enterprise so achieved, he came with his power by sea, and landed in Ireland, where the earles of Lennor and Desmond were, with twelue hundred Irishmen, appointed to loins with him, that with their whole power they might inuade the earle of Argyles countries, & consequently the maine land of Scotland at the broad side. But before the preparation could be made ready for that iorney, the new lord of the Isles deceased, whose buriall in Ireland to honor the earle of Lennor, had the king of England in four hundred pounds sterling.

But now to returne vnto the doings on the borders betwixt England and Scotland in this season. We shall vnderstand, that after the armie of Scotland was broken by the earle of Hertford by vertue of his commission, raised an armie in the countries of the further side of Trent northwards; so that when the same was assembled together, with such strangers as were then in the kings wages, they were in all of horsemen and footmen twelue thousand fighting men. With this armie garded with great store of artillerie, munition, and all manner of furniture necessarie, the earle of Hertford entered Scotland, and marching to Coldingham, pass by the water of Tweed, and burnt a great part of the Pers, and Tuitale, the abbeies of Kelso, Melrose, Dryburgh, and Jedworth; with towines & villages, to the number of fise score.

Howbeit, he entered not farre within the said countrie beyond the said water, but kept alongest nere to the same, and returned backe without anie encounter: for after the Scottish armie was broken by it, it was not like they would assemble againe, and so the earle of Hertford taking the time that serued his purpose, soe indamaged the Scottish borders at that present. Manie other small inuasions were made, as well by the one part as the other, and some skirmishes fell out betwixt them, sometime to the losse of the Scottish, and sometime of the English, according to the course of warre.

* Nuch about this time, or rather before, Robert Marwell, the sonne of Robert (a young man of singular vertue) was taken by the English. Besides which there was nothing done worthy the memorie, but that in the beginning of the next winter Montgomerie returned into France. After this, the cardinall leadeth the gouernor about the nere countries, vnder colour to reconcile such parts as were at dissention: then they came first to Perth, where foure men were punished for eating flesh on forbidden daies: from thence they went to Dundee, called Loadune (to vse the name of the place, as Buchanan hath) to punish (as they said) such as vsed the late new testament of Luthers translation. Whither came also Patrike Greie (the head of a noble familie in those parts) accompanied with a good traine, together with the erle of Rothseis, being before that commanded to be there by the gouernor, after the pacifying of the other

Clane Reginald slew the lord Hume.

Fr.Thin.

The lord of the Isles inuadeth Carrick.

He commeth into Ireland.

He departeth this life.

But eight thousand, as some say.

The earle of Hertford inuadeth Scotland.

Fr.Thin. Buchanan lib. 15.

Frenchmen and Scots overthrown.

The lord Marwells son taken prisoner

The earle of Lennor persuadeth them of the Isles to serue the king of England.

The lord of the Isles elected, being one of the Macdonalds.

ther tumults. But the cardinall (supposing it small safetie to receiue at one time two such noble and facious persons addited to the restored religion, into the towne) wrought with the gouernour that he and they might go backe to Perth.

The next morning, when those two noblemen (redie for the iourneie) vnderstood that the gouernour was on his waie towards Perth, they presentlie followed him. Who being come in sight, did strike such feare into the cardinall, that the gouernour commanded them to sunder themselves, and seuerallie to enter the citie: which they did. Whereupon the next day they were both committed to prison. But Kothleise being shortly deliuered, Greie (whome they hated more, and feared most) was kept longer in that restraint. But before they parted thence, it seemed good to the cardinall to abate the strength of Ruthwen capteine of the towne. For which cause, the gouernour taketh his office from him, and bestoweth the same vpon Kinsane Comarch, neighbor and kinsman to Greie. For this Ruthwen was a great enimie to the cardinall, and much fauored the restored religion: as likewise was Greie, who after the same sort did not beare a friendlie mind to the cardinall, nor to his religion.

By reason thereof, the cardinall supposed, that if he might set them (by this meanes) together by the eares (sith manie of both parts would soine for defense of the chiefe of their families) and that if anie side had the worse (as both must be diminished) that then he had by so much abated the power of one of his enimies. Upon which occasion the gouernment of Perth (which had by manie descents remained in the familie of the Ruthwens) might be thus translated to Kinsane. Thus the new capteine was sent with a power to subdue the citizens by force, if they would not willingly obey: as it seemed that they would not; because they took it with some griefe, to haue (in this new capteine) the old libertie of voices (in choosing of their gouernour) taken from them. The besieging of the towne being therefore diuided into parts, Greie (which had whole taken the matter on him) attempted the ouerthrow thereof, from the bridge of Tait. The other band (hauing laid their artillerie along by the riuer ouer against the towne) did invade the open side of the said Perth.

But because the swelling of the sea did not answer their deuise, they came not in time to do anie thing therein. Greie assailing it by the bridge (which Ruthwen hauing receiued, and conueied the aid into the next houses, would seeme to leaue vngarded) when he saw no armed men stirring, did (without all feare) enter further into the towne, where he was so sharplie set vpon by Ruthwen, and his companie (suddenlie and vnlooked for breaking out of the houses vpon them) that euerie one hastened to spie some place by which he might flee awaie. But the multitude confused and diuened into a streit, did let one an other thereof. For they behind, thinking to breake in amongst the other, did hinder the first that they could not flee: in which vnderlie multitude, manie were troden under foot, and three score were killed with the sword.

The cardinall (although against his mind) hauing heard of the victorie of Ruthwen; yet he did not greatlie lament the slaughter made of his aduersaries. After this, the cardinall hauing thus sufficientlie progressed to Angus: he led the gouernour after the fourteenth of December to saint Andzeus, to the end (if it were possible) to bind the gouernour more firmelie vnto him. For although before he had the gouernours sonne as pledge with him; yet (as often as he remembred the eagerne

of the Scottish nobilitie, the strength of his enimies, and the inconstancie of the gouernour) he greatlie feared, least the said gouernour should with like lightnesse be drawn, to assist his enimies, as he had bene led to take his part. During the time whilest they were at S. Andzeus, the cardinall caused in the Lent season all the bishops & prelates of the realme to assemble at the towne of saint Andzeus, where a learned man, named maister George Wilschart, that had bene in the scholes of Germanie, was accused of heresie, which he had (as was alleged against him) publickly preached, and priuatly taught in Dundee, Brechin, and diuerse other parts of Scotland, since his returne home. This matter was so urged against him, that he was conuict, and burnt there in the towne of saint Andzeus during the time of that conuention or assemblee.

George Wilschart a learned man burnt.

When these things were thus done, the cardinall, although he greatlie trusted to his riches; yet because he was not ignorant what were the minds of men, & what speeches the common people had of him) determined to increase his power with new deuises. Wherefore he goeth into Angus, and marieth his eldest daughter (as saith Buchanan) to the earle of Crawford's sonne. Which marriage was solemnized with great preparation, almost answerable to kinglie magnificence. During which time, the cardinall vnderstanding by his spies, that the English did prepare to invade the Scottish borders on the sea (and speciallie did threaten those of Fife therewith) returned to saint Andzeus, and appointed a day to the nobilitie, and such as dwelled about the sea coasts, to assemble together to prouide in common for the defense thereof, and to prepare remedie for that hastened euill. For the easier and better performance thereof, he had determined, together with the lords of that countrie, to haue sailed himselfe about the coasts, and to haue defended such places as were most conuenient.

Fr. Thin.

Buchanan, lib. 15.

Amongest others that came vnto him, there was a noble yong gentleman called Rozman Leslie, sonne to the earle of Kothleise, whereof we haue spoken before manie times. This man (after that he had manie times emploied his valiant and faithfull diligence in the behalfe of the cardinall) grew to some contention with the said cardinall for a priuat cause, which for a time did estrange both their minds the one from the other. This same contention did Rozman (being thereto induced with manie faire promises) afterwards let fall. But certeine moneths following (when he returned to demand the performance of such liberall promises) they began to grow from common speech to biallings, and from thence to bitter satvnts & reproches, not fit to be vsed by anie of them both. Whereupon they departed with the græued minds of euerie of them. For the cardinall being intreated more vnreuerentlie than he would or looked for; and the other threatening that being overtaken by deceit, he would reuenge it: they both returned discontented to their owne people. Whereupon Rozman, declaring to his partakers the intollerable arrogancie of the cardinall, they easilie agreed all to conspire his death. Wherefore, to the end that the same might be lesse suspected, they departed in sunder after ward. This Rozman accompanied onelie with five of his owne traine, entred the towne of saint Andzeus, and went into his accustomed Inne and lodging; trusting that by such small traine he might cunningly dissemble the determination of the cardinals death. But there were in that towne, ten of those which had consented to this conspiracie; which closed in secret corners, some in one place, and some in an other, did onelie expect the signe which was to be giuen by

The cardinal of saint
Andrews
murdered.

Fr. Thin.
Lectus lib. 10
pag. 481.

1546.
The waters of
the cardinall
foxalted.

The castell of
saint An-
drews besic-
ged.

The siege raised.

Fr. Thin.
Lefleus lib.10.
pag.483.

1547.
The king of
England de-
ceased.

The death of
the French
king.

The castle
D. Anderson
padded.

The prior of
Capoa.

The duke of
Summerſet
protector of
England.

He entreth
Scotland
with an armie

The order of
the English
armie.

of the purpose
of the purpose
of the purpose

ging, were to the herie wals of the castell, which battered the same in such sort, as the ditches were nere hand filled with the rubbish and stones of the wals that fell doونه.

Whereover, the gallies at an high water approached on the river side so nere to the castell, that with shot of canons and other artillerie, they sore annoyed them within, and thus diverse. The defendants perceiving themselves thus besieged on all sides, & not able long to hold out, put forth a token upon a speares point, to signifie that they desired parlee, which was granted, and certeine of them coming forth, were admitted to talke with the gouernor, the quene, and the prior of Capoa. They offered to render the castell, so they might depart, and haue their liues saued with bag and baggage.

But, this would not be granted; the gouernor utterly refusing it; at length he was content to pardon them of their liues, if the French king should thinke it good, else to stand to his pleasure. The spoile of the castell was giuen to the Frenchmen, who by on the surrender entering the same, left nothing behind him that might serue them to any use in forking it away. All the principall men within, it were led to the gallies, and conueied aboue into France prisoners at the French kings discretion. Diverse of them were committed to sundrie prisons on the coast of Britaine, and others were appointed to row in the gallies till the yeare 1550, in which the prisoners we set at libertie, and the others that were in the gallies were redeemed by their friends for certeine summes of monie.

Thus was the castell of saint Andreus rendered the nine and twentieth of Julie, fourtene daies after the arrivall there of the prior of Capoa, whereby his great magnificence, well known afore that time, was increased, as his praise for his speedie dispatch and good successe therein was much advanced. Shortly after, the duke of Summerset, heretofore in this booke named earle of Hereford, uncle by the mother unto the yong king of England, and admitted gouernor of his person, and protector of all his realms, dominions, and subjects, minding the advancement of the yong king his nephew, thought good with all speed to procure the consummation of the marriage, betwixt him, and the yong quene of Scots.

But, perceiving that the same could not be brought to passe without force, he seemed loth to let passe the opportunity of time then offered (as he took it) to serue his purpose; and thereupon by aduise of counsell, leuied an armie with all expedition, and came to Berwick, about the latter end of August, and in the beginning of September entered Scotland with the same armie, containinge seauentene thousand men, which was diuided into three principall bands, the vndermost guarded by the barons, the earle of Argyll, the earle of Mar, the earle of Glencaigne, and the earle of Huntly, and the rest was by the lord Darnley, the north and southward, and the eastward.

There were certein druggs and troopes of men of armes, demilances, and light horsemen, (and also of harquebusers), that attended upon these three bands, and were by the lord Darnley, high-marshal of the armie, the general conduct of the men of armes and demilances, was Francis Baskin, lieutenant of the light horsemen, with right hundred of the same, was appointed with the barons, and Peter Mowbray, captain of five hundred harquebusers, and six of canons, Fleming, master of the ordnance, with a thousand light horsemen, were appointed to the battell. And the lord Darnley, with five hundred light horsemen, attended upon the rearward.

In this order marching through the spers, and

Louthian, they came at length into a place called Buckling Braigs, nere to the Forth side, in which river the English fleet was arrived, and lay before the towne of Leith, but now by order giuen came backe from thence, and lay nearer to the armie. The gouernor of Scotland aduertised of the coming of this armie of England thus to invade Scotland, with all diligence sent abroad solemn summons for the leuieing of a new armie forth of all parts of the realme; supposing thereby to be sufficientlie furnished and enabled for the encounter; happen when it should; the contrarie part (no doubt) being likewise opinioned, and both hoping, or greedilie gaping after the glorie of victorie.

For the gouernor did attempt at this time that which is accustomed to be used in the greatest dangers of the countrie: which was, that he sent out messengers through all the realme, who carrying a herie crosse in their hands, should make signe (and declare) aswell to the laitie, as to the churchmen; that all they which were aboue fiftene yeares old, and vnder fiftie, should presentlie (with their armes) repair to Mussilborow, and there be ready to defend the libertie of the countrie; who accordingly came to Mussilborow (within lesse than two miles of the place where the English armie came to incampe, lieng at Preston) placed themselves at Inverness out against their enemies.

Here we haue to vnderstand, that the Scots light horsemen oftentimes would come picking almost within their stauens length of the Englishmen as they marched, whooping and shouting, to the end they might traine them forth from their strength, and with railing words would still be in hand to provoke them thereto. But the duke of Summerset, doubting the goodnesse of the Scottish pickers, gave secret commandement, that no offer of skirmish by the Scottish horsemen should be taken. But at length the lord Greie of Wilton, not able to heare such bold presumption in the Scots, aduenturing (as he took it) ouer rashlie, and more than stood with their owne suertie, made sute to the duke of Summerset, that if they continued in such brauerie, it might be lawfull for him to set them further off.

The duke at the first by no means would assent thereto, telling the lord Greie, that his desire proceeded more of a colic of courage, than of any knowledge of the enemie, and seemed to defend the goodnesse of the Scottish horsemen; but when the lord Greie persisted in his sute, and the earle of Argyll likewise assisted his request, the duke in the end yielded thereto. Whereupon when the lord Darnley with the Scots the next time (which was on the Fridaye the ninth of September) came forth to offer the skirmish after their wonted manner, the lord Greie taking with him certeine bands of horsemen, both men of armes, demilances, and also light horsemen, diuided them in troopes, appointing the Spanish and Italian bagbutters on horsebacke to keepe on a wing, and to guard the hindermost troope of the English horsemen.

He also gave order to the leaders of euerie troope, that to which soeuer the enemie should once offer, in any wise, that no answer by skirmish were made them, but after they had drawne them to their accustomed plaie, and offer of charge, that troope that it was offered unto, presentlie upon the enemie whooping about should throughlie giue it them; and that to giuen, the next troope presentlie to giue it in the face: and so (as occasion required) both those troopes wholie together to helpe other without breaking. The Scots coming forward, picking and whooping after their old wont, the Englishmen for a long while, till at the last, foure or five hun-

The English fleet.

The gouernor raiseth an armie.

Fr. Thin. Lessus lib. 10. pag. 485.

The goodnes of the Scottish horsemen feared of the Englishmen. The lord Greie desired to encounter the Scottish horsemen.

Order giuen by the lord Greie.

The castell of S. Andreus pulled.

The prior of Capoa.

The duke of Summerset protector of England.

he entred Scotland with an armie

The order of the English armie.

the order of the English armie.

the order of the English armie.

died of them came scattered upon the spurre, with a marvellous shout within a stones length of the Scots most trope.

Nicholas Gainsford.

The Scots
hoylmen put
to flight.

Fr. Thin.

English cap-
tains taken.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan. lib. 15.

These thinking then to have wheeled about, master Nicholas Gainsford, the leader of that trope, and lieutenant of the lord Greys band of his men of armes of Bullongne, cried: A charge, which as speedily on the English part as unlooked for of the Scots being given, from charging at that time in sport, the Scots were dyuen to gallop afoote so fast as their horses might beare them, losing of their companies that were taken and slaine, to the number of eight hundred and more (as some haue written) [at that time the lord Hume (as saith Lesleus lib. 10. pa. 486) falling from his horse, was grievously wounded, and caried to Edinburgh, and his eldest sonne was taken prisoner] but yet, as diuerse of the Englishmen aduentured too farre in following the chase, they were distressed, and sundrie of them taken prisoners, among the which were some of their captains, as Sir Rafe Bulmer, Thomas Colver, & Robert Crouch, each of them hauing in charge the leading of several bands of light hoylmen. & Thus much for this Fridays skirmish, wherein the chiefe force of the Scottish hoylmen was defeated, to the great discouragement of the rest.

* The English armie remaining still at Preston, did from a hill behold the number of the Scots, who (supposing that they saw a greater number than in truth there was) assembled in the meane time to consult of the estate of their affaires. And thereupon sent letters to the Scots, desiring that if they might obtayne any thing by iustice, that they should rather end the warre with covenants than with canons. The effect of which letters tended to this end. That the English did greatlie intreat the Scots, first to remember that both armies were christian men, to end of whome (vnlesse they vtterlie forget their profession) there should nothing be more welcome nor desired than peace & tranquillitie, and nothing more detestable than warre and vnjust force. Besides this, that the cause of this present warre did not grow of couetousnesse, hatred or enuie, but from the desire of perpetuall peace, which could not be better or more firmelie established by any means, but by the league of matrimonie (being promised and confirmed by the publike consent and pledge of the nobilitie) with those conditions which were more beneficiall for the Scots than the English, being such as did not call them into seruitude, but into a felowship and libertie imparting of all their fortunes each to other. For so much more should that marriage be commodious to the Scots than to the English, by how much the hope of profit, and the feare of injuries should be greater from the stronger to the weaker.

Wherefore they should chieflie consider (and in this kind) this to be their greatest reason, that since that their queene was of necessitie to be giuen in marriage by the Scots, and that the same necessitie was not to be avoided; and the moderation therein beie hard: that the onelie power to chuse hir a husband was left vnto the publike countell or parliament. And if they would chuse (to their queene) a husband for the publike profit and dignitie: of whome could they better take chuse, than of a king their neighbor, borne in the same land, nere of blood, instructed in the same lawes, brought vp in the same manners and language; not their superior onelie in riches, but almost also in all commodities and ornaments of externall things, and such a person which did bring with him peace, concord, amitie, and the forgetting of all old injuries: But if they call to them any other (differing from them in language, manners, and lawes) to take the kingdom: let them

thinke with themselves, what and how manie commodities will grow thereby, and to what euill counsels they shall indanger themselves: the which they may learne by the example of other nations, being farre better to be taught it by the misfortunes of others, than to feele the smart thereof by their owne experience.

Wherefore (as touching themselves) if they shall not perseuere the Scottish nation to be estranged from this amitie and concord; they would mitigate somewhat of their former promises (which by law they might challenge) and be contented that the maiden queene should be brought vp amongst them, and be alwaies in their power, vntill the time that nature should enable hir fit for marriage, and vntill such time as she might chuse hir a husband by the aduise of the nobilitie. And that in the meane time (vntill the same might be performed) that both the nations should abstaine from warre: and that also the queene (during that time) should neither be conueied into any strange nation: nor that they should conclude any pact or covenant with the French, or any other foreign prince touching hir marriage. The which if the Scots would most holilie and handsomelie promise, the English would forthwith depart with a quiet armie. And further, that if the English had committed any hurt or spoile (since they came into the countrey) they would recompense the same by the indgement of good men.

These letters thus sent, the gouernour did impart vnto a few, and of those especiallie to John his brother bishop of saint Andrews (taken vnto him in place & authoritie of the slaine cardinall.) These two advanced with great hope of victorie, were the cause that these letters were suppressed, because they feared that if the equall conditions of peace were knowne abroad, the most part would willingly incline to the same quiet aduise. Wherefore they procured a false rumour to be spread through the host, that the English men were come thither with determination to take afoote the queene by force, and by strength of armes to bring the whole kingdom into their subjection. For the gouernour being faint spirited by nature, had chosen vnto him foure such other counsellors (like vnto himselfe) in the affaires of warre, by whose command & becke all things were performed. Of which number were his three kinsmen, John archbishop of saint Andrews, the abbat of Dunfermling, George Dornie, with Archibald Beton; and the fourth was Hugh Wigg, a lawyer, rather famous for his grosse bodie and foolish conditions, than any knowledge in iudiciall affaires. Wherefore had so passed by the gouernour (inconstant by his owne nature, and changing his counsell by the wind of euery rumour) that he would with stopped eares heare all other mens opinions. At the same time, his friends hauning spread a faigned tale (through the Scottish host) by which means the Scots ran in all hast to their weapons, whose vnadvised speed was in the end the cause of their vnfortunate proceedings, as after shall appeare.

For the long tye (as the Scots haue reported) that the gouernour, and the nobilitie of Scotland meant not to haue battell with their owne realm, but rather to let William defende their ground, if the Englishmen should come forward to giue them battell there. The Englishmen aduised thereof, the more rois at this great slackness, caused their field be erected; putting off to take an hill called Pinkhill, where they might place their ordinance, and to that into the Scottish campe, whereby they should force the Scots to viltage from their ground of advantage. The gouernour and the Scottish lords, beholding their enemies thus marching forward, thought best

The Scots
meant not to
haue giuen
battell.

The purpose
of the Eng-
lishmen.

to state their enterprise, and therefore suddenly, notwithstanding their former determination, rushing forth of their campe, passed forward to encounter their enemies.

They were divided into three battels; Archibald Dohglasse earle of Angus, with certeine lords with him, led the vant-gard; George Gordon earle of Huntley, and his friends the rere-ward; and the gouernor accompanied with the earle of Argyle and the rest of the noble men, were in the maine battell. The Englishmen hauing got the hill, and percetuing the Scots to come forwarde with great hast, staied for their comming: but the Scots were so rash and ha-
stie, passing first through the water in their armour, and so by towards the hill, that continuing their march with such speed, as they seemed rather to trot, than to keepe anie ordinarie marching pace, before they could come to ioine with the Englishmen, they were almost out of breath.

Hobobert, the earle of Angus, and the other in the vant-gard, boldlie abid the charge of all the English horsemen, and so rigorously reencountred them, that slaieng and beating downe no small number both of men and horses, they put the rest to flight; so that no small part of them retired backe in such disorder, that they ran thorough the rankes of the footmen in the fore-ward, wherewith such feare entered among the Englishmen, that (as hath bene reported) they had vnboughtlie fled, if the manfull courage of the earle of Marwick had not bene shewed at that present, according to the wonted valour of his often approued prowesse, whereby he caused them to staie, and relie themselves againe.

In the meane time, the battell and the rere-ward of the Scots advanced forward with great courage. But there was a gailie & two pinesses of the English fleet, which from the sea shot so terrible at the Scottish armie, that the same was not onelie fore galled and indamaged thereby, but also staied, that they could not come easilie forward. And herewith the English vant-gard incouraged with the comfortable words and behauior of the earle of Marwick, and other the capteins, made towards the Scottish vant-gard againe: the which not able of it selfe to resist, retired in good order to the great battell of Scotland. Whereupon, the multitude fearing, by reason they saw them in the fore-ward thus retire (albeit in good order) that all had bene lost, gaue backe, and toke them to flight; whome the Englishmen follo-
wed amaine, slaieng the Scottishmen downe on heaps in passing great numbers. Manie were also drow-
ned in the water of Undereske, through the which they toke their flight.

The earle of Huntley and the rere-gard stood still with their ensignes and banners, till the chace was past by them: but at length were driuen to make a waie as well as the rest, and the earle himselfe in the retire being taken on foot, well clad in gilt armour inameled, was led prisoner to the lord protector. Diuerse other men of name, barons, and knights, were taken prisoners. There were slaine no small number of personages of good account. Among other, the lord Fleming, the master of Erskin, the master of Graham, the master of Mestine, the master of Agilvie, the master of Levingston, the master of Kelle [the master of Argendale and Mestane] the lord of Lechintwar, the lord of Glencarnocke, & others. [There were taken prisoners diuerse noble men, the lord Zelfrie, the earle of Huntley chancelor of the realme, and others, as saith Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 487.]

The next day, the English armie removed to Leith, where the prisoners were put into a church, diuerse of them being fore wounded. But the earle of Huntley, entering bond for them that they should

well and trulie paie their ranfomes, agreed upon be-
tween them and their takers, or else to come and pre-
sent themselves prisoners in England by a certeine
day, they were suffered to depart. * The calamitie
of this bloody day, there were not a few which did
impute iustlie to happen to the Scots, because they
did arrogantlie reject such honorable and beneficiall
peace, and did hope (if they obtained the victorie) to
haue vsed more crueltie to their owne people than
vnto the English, either because they would (as I
my selfe coniecture) reuenge old quarels, or else haue
vsed extremitie against such as secretlie misliked
this conflict with the English.)

The gouernor escaping from the battell, came to Striueling, where the quene regent was, together with hir daughter the yong quene. Here, by the counsell and aduise of the earle of Angus [Argyle, Kotesen, and Castles] and diuerse other lords that were also withdrawne thither after the battell, they were conueied to the countrie of Penteth, where they remained in the abbete of Inch Mahome [deli-
uering the yong quene to hir mother, Erskine and
Leuingstone to be kept there] till the English armie
was departed out of the realme, and then they re-
moved againe, and came to Striueling. [After that
the gouernor had deliuered the earle out of prison at
Edenburgh] the English nanie Iuan the Ile of saint
Colmes Inch [in the meane time] and did sundrie o-
ther exploits by sea, as in the English historie it may
appere.

Moreover, the earle of Bothwell, whome the go-
uernor had before kept in prison, and was the night
after the battell set at libertie, repared to the duke of
Summerset, with diuerse other lords and gentlemen
of Louthian, whilst he laie at Leith, offering them-
selves to be at the king of Englands commande-
ment, and so were assured from receiuing hurt or da-
mage by the English power. The duke of Summer-
set hauing remained at Leith eight daies, burnt a
peece of it, and demanding the castell of Edinburgh,
but could not obtaine it, departed thence the eight-
teenth of December homewards the next waie, ouer
the mountains of Soutreie, comming the third day
before the castell of Hume, where they did so much by
countenancing to win that forresse, that within
three or foure daies after their comming thither, it
was surrendered.

This castell being twone, & a garrison left there,
in to keepe it, they removed to Rockesburgh, where
within the compasse of the ruinous walls of an old
castell, they built a fort; & after returning into Eng-
land, left a conuenient garrison to keepe it. They got
also about the same time a strong forresse, called
Fast castell, standing nere to the sea side, and placed
a garrison within it. And moreover, in this meane
time, their fleet by sea Iuan the castell of Broughtie
crag, and put in like manner a garrison within it to
keepe the same (as in the English historie it may fur-
ther appere) and in that sort also all the chiefest lords
and gentlemen of the pers and Wuidale came in,
and submitted themselves to the duke of Summer-
set, vpon assurance had and giuen.

Furthermore, whilst the duke of Summerset
with his armie did thus invade Scotland on the east
part, it was ordeined by the said duke, and other of
the counsell to the king of England, that Patthe
earle of Lennox, and Thomas lord Wharton, then
warden of the west marches of England, should
with a power invade Scotland on the west side, to
the end that there should not anie of the west borders
nor countries come to assist the gouernor against
the duke of Summersets armie, but be driuen to re-
maine at home to defend their owne countrie. Here-
vpon, there was an armit levied, to the number of
fue

The earle of
Huntley en-
tereth bond
for his coun-
triemen.

Fr. Thin.
Buchan lib. 15.

The quene
removed from
Striueling.
Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 487.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.

The Ile of
saint Colmes
Inch won by
Englishmen.

The earle of
Bothwell.

1547.

The English
armie retur-
neth home-
wards.

Hume castell
rendred to the
Englishmen.

Fast castell
twone by
them.
Broughtie
crag twone.

The ordering
of the Scottish
battels.

The English
horsemen
driven backe.

The ballant-
ness of the
earle of War-
wick.

The gailie
and two pin-
esses.

The earle of
Huntley ta-
ken prisoner.

Men of name
of Scots
slaine.
Fr. Thin.

Scots
not ta-
ken

Scots
not ta-
ken

five thousand footmen, and eight hundred light horsemen, with which powder the earle of Lennor and the lord Wharton entering Scotland the eight of September, incamped the first night upon the water of Esk, and marched the next day through the nether part of Annandale, till they came to the castell of Milke, a fortrese of good strength, the wals being foureteene foot thicke.

The capitaine of this castell was one John Steward, brother to the lord thereof, who upon the approach of the earle of Lennor, yielded the house to him, without any shew of resistance. Whereupon, Fergus Graham, brother to Richie Graham of Esk, was appointed with a garrison of souldiours to keepe that castell to the vse of the young king of England, and was afterwards confirmed capitaine there with fiftie light horsemen, by appointment of the duke of Summerset, & the counsell; so that during the wars, he remained there to the great annoiance of the Scots, enemies to England, and preservation of the countrie thereabouts to the king of Englands vse.

On the twentieth of September, the earle of Lennor, and the lord Wharton, incamped nere to the towne of Annand, and on the morrow after approaching nearer to the same, gaue summons vnto the capitaine thereof, called Lion, of the house of Glanus, who with an hundred Scots (whereof Marwell and Johnstone, and Cockpall (as saith Lesleus lib. 10. p. 489. being parcell) kept the church and steeple of Annand, being peeces of themselves verie strong and mightie reinforced with earth: they within therefore refused to yield, and valiantlie defended themselves. The greatest peeces of artillerie, which the Englishmen had there at that time, were certeine double and single falcons, wherewith they beat onelie the battlements, till they might with certeine engines approach hard to the wals, and undermine the same, so as the rose of the church was shaken downe, and a great number of them within the church slaine and crushed to death: Such as escaped fled into the steeple.

Two of the Englishmen that wrought about the mines, were slaine: but at length, the capitaine moved by perswasion of the earle of Lennor, to whom he claimed to be of kin, rendered the steeple to him, with himselfe, and 96 Scots souldiours, with condition to haue their liues onelie saued, and the capitaine to remaine prisoner, and to go into England. Immediately vpon their coming forth of the steeple, fire was giuen vnto the traines of powder in the mines, and so both the church & steeple were blown vp into the aire, & rased downe to the ground. This done, they burnt the towne (after they had sacked it) and left not one stone standing vpon another, so that the same towne had euer bene a verie handsome neighbour to England.

The Englishmen had conceived such spite towards this towne, that if they saw but a pece of timber remaining vnhurt, they would cut the same in peeces with their bills. The countrie here with was stricken in such feare, that the next day all the Bishops, Abbots, Clousters, Abboten, Priories, and the Bretherings, the Bels, the Rigs, the Spueries, and all the clanes and townes of the nether part of Annandale, came in, and receiued an oath of obedience, as subiects to the king of England, deliuering pledges for their assured loialtie. The residue that would not come in and submit themselves, had their houses burnt, their goods and cattell fetched away by the English light horsemen, that were sent abroad into the countrie for that purpose.

These things done, the earle of Lennor, and the lord Wharton, returned backe into England

with their prisoners, booties, and spoiles; receiuing great thanks and commendations by gentle letters on the first of twentieth of September, from the duke of Summerset, then lieng at Rockesburgh, about fortifying of that place. The gouernour perceiuing thus that without the assistance of France he should not be able to resist the Englishmen, hauing now got his foot hold within the realme of Scotland, requir'd the queene Dowager, and monsieur Doissell, ligger ambassador for the French king, to perswade with him by letters, to send an armie into Scotland, to the aid of his friends there.

The queene and monsieur Doissell, perceiuing a readie waie prepared to bring that to passe which they most desired (which was, to haue the queene of Scotland ordered in all things by the French kings aduise) they undertooke to procure an armie out of France, according to the gouernours desire, if he with the states of the realme would agree that the queene might be sent into France, and a contract made for his bestowing in marriage, as stood with the French kings pleasure. The gouernour condescending hereto, assembled the states, and by their aduises, passed certeine covenants to the effect aforesaid, & sent the same in writing by certeine messengers into France.

The French king gladiie accepting this message, prepared a nauie of ships and gallies to transport an armie into Scotland the next summer. In the meane time, the gouernour laied siege to Broughtie crag, and the duke of Summerset, as well for meane to cause the Scots to retire that siege, as also for the annoiance of Cildesdale, appertaining to the gouernour, and the earle of Angus, and other Scots that would not come in to the obedience of the king of England, appointed the earle of Lennor to make a new invasion into Scotland, and to vse for trial of their skelties the helpe of two thousand Scottish light horsemen, that were already assured & sworn to serue the king of England in all such exploits in which they should be imployed.

The earle of Lennor desirous to aduance the king of Englands affaires, and hauing receiued letters from William earle of Glencarne, with promise of his assistance, and likewise of his father, in law the earle of Angus, the lord of Dymmlanrig, and those lords and gentlemen of the countie of Aile, Cunningham, Renfren, and Lennor, entered Scotland about the twelfth of December, accompanied with Henrie Wharton, second son to the lord Wharton, with two hundred light horsemen, of the garrisons in Scotland, and coming first to Dunfreis, where the generall assemble was appointed of the two thousand assured Scottish light horsemen, when the musters should be taken, he found scarce three hundred, and those for the more part of the broken countie of Annandale, Cildesdale, Cildale, and Cildale.

The earle of Glencarne came thither indeed, but under a counterfeit shew of good meaning, where in truth he meant nothing but craft to discouer all the earle of Lennor his purposes, who perceiuing his double dealing, and finding no such forces readie to assist him as he looked for, and moreover, mistrusting the loialtie of the maister of Marwell, & the gentlemen of Cildesdale, meaning (as he took it) to intrap him, and deliuer him to the queene Dowager, and the french gouernour, stood in some perplexitie what way should be the best for him to follow, thinking it not to stand with his honor to returne, without attaining some enterprize.

The earle of Glencarne had theiued to him two letters written by the lord of Dymmlanrig, & said that if the earle of Lennor came, accompanied

The castell of Milke yielded

Fr. Thin.

The church of Annand undermined.

The steeple yielded.

The church and steeple of Annand blown vp with powder.

The Scots that came to assure themselves.

The gouernour sent into France for aid.

The queene Dowager promised aid out of France with condition.

The gouernour sent into France for aid.

The earle of Lennor entered into Scotland.

The earle of Glencarne his double dealing.

The earle of Lennor in doubt what to do.

The lord of Dymmlanrig.

The earle of Lennor did assemble his followers

1547. Bu

Hoslem sent forth scourge Dymmlanrig

They had the countie about Dymmlanrig.

Dymmlanrig English

He is a knight.

The lord of Dymmlanrig

onellie with Scottishmen, he would buyterne him and honor him in the best sort he might; but if he brought those Englishmen in his company, he would not onellie refuse to aid him, but also raise all the power he might make, either by his friends or supporters, to resist him, and put him a repulse. The earle thus perceiving that he was in danger to be betrayed among them, and that they were all the dooless practises that might be used to those that should come to the devotion of the king of England, dissembled the matter with Glencarne, and other that were skynned to betray him; pretending to them that he would follow the chyns of their desires.

The earle of Lennox dissembled with dissemblers.

1547. Buch.

But in the meantime he got together the English captains that were appointed to attend him, and also such Scottishmen as he knew he might trust. Arriving to scourge Drumlanrig, to cut him short; for that he was the chief instrument to state all the Scottishmen in those parties from entering friendship with the Englishmen: he gave secret warning to all the captains & leaders about nine of the clocke at night; that they should be ready with their men to move on horsebacke at the sound of the trumpet, and keepe with them the earle of Glencarne, the maister of Sparwell, the lords of Clodburne, Litchinichell, and others the gentlemen of Piddedale and Annandale.

Hossemen sent forth to scourge Drumlanrig.

They harrie the countrie about Drumlanrig.

He sent forth six hundred chosen horsemen upon sound of the trumpet, at twelue of the clocke at night, under the leading of Henrie Wharton, and other the captains of the garrisons, who in the bathing of the next morning, arrived nere the place of Drumlanrig, where they appointed four hundred of their horsemen to passe to the forate, who raised fire, and burnt two milles in length, both townes and villages on each side, euen unto the gates of Drumlanrig, spoiling the houses of goods and riches, worth to the value of two thousand marks; got three thousand sheepe, two thousand herd of great cattell, be-
sides nine score horses and mares.

The Annandalers laden with spoile and cattell, being in number four hundred men, departed with their prete homelwards. The lord of Drumlanrig, lying all this while in ambush with seven hundred men, forbore to breake out to give any charge upon his enemies, doubting least the earle of Lennox had kept a skale behind; but now after he perceived that the most part of the enemies were departed, and that the residue of the gentlemen & captains of the English horsemen were withdrawing towards Dunfreis, being not past six score men, he fiercely followed after them with his power, in hope not onellie to overthrow and disperse them, but also to take the earle of Lennox at Dunfreis.

Drumlanrig pursueth the Englishmen.

He is put to flight.

Passer Henrie Wharton and those six score horsemen, retiring beyond the water of Jyth, and perceiving that Drumlanrig and his men entered the water ready to pursue them, returned, and gave such a desperate charge upon them, that Drumlanrig and his company were scattered and put to flight: yet Drumlanrig himselfe, although there were some speares broken upon him, through the goodnesse of his horse escaped. Two gentlemen of his surname and traine, that were in no small estimation with him, were slaine, and six score prisoners taken, and led to Dunfreis. The terror of this overthrow, and the byte of the earle of Lennox his entrie thus made into Scotland, caused the governor to leave his siege from Broughtie crag, and with speed come from thence, the better to defend his countreies of Clidedale, and Dowlagladale. Sir Andrew Dudgele, captaine of Broughtie crag, bare himselfe verie ballantlie, in defending the castell during this siege,

The siege of Broughtie crag raised.

so that the Scots certes lost diverse hardie personages: and among other, Gaden Hamilton, the governor's kinsman, was slaine at the same siege.

Appoynted the prior of Dunferme by his letters and messengers, offered himselfe to be the king of England; and the inhabitants of the burrough and haueir townes of Ellington and Kirkcaldie, the knights of Loghinwar and Carleis, the lord and tutor of Bombie, the lord of Cardines, & all the gentlemen of Annandale, Piddedale, and Galloway, euen to Dunferme, being foure score miles in length from Carleis, though the inducement of the foresaid prior, and of the knights of Loghinwar and Carleis, (for the favour they bare to the earle of Lennox) with in two daies after the discomfiture of Drumlanrig, came unto Dunferme, and there received an oth to be true to the king of England; and afterwards went with the earle to Carleis, leaving the countrie in good quiet, and the king of England acknowledged for lord of Galloway, Piddedale, and Annandale, by the inhabitants thereof.

The prior of Dunferme.

The Scots deliver pledges.

And after that the foresaid persons had remained for a space at Carleis, they delivered pledges, but especiallie for John Sparwell, & returned home to their countrie, as assured men & subiects to the R. of England. In this meane while, the governor having held siege before the castell of Broughtie crag, by the space of thirtie daies, and now retiring from thence (as before ye haue heard) by the aduise of the principall lords about him, he caused maister James Haliburton, tutor of those parties, to raise certeine companies of horsemen, and appointed him with captaine Westmouth (whome he left in Dundee with certeine footmen) to defend the countrie against the Englishmen, if they issued forth of Broughtie crag, to achieve any enterpryse: and where nere thereabouts.

James Haliburton, Captaine Westmouth.

The duke of Summerset by aduise of the residue of the counsell in England, minding to bynde the Scots that refused to come in & submit themselves to the king of England, took order with the lord of Wilton, who (as faith Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 491.) remained in Scotland from the fourth Ides of Aprill, untill the tenth kalends of June for the building of one fort at Wader, and an other at Waddington; as in the English historie it may appeare. And farther it was appointed also, that about the end of February, the earle of Lennox and the lord Wharton, with seven hundred English horsemen, beside the assured Scots horsemen, and about four or five thousand English footmen, should by the west borders invade Scotland: they according to their commission set forward, and the first night came to Luchinabien, and there lodged.

1547. Lesleus.

Fr. Thin. Forts built.

1548.

The next day they marched to Dunfreis, and whilst they remained there, the earle of Angus bearing come to Drumlanrig, by messengers entred some talke with his sonne in law the earle of Lennox. But sith it was perceived that this was done, rather to intrap the earle of Lennox, or rather at the least wise to buye time, upon consultation had with the maister of Sparwell, the lord of Clodborne, and others the gentlemen assured of Piddedale and Annandale, it was concluded, that the townes of Sperton, Duldere, and others, nere adjoining together in those parts, should be burnt; to the end that the earle of Angus might so be drawn to the field, and caught by some one meane or other.

The earle of Lennox and the L. Wharton invade Scotland.

The dissimulation of the earle of Angus.

About midnigh therefore, the forate being set forth, under the leading of maister Henrie Wharton, to the number of twelue hundred light horsemen, the maister of Sparwell, now lord Herries, and the residue of the assured men being amongst them kept forward, and in the morning the earle of Lennox,

Maister Henrie Wharton.

Lennox, and the lord Wharton marched forth with the footmen, till they came ten miles beyond Dunfreis. And there the earle of Angus was drawn to the castell of Drumlanrig, vnder pretense to commune with his sonne the earle of Lennox (but meaning to intrap him) if it were possible, he was so intrapped by the English footmen per he could haue sufficient warning, that he was forced to flee onelis with five persons in his companie. But now the English horsemen being come to Dundere, eight & fortie miles within the realme of Scotland, hauing passed sundrie great riuers, they set that towne on fire.

The earle of Angus put to flight.

Dundere set on fire.

But the maister of Marwell, with the other Scottish gentlemen and light horsemen borderers, to the number of foure hundred, being in companie of the English horsemen (as before ye haue heard) had contriued the destruction of the Englishmen afore hand. And the better to worke their feat, they had procured (as ye haue heard) the earle of Angus to come vnto Drumlanrig with a chosen power of men for that purpose. There were also vpon euerie hill about, great numbers of Scottish footmen, with speares and lancehaues to assist the earle of Angus and his complices against the Englishmen. The lord of Drumlanrig with a number of chosen horsemen was advanced forward in sight of the Englishmen, as they were busie in firing the towne of Dundere.

The revolting of the assured Scots.

The assured Scots therefore, thinking the enterprise to be surer inough conueid for their contriued purpose, openlie vpon the field nere to Dundere, hoisting vp a blacke pennil vpon a speares point for a token, revolted whole, and isoned themselves to the lord of Drumlanrig and other their countrie men, & thrust in betwixt the English horsemen & footmen, to the great perill of distressing aswell the one as the other. For making toward the place where the earle of Lennox, and the lord Wharton were coming forward with their footmen, nere to the old castell of Dauswinton, sometime the house of the Cumings, they bruted it abroad, that the English horsemen were quite ouerthrowen.

A false rumor spread.

The earle of Lennox, beholding the manner of his aduersaries, lighted on foot from his horse, willing the lord Wharton to do the like; for this day (said he) I will die a true Englishman. At length the English horsemen fetching a compasse in retreating backe from Dundere, came nere to the place where the earle and the lord Wharton were ranged in order of battell: and thinking no lesse but that their horsemen had bene ouerthrowen, were readie to march backe towards Dunfreis. But their horsemen thus comming in, and perceluing how the matter stood, gaue a right valiant charge vpon the Scots, that stood countenancing the footmen, and readie to take the aduantage, if they might haue diuened them through thinking backe into anie disorder.

The Scots put to flight.

But such was the violence of the shoocke giuen at that instant, with great manhood (vndoubtedlie) by the English horsemen, that the Scots were there with put out of arrais, scattered, & quite put to flight; the lord of Drumlanrig being taken prisoner, corrupted his taker, and so got away. The maister of Marwell escaped in great danger of life, for he had sundrie speares broken on him in the chase as he fled awate. There were yet taken that day of the Scots to the number of foure hundred, beside sundrie that were drowned in the water of Forth. Amongest the prisoners were these men of name; the abbat of new abbete, Christie Fretwining of Bonshaw, a brother of the lord of Hemyfield, & manie other gentlemen of name. Dunfreis was rifled and spoiled, as the earle of Lennox and the Englishmen returned the

Dunfreis spoiled.

sher, and a martiall court appointed there for execution of pledges; but yet suspended and staied, till the counsels pleasure might be knowen in that behalfe.

There were at the first euill newes spread abroad, and certified to the court of England of this towne, how the earle of Lennox and the English armie was ouerthrowen, so that it was by order appointed, that the earle of Derby, the Lord Scrope, and Coniers, with their powers should repaire to the west borders to garnish the same for defense against the enemies: but vpon the true report how the matter had passed, made by maister Henrie Wharton, and one Bishop a Scottishman, sent in post for that purpose, that appointment was staied; and maister Wharton was at that time made knight, and the said Bishop richlie rewarded for bringing so good newes. There were letters directed downe from the counsell to the lord Wharton, for the execution of certein pledges, that is to saie, the maister of Marwells pledge, being one of his nearest kinsmen of the house of the Berries, also the warden of the Greie friers in Dunfreis, the vicar of Carlawerocke, and diuerse other which were executed at Carlill. In this meane time were the forts at Latholme and Hadington built, the castles of Wether and Dalwick towne, all the mills burnt, with in foure miles of each hand of Edinburgh, and other exploits achieved by the Englishmen, as in the historie of England is more at large expessed.

But now the French king, hauing prepared an armie readie to come into Scotland, caused the same to draw downe to Brest in Britaine, where the ships and gallies were rigged and made readie to passe therewith into Scotland. The chiefe leaders of which armie were these, which had charge chiefe to command in the same: monsieur de Wesse lieutenant generall, monsieur Wandelot coronell of the French footmen, the counte Keingraue coronell of the Almains, monsieur de Halleraie, monsieur Dossell, Pietro Strozze coronell of the Italians, monsieur Etanges capteine of the horsemen, sir Nicholas de Villegaignon a knight of the Rhodes (or rather Malta) capteine of the gallies, and monsieur Duno commissarie of the artillerie: with diuerse other worthe personages, and men of approved valiance. These capteins with their powers being imbarked at Brest, sailed alongst by the east seas, and at length about the middell of June came into the rode before Lesh, where they landed their people and ordinance. [A little before whose arrivall into France (as fasti Lesleus, libro 10. pag. 491.) Chapelle Brionne landed in Scotland, accompanied with other nobilitie of France, to giue good counsell to the Scots answerable to the time, which was (to please their eares therewith) that there should a greater armie hostile come out of France, to succor their extremities.]

Afterwards, with the aduise of the gouernor, and other of the Scottish lords, the French power went to besiege Hadington, and comming thither, incamped themselves in places of aduantage about the towne, cast trenches, planted their ordinance, battered the rampires, and kept them within streittlie besieged on each hand, vsing all the waies they could deuise to constrain the Englishmen to yield. They forbore yet to giue a generall assault, because they would not hazard (as they haue reported) the losse of so manie men, as might haue bene slaine and maimed thereby, to the great weakening of their power there, hauing not meanes to supplie it when they would.

And yet they had a great armie of Scots with them for a season, and had made the breaches so reasonable,

Pledges executed.

1548. Buch.
1547. Lellie.
A name prepared at Brest in Britaine.

The chiefe capteins of the French armie that came into Scotland.

Fr. Thin.

Hadington besieged.

why the Frenchmen forbore to giue an assault.

The English horsemen overthrown.

The earle of Shrewsbury remoueth siege from Hadington.

Sir Nicholas de Villegaignon.

The French gallies come about the realme of Scotland, and giue battle.

1547. L.

Monsieur Dossell.

Fr. Thin.

The young queene of Scots comes into France.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus. lib. 10. pag. 494.

conable, that with small paine they might have entered by the same, if the force of the defendants had not sufficed with handblowes to haue beaten them backe, as no doubt there was no want of good wils in them so to haue done, if the Frenchmen had put the matter in triall: yet during this siege, they with in had in great necessitie of things behouefull for the defense of the towne. Whereupon Sir Henrie Wharton with a band of light horsemen of the west borders, and others, came and put into the towne a certeine number of men with powder, and other necessaries, greatlie for the reliefe of the besieged, & no lesse displeasure of the Frenchmen and Scots, that were not aware of this enterpryse till it was done in the night season, by the good and fortunate conducti- on of them that had the conuenance thereof.

But after this, there came a power of English horsemen to the number of little lesse than two thousand gentlemen, light horsemen, & harquebussiers on horsebacke, under the leading of Sir Robert Bolwes, Sir Thomas Palmer, Sir Henrie Wharton, capitaine Gambo a Spaniard, and others; the which aduenturing ouer rashlie with in danger of the whole French power, were overthrowne and chased: Sir Robert Bolwes, & Sir Thomas Palmer, with a great number of other capitaine, gentlemen and soldiers being taken prisoners, besides those that were slaine. Yet after this overthrow of those horsemen, the French removed their siege from the places where they had first planted it, and lodged further off from the towne, continuing there; till at length by an armie sent forth of England vnder the conduct of the erle of Shrewsburie, the lord Greie, and others, they were constrained to retire from thence, as in the English historie ye may find more largelie expresse, to the which for the further report of the euents chancing during that siege, I referre the reader.

But this is to be remembred, that whilst the siege remained at Haddington, by a convention or assemblie of the lords it was decreed, that the quene should be sent into France. And thereupon monsieur de Millegaignon, with foure galleies departing from Leith, made semblance as though he would haue sailed into France: but hauing passed the mouth of the Forth, he turned his course on the left hand to passe alongst the shore northward by the Germane seas, that compassing the land on the east side, he might passe about by the Isles of Orkney, and so by the west Isles, till he came to Dunzetton where the yong quene laie. This iourne he fortunatelie achieved, the same neuer before (to mans remembrance) being made or attempted with galleies.

At his arrivall a conuenient landing at Dunzetton, he found all things readie provided, necessarie for the imbarcking of the quene, that he might conuey her into France, for the accomplishment wherof he had taken that iourne in hand. Whereupon she being brought aboard into the kings owne gallee, wherein monsieur de Brezze was also appointed to be a board with her, as he that had bene sent with expresse commandement to see her conueied into France, [with the lords (as saith Lesleus lib. 10. 494) of Arlesking, and Levingston, the ladie Fleming, with certeine noble maidens named after the yong quene, as Marie Levingston, Marie Fleming, Marie Seton, and Marie Beton] who together with Millegaignon shewed such diligence in achieving that enterpryse, that finally they arrived with prosperous wind and weather in the haven of West in Britaine with that yong quene, being as then betwixt five and six yeeres of age.

From thence being accompanied with the nobilitie of that prouince, she kept her right course to the kings palace of S. Germins in the towne of Lal-

on, where she was receiued with great preparation, & there taried the coming thither of the king, at that time pacifying the seditions and turmoiles in the inward parts of France. When the king was come, he gladded all men with his presence, and provided that there was a large household, as well of the noblemen and women of Scotland, as of others appointed to the yong quene, which he still increased (as the quene grew more in yeeres) untill such time as she might be married.)

But now to returne to the doings in Scotland concerning the warres there: After that the siege of Haddington was raised by the English armie (as before ye haue heard) the Frenchmen thereupon retired themselves unto Spuskelburgh; and choosing forth a plot of ground for their aduantage, kept themselves within the same. And herewith there came to them fiftene thousand Scottishmen to assist them, so that when the Englishmen came forwards to assaile them, they found them so strongly embattelled, that (whether their commission did not so farre extend, or whether they had no liking of the match) they forbore to set upon them in that ground of so great disadvantage for the assailants, and so returned backe to Haddington; and after homewards, having furnished the towne with new supplies of men, munition, and vittels sufficient.

Here is to be noted, that the English fleet entering into the Forth, was readie to haue aided the armie by land, as occasions might haue bene offered. But the lord admerall perceiving no likelihood of battell by land, toke vpon him to attaine some other enterprises, and first coming to Bzent Island, set certeine ships on fire there, of the chieftest in the river; and saluting the towne of Leith as he passed by with canon shot, he determined to land some of his men on the north side of the Forth, to make some spoile within the countrie of Fife. But John Erskine lord of Dun, as then somewhat diseased, and returned home from the campe, caused such daile and nightlie watch and ward to be kept, that this enterpryse could not be so secretlie conueied by the Englishmen, but that the same was perceiued, and so prevented, that vpon their landing they were forced to retire with losse: and haplie was he that might first get againe to shipboard.

* For James Stewart, brother to the quene (hearing of this tumult) came thither in hast with the common people of saint Andrews, and some other seto citizens which were remaining in the towne, to whome the neighbors about did also ioine themselves, understanding the cause of that assemblie. The English being now come on land, about twelue hundred, stood in warlike sort readie for the battell, and with the feare of the artillerie (which they discharged out of their ships) did easilie cause the rude multitude to flee awaie. But this James Stewart (by litle and litle suppressing the feare of such as fled) did (with such violence) rush vpon his enemies, that forthwith he overthrowe them, put them to flight, compelled them to returne to the sea with great slaughter, when also manie of them (as they fled to their ships) were drowned, besides three hundred that were slaine, and one hundred taken.)

The erle of Shrewsburie being come backe from Haddington vnto Dunglas, order was giuen for the building of a fort there, as in the English historie further may appeare. And in the meane time monsieur de Wesse, remaining in campe at Spuskelburgh, hearing that the English armie was returned homewards, & how diuerse new bands of horsemen and footmen being left in Haddington, were readie to come forth to skirmish abroad vpon sight of the enimie; he toke aduise, to trie if he might

The Frenchmen in campe at Spuskelburgh.

See more heretofore in England.

The lord admerall of England.

The lord of Dun.

The English men repelled at saint Andrews.

Fr. Thn. Buchan lib. 1.

The English horsemen overthrowne.

The erle of Shrewsburie remaineth the siege from Haddington.

Sir Nicholas de Millegaignon.

The French galleies come: passe about the realme of Scotland by Dungeton. 1547. Lesle.

Monsieur de Brezze.

Fr. Thn.

The yong quene of Scots conueied into France.

Fr. Thn. Lib. 10. Page 41.

gato them forth to their losse, and thereupon was monsieur Dandelot, and the Keingraue appointed to chole forth a thousand of their lustiest footmen, the which with thre hundred horsemen were conueied and laid close in ambush, behind a little hill not farre from the towne.

This done, a few horsemen were gato forth to drat the Englishmen out of the towne to skirmish with them. The Englishmen were no sooner aduised that the enemies were there at hand in the field, but that all their horsemen issued out of the towne backe with certeine footmen, and straight had the French in chase; who retiring, maintained the skirmish, of purpose to make the Englishmen more earnest to come forward. But immediatlie as monsieur de Wesse saw his time, he gaue signe by sound of trumpet to the footmen to breake forth, who together with the horsemen gaue so fierce an onset vpon the enemies, that they were incontinente discomfited; and fleeing toward the towne, were followed by the French euē hard to the walles; diuers were slaine, and above an hundred taken prisoners.

After this, monsieur de Wesse raised from Duthkelburgh, and coming to Leith set in hand to fortifie that towne. The marshall Strozzi, and monsieur Dandelot, with diuerse other capteins imbarcking themselves in the gallie that yet remained, toke their course to returne to France. One of the same gallies (they being eight in number, beside a foist and a brigandine) was taken by an English ship called the falcon, as she passed through the narrow seas at a place named the Southfurlong, she being alone, and (as it chanced) hindermost of all the companie.

After the departure of monsieur Dandelot, monsieur de la Chapelle de Stron remained colonell of the French footmen in Scotland. As for the furnitures on the water, there remained now but foure gallies vnder the guiding of one capteine Bach an Italian, a man of great experience and approved skill. For ye must vnderstand, that before the arrivall of the English nanie & armie to the succors of them in Haddington, monsieur de Wallerie viceadmirall of France returned home with the fleet of ships that had brought the French armie into Scotland. In what sort the lord Greie of Milton afflicted the countreies of Linlithgow and Linlithgow, after the returne of the earle of Shrewsburie, is partly touched in the historie of England.

About the same time, there chanced a mutinie to rise betwixt the Scots and the Frenchmen in Edinburgh, by reason that a French souldier fell a quarrelling with two of the Scottishmen; and falling together by the eares, diuerse Scots that came to depart the strait, would haue had the Frenchman to prison; but other Frenchmen being there also present, would not suffer the Scots to take him awate. Whereupon arose a great tumult and stirre among them, insomuch that there were diuerse slaine on both parts, namely James Hamilton lord of Stanhouse, knight, capteine of the castell, and pꝛouost of the towne of Edinburgh, with his sonne; and master William Stewart one of the quēns seruants, besides sundrie other. For the Frenchmen doubting some contriued commotion against them, assembled together in order of battell in the streets; so that before the matter might be appeased by the capteins that shewed their diligent endeours therein, they had inough to bring it to passe as they wished.

The beginner of this businesse was hanged the same day in the market place of Edinburgh, where he began first to pike the quarell. Monsieur de Wesse, to shew that this variance had not proceeded so farre as the brute thereof gaue forth (for it was rather in-

creased ye may be sure than diminished) undertooke an enterprise in hand to win the towne of Haddington by a canifado, but in what sort they missed their purpose, and how they were well beaten backe, and sent away by the valiant manhood of the English capteins & souldiers then within the towne, ye may read further thereof in the English historie. There were seven score (some say thre hundred) slaine in the bafe court.

10 But now, forsomuch as I haue said nothing of Broughtie crag, thence the lord gouernour raised his siege from thence, ye shall vnderstand, that (as some haue written) shortly after the earle of Argile came thither with an armie of his Irish Scots, and besieged it. But when he saw he could not pꝛesalle, he toke truce with them within for a time, and before the same was expired, there came new succors to the Englishmen: so that the earle of Argile (by reason his people had remained there the full terme of their bounden & ordinarie seruice) was constrained to leaue his siege, and suffer the Englishmen to become masters of a little hill, where afterwards they builded a fort. And now in the latter end of this yere, they purposed also to haue fortified Dundee, and to haue kept the same with a garrison of souldiers; but hearing that monsieur de Wesse with his Frenchmen was coming thitherwards, they auoided the towne of their owne accord, hauing first spoiled the houses, and after set them on fire.

20 The Keingraue with two bands of his Almains, and monsieur de Etanges with his companie of horsemen were sent before, who coming to Dundee, and finding the Englishmen gone, incamped there, staid till monsieur de Wesse was come, that followed at hand with the French footmen. Within two daies after, they going forth to view the fort, were in danger to haue bene caught per they could get backe againe. For the Englishmen and Lance-knights that were there with them (part of Conrad Whennings bands) issued forth, and droue them to retire, not without danger to haue bene distressed, if the Keingraue had not vsed the greater policie in retiring the troupe. To be short, monsieur de Wesse, to stop the Englishmen from entering anie further into the countrie on that side, left seven ensignes of Frenchmen, & two ensignes of Scots within Dundee, with artillerie and pioners to fortifie the towne, & to keepe it in safetie from the Englishmen. This done, he returned to Edinburgh, and sent the residue of his people abroad into the countrie, to lodge in townes and villages here & there, as was thought most expedient, for the better refreshing of them after their long trauell.

30 While these things were in doing, the gouernour of Scotland sent the lord Carneigie knight (and sc. nato) ambassador to the protector of England, which should for ranfome (as the custome is) demand deliuerie of the earle of Huntlee being prisoner: which if he could not obtaine, that then he should request this libertie, that his wife and children might come vnto him into England. Wherevnto the protector answered, that he would not let the earle free, untill the warres were ended: but for the companie of his wife, he was content to grant it for certeine daies; with this pꝛouiso, that he should not withdraue himselfe by anie means from the custodie of Rafe Wane (corruptlie by Lesleus called Wane) who had taken him in the warres. Wherefore, when the ambassador was returned into Scotland, Huntlee was committed to certeine keepers, who should carie him from London to Dordrecht, distant twentie and foure miles from the borders of Scotland. Now whilest the earle both there looke for his wiues coming to him, he thinketh vpon escape, and to come to him, for he

The Frenchmen give a canifado to Haddington, & are beaten backe.

Broughtie crag besieged by the earle of Argile. Vlpian Fol.

The earle's his siege.

The fort builded by the Englishmen at Broughtie crag.

Dundee abandoned of the Englishmen.

The Keingraue.

Dundee fortified by the Frenchmen.

Fr. Thin. I 548. Tellus lib. 10. pag. 48.

Rome call recovered the Scots

R. Thin. Buchan. li. 1549. L.

The English men put to the worke at a skirmish nere to Haddington.

Leith fortified.

A gallie taken

Capteine Bach.

Monsieur de Wallerie viceadmirall of France.

A fray betwixt the French souldiers, and the townesmen of Edinburgh.

he had agreed with George Mar, that he should write night p'sentlie bying to him thither, two of the stiffest horses that he could get to sle awaite upon them. According whereunto Mar was readie out of the borders of Scotland with such horses as he knew would serue the turne, wherof one was for the earle, and the other was for his man.

The earle prepareth a supper for his keepers, whereunto they were solemnelie invited, and to plaie at cards with him to passe awaite the tediousness of the night. At length (as though he had played through at cards) he left off, but earnestlie desired his keepers that they should continue on their game. During which, the earle (going unto the window, and looking out) did by a secret signe (for he could not well discern anie thing, it was so extreame darke other all the element) easilie vnderstand that all things were readie for his iourne. The earle then doubtfull (being sometime in god hope, and sometime in feare) thought vpon manie things, which he muttered to himselfe: and at length vnderstande (as doubtfull men are wont to do) burst out in these speeches, Wh sorrow, all these things be a hinderance vnto me, the sharpnesse of the winter night, the doubt of my weake force and helpe, the let of an vnknotone way, and the want of a faithfull guide: God prosper the iourne. His keepers hearing him speake to himselfe, asked him what those secret speeches might signifie: to whom the earle (knowing that he was guiltie of his fault) answered, that those words were vsed as a proverbe amongst the Scots: and first had their beginning by the old earle Morton, uttering the same in the middle of the night when he lay in dieng. Whereupon (to the end that his keepers should not haue anie suspicion of his determined flight) he sitteth downe againe to cards.

After which suddenlie he rose from them, as moved by losenesse of his bellie to vnburden nature, by which occasion he forthwith (accompanied onelie with his seruant) leaped forth, found the horses readie furnished for himselfe and his man, got on them, & with speedie iourne did sle to the borders of Scotland. When he was passed over the riuer of Tweed, and had a little refreshed himselfe from the labor of his iourne in the house of Mar, he went the same night (being Christmas eue) to Edinburgh, where he was iustitie & honorable receiued of the queene, the gouernor, his wife, and his other friends, with an vniuersall gladnesse of the whole multitude of the towne. As soone as his keepers perceiued that he was gone, they speedie ran to horse, and (doubtfull which way to follow) they seeke him here, and there, and euerie where, but all in vaine, for the diligence of the earle put them out of all doubt for obtaining him. Whose flight was not onelie a freedom to himselfe, but also to manie other noble prisoners, who (vpon the assurance of his faith and word) were permitted to depart into Scotland. The gouernor therefore, to congratulate with the earle for his returne, ressoied vnto him the chancelorship, and the rule of manie other prouinces which he had before his captiuitie. For which cause when he had remained a while at Edinburgh, he returned to the north parts of Scotland, where speedie and easilie he appeased all the tumults of those people.)

On saint Stephens day at night, the castell of Hume was scaled, and wone out of the Englishmens hands. One of the surname of the Humes, a man of threescore yeers of age, was the first that entered on the wall, being one of the watchmen that kept his walke on that side. * Not long after, when the capteine of Falkcassell had commanded the husbandmen adjoining, to bying thither (at a certaine day) great store of vittels, the young men there a

bouts hauing that occasion, assembled thither at the day appointed, who taking their burdens from the horses, and laing them on their shoulders, were receiued (after they had passed the bridge, which was made ouer two high rocks) into the castle, where (laing downe that which they brought) they shewd lie (by a signe giuen) set vpon the keepers of the gates, due them, and (before the other Englishmen could be assembled) possessed the other places, weapons, and artillerie of the castell, and then receiuing the rest of their companie into the same (through the great and open gate) they wholie kept and intoted the castell for their countremen.)

About the same time, the Reinsgrauet returned into France, leaving his five ensignes of Almainis behind him, vnder the charge of capteine Metonze, a good man of warre and of great experience. Also monsieur de Etanges was taken in a skirmish at Broughtie crag, as I haue noted in the English historie: & about the same time, there landed at Dunbarton foure bands of souldiers, Bretonnais and Gascoignes, bringing monie with them to paie the souldiers their wages, behind as then for the space of three moneths. Sir James Willford also was taken about the same time by the Frenchmen, in a skirmish at Dunbar (as I haue also noted in the historie of England.) Not long after, monsieur de Welle was appointed by the queene Dowager, to go vnto Jedworth, to prevent that the Englishmen should not fortifie there, whereof she stood in some doubt.

Immediatlie vpon his comming thither, the lord of Fernthurst requested him to helpe to recouer his castell of Fernthurst out of the Englishmens hands, which they had taken from him and kept, greatlie to the annoiance of all the countrie thereabouts. Monsieur de Welle taking with him monsieur de Wiffell, and monsieur de la Chapelle de Biton, hastied thither with the chiefe part of his armie, sending before certaine capteins with their bands to surueie the house, who at their comming thither, vied such diligence in following the offered occasion, that they both repelled their enemies that came forth to gise them the skirmish, and pursuing them with great rigor, wan the lims of the house vpon them, forcing the capteine and souldiers to retire within the dungeon, and kept them so short therein, that they had opportunitie to mine an hole through the wall, of such largenes, as a man might easilie enter by the same.

Whereunto a great number of Scots hauing broken open the gate of the base court, where the Frenchmen were busie to assault the dungeon, butt in on heapes, vpon desire to be reuenged vpon the Englishmen, and namelie of their capteine, who (as they said) had done them manie great displeasures. The capteine perceiuing this, and doubting if he fell into the Scottishmens hands he should die for it, he presented himselfe at the hole which the Frenchmen had made, and peeked himselfe to monsieur de Wiffell, and la Poudre Rouge, who minding to vse him as became men of warre, would haue led him out of the p'se: but suddenlie a Scot comming behind him, whose wife (as was reported) he had rauished, smote off his head so iust from the shoulders, that it leapt foure or five yards quite from the bodie. Manie other cruell parts the Scots seemed to shew against other Englishmen, taken here at Fernthurst: but they excused the matter by the euill dealings of the Englishmen towards them before that time.

Monsieur de Welle returning to Jedworth, aided by the furtherance and counsell of the Scots, ceased not in occasions of advantage to attempt new enterprises against the Englishmen, as time and opportunitie serued: and among other exploits, the castell of Coznewall (an old house built after the ancient

1546.
The Reinsgrauet returned into France.
Monsieur de Etanges taken prisoner by the Englishmen.

Sir James Willford taken

The castell of Fernthurst wone by the Frenchmen

The crueltie of the Scots.

The castell of Coznewall wone.

A. h. j.

Hume castell recovered by the Scots.

R. Thin.
Buchan, li. 15.
1549. Lesle.

Captaine Coblos.

maner of fortiffing) was taken by the Frenchmen; and spoiled of all things worth the bearing a waie. Also captaine Coblos a Frenchman, hauing a band of fiftie light horsemen Scots seruing vnder him, on a night had a faire hand against a number of English horsemen, whome he charged so on the sudden, as he saw them out of order, that he easilie discomfited them, and tooke more prisoners (whome he brought to Jedworth) than he had persons in his companie to assaile them.

A road made by monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron.

Monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron, was sent forth by monsieur de Desse, with the companie of horsemen that belonged to monsieur de Etanges then prisoner, and five hundred footmen beside Scots; to make a road into England: which enterprise he attended in burning towines and villages, and returned without any great losse sustained at that time. Within two daies after his returne to Jedworth, monsieur de Desse dislodged from thence, & taking with him foure field peeces, and all his men of war, entered into England, toke the castell of Fould and burnt it, with ten small villages in the countie thereabouts, situate within halfe a mile ech of other. There was one tower yet parcell of that castell of Fould, which was kept by Thomas Kar, so that the Frenchmen could not win it, for they had no time to staie long about it; remouing that night ouer the water, & incamped there within the Scottish ground.

Another made by monsieur de Desse. Fould castell towne.

Thomas Kar

As the Scots and Frenchmen executed these enterprises, they were coasted by certaine light horsemen; but neuertheless the Frenchmen returned in safetie to Jedworth, hauing soze indamaged the English borderers by that road: insomuch as it was thought, the Scots (which were with them at that road) gained at that time, by pillage and booties to the value of nine thousand crownes. The Englishmen soze græued, that the Frenchmen lieng thus in Jedworth, should in such wise addresse one enterprise after an other against them, so greatlie to their annoyance, assembled a powter together at Roxburgh, purposing to haue assailed the Frenchmen in their campe at Jedworth.

Scots gaine by spoile.

Monsieur de Desse fleeth out of Jedworth for feare of the Englishmen.

But monsieur de Desse hauing warning thereof, departed from thence first to Melrose, and after further off within the countie, fearing to be constrained to giue battell. Which he could not haue done without manifest losse of his feeble armie, hauing not past fiftene hundred footmen, and five hundred horsemen able to haue done seruice: for such was the miserie, which they had in manner continuallie sustained through want of vittels, and other necessarie helps during the time of their incamping at Jedworth, that what through sicknesse and hurts received in assaults and skirmishes, no small number of them were dead, and manie other so feeble, that they were not able to aid themselves; insomuch that now being got out of danger, they thought themselves happilie escaped.

The miserable state of the Frenchmen in Scotland.

Shortlie after, in the beginning of the summer, the Englishmen armed five and twentie saile of men of warre, the which arriving at the Wasse, nere to the mouth of the Forth, assailed by faire and pleasant words to haue persuaded the keepers of the castell, there standing on the height of a great rocke, to haue yielded the place into their hands. But perceiving their persuasions would not be regarded, they toke their course vp into the Forth, and finding in their waie foure ships of Frenchmen and Scots, seized vpon them as a wished preie: and the morrow next ensuing, at the verie break of day, they came before Leith, and saluting the towne with canon shot, remained there at anchor ten or twelue daies, in which incane while they landed their people at Inskith, and began to fortifie with all diligence. But before the

Inskith fortified by the Englishmen.

place could be put in any strength, the ships departed from thence backe towards the sea, and left in the Iland foure ensignes of Englishmen, and one ensigne of Italians, to defend the piers, and the Iland against the Scots and Frenchmen, if they should attempt to assaile them.

After the English nanie was thus departed, monsieur de Desse, and the quene mother being at Edinburgh, determined with all diligence to impleie all such forces as they might make about the recovering of the Ile, before the fortifications begun by the Englishmen should be brought to any perfection. Wherevpon, monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron, im-
barked in the gallie of monsieur de Villegaignon, resolved forth to view the maner of the Englishmens dealing within the Ile, which he did in such effectual wise, that approaching within harquebuse shot, he brought knowledge with him not onelie of the state and whole circumstances of their buildings, but also of the perfect number of their ensignes, and the qualitie of the men of warre that serued vnder the same.

La Chapelle de Biron.

At that present also, monsieur de Thermes latelie before arrived at Dunbreton with an hundred men of armes, and two hundred light horsemen after the manner of France, and one thousand footmen, was come to the quene, busie now to further this enterprise. She had got together within Leith haue all the botes that belonged to all the creekes & hauens of the Forth: so that on thursdaie after Trinitie Sunday, euerie thing being prepared readie for the purpose, in the morning by the break of day the quene was come to Leith, to see the imbarcking of the men of warre appointed that day to trie what successe fortune would send them. There was no diligence wanting, neither among the Scots nor Frenchmen, to bestow themselves abroad, & the comfortable words of the quene greatlie encouraged them thereto, beholding them, and deuising with monsieur de Desse and the other captains, till they were all set forward.

The diligence of the Scottish quene.

The forwardnesse of the soldiers.

Villegaignon with his gallies passed on before to keepe the Englishmen occupied, so as they should not perceiue the Frenchmens meaning: but they discovering the vessels at their setting forth, concealed streightwaies that was intended: and therevpon prepared to keepe the enimies off from landing, so that vpon the Frenchmens approach, they saluted them with arrowes and harquebuse shot verie hotlie: yet at length by fine force the Scots and Frenchmen got on land, and drove the Englishmen and Italians backe from the sea strond vp to the higher ground, where they stood at defense on a plump together, doing their best to defend the place against the assailants.

Inskith assailed by the Frenchmen.

But finallie, their generall named Cotton, being slain with George Applebie esquire, a captaine of an ensigne of footmen sent forth of Derbyshire, and one Gaspar Bizoni, that was captaine of the Italians, beside diuers other gentlemen, and the most principall men of warre and souldiers among them: the residue were constrained to retire vnto a corner or point of the Iland, where they were taken without further resistance, although before they had made verie stout defense, hurt and slain diuerse Scots and Frenchmen, both at their landing, and also after they were entered on land. Among other, monsieur de la Chapelle de Biron was stricken through the head with an harquebuse shot, and his burgonet beaten so into his head, that his friends that were about him, were faine to conuete him into one of the gallies to be dressed of his hurts by a surgeon. Also a gentleman named Desbozies, which bare the said monsieur de la Chapelle his coronell ensigne, was slain with a pike by the hands of the soynamed Cotton the English generall.

Captaine Cotton generall of Inskith and others slain.

Monsieur de la Chapelle hurt.

Thus

Inskith recovered by the Frenchmen.

Monsieur de Thermes returned into France.

Monsieur de Thermes succeeded his place.

A fort built at Leith.

The earle of Scotland.

The Frenchmen in danger to have been distressed.

better to conceive of that which they had to do. Al-
 though the Frenchmen had leisure to march their horses
 a maine pace, till they were got out of danger : for
 after they once beheld all the troops of the English
 horsemen almost at their elbows, and herewith
 the battell of the Almains suddenly appearing on
 the hill top ready to come down upon them, it was
 no need to bid them packe away.

The French-
 men retire.

The Scottish light horsemen cunning on the backs of the English armie, perceived where the Almains (to make them ready to give battell) had shrowen off their clothes, and left the same (with all their baggage and stuffe which they had about them) in keeping of none but of their women and boies: whereupon those Scottish horsemen, not minding to suffer such a pzeie to escape their hands, came galloping in, and took all the best stuffe they could lay hold upon, and returned in safetie, before any enemy could come backe to the rescue. The Almains were in no small chafe for the losse of their garments and other necessities; but there was no helpe then to seeke remedie in that behalfe: for the Scots were insensibly and got quite out of danger.

The English armie, after that the Frenchmen were thus fled and gone, passed forth to Haddington, with their carriages laden with vittells, to the great comfort of them within that fortreffe, standing in great necessitie before this conueie came. This summer also, and a little before the vittelling thus of Haddington, vpon knowledge had that Iulian Romero with his band of Spaniards, whereof he was capteine, seruing the king of England, was lodged in Coldingham, six miles distant from Berwick: certeine bands of Almaines and Frenchmen came thither vpon the sudden, and surprizing the Spaniards before they were aware of their appoych, set vpon them in their lodgings, tooke, and slue in maner the whole number of them.

Things passing in this wise in Scotland in the summer of this yeare 1549, the Englishmen were not onelie in the meane time sore troubled with commotions raised by the commons of that realme; but also with the warres which the French king made against them, within the countrie of Boullognois, so that they had not meanes to imploie their forces against Scotland as they had determined to have done; as partlie before, and more largelie in the historie of England is mentioned. By reason whereof, anon after Michaelmas they gave over the keeping of Haddington, and raising their fortifications there, they returned into England to the great reioicing of Louthian, to whome that tolonge had given occasion of great troubles and calamities. Upon the giuing over thus of Haddington, the gouernor and the queene Dowager were aduanced, in hope to recover againe all that the Englishmen held within the boundes of Scotland.

60 But first it was thought good to assaile the win-
ning of Broughtie crag ; for it sounded (as was
thought) greatlie to the diminishing of the estima-
tion, aswell of the Scots as Frenchmen, that the
English should keepe soot so far within the realme,
in despite of their whole puissance. Whereupon mon-
sieur de Thermes about Candlemasse, hauing all
things in a readinesse for the siege, came thither, and
did so much, what with shot of canon to make bat-
terie, and other meanes of inforcements, that gi-
uing the assault both with Scots and Frenchmen,
they entred the soot the twentieth of Februarie by
fine force, so that all those within were either taken
or slaine . Whereupon those English also that kept
the castell, rendered up the same without further resis-
tance, amongst other prisoners : Sir John Luttrell
the capteine was one.

The baggage
of the English
Lanquenets
spoiled by the
Scottish horse
men.

**Spadington
battled.**

Julian Romero distressed.

1549.

Madison
raced and left
by the Eng-
lishmen.

ISSN

Broughtie
crag won by
the French
men.

ask if.

美

A treatie for
peace.

Sir Hugh
Willoughbie.

A peace con-
cluded.

The names of
the commul-
sioners ap-
pointed to
treat of peace.

Fr. Thin.

The articles
of the peace.

Monsieur de
Mourret.

The French-
men returne
home.

The mar-
quesse de
Daine.

The death of
the first duke
of Guise.

In this meane time there were certeine commis-
sioners appointed betwixt the two kings of Eng-
land and France to commune of a peace: but be-
cause they continued long in their treatie per they
could agree, the Scots and Frenchmen surceased
not in occasions of advantage to pursue the warre,
so that comming before Rowder they besieged that
fortresse, & skirmishing with the Englishmen that
issued forth, to encounter them, drove them in at the
gates with some losse on either part. And this done,
the French held them within so straitlie besieged,
that if peace had not bene the sooner concluded, Sir
Hugh Willoughbie captaine of that fort must needs
have perished through lacke of shot, & other necessarie
things serving for defense; which were spent, so that
they were constrained to use their powder bevell in
stead of bullets. But as it fortun'd, a peace was ac-
corded, passed, and confirmed, that verie selfe time
betwixt the two kings of England and France,
through the diligent and orderlie trauell of the com-
missioners appointed to deale therein, whose names
insue.

First for the king of England, the right honora-
ble John earle of Bedford, knight of the garter,
and lord priue seale; William Paget lord of Beau-
desert, knight also of the garter; Sir William Peter
knight, chiefe secretarie to the said king; & Sir John
Mason knight, secretarie to him for the French
tong. For the French king were appointed Fran-
cis de Montmorency, lord of Rochpot, knight of the
order of saint Michaele, and lieutenant for the same
king of Picardie, in absence of monsieur de Wan-
dolme; Gasper de Colignie, lord of Chastillon,
knight also of the order, and captaine generall of the
footmen of France, and the said kings lieutenant
generall in the countie of Bullogne; Andrew Guil-
lard lord Portier, knight also of the order, and one
of the same kings priue counsell; and Guillaume
Bouchetell lord of Sallie, knight likewise of the
order, & secretarie of the estate of the finances. [And
for the Scots (as saith Lelcus, lib. 10. pag. 506.)
D. Painter bishop of Ross.]

Among other articles comprised in this peace,
it was couenanted, that all such forts, castels, and
places as the Englishmen held in anie part within
the Scottish dominions, should be deliuered and re-
stored to the Scots; and that the forts of Dunglas,
Korburgh, and Alimouth, which the Englishmen had
built and raised out of the ground, should be rased
and throwen downe, to auoid all occasions of new
controversies that might grow by reason of keeping
or defending the same: so as the peate now conclu-
ded, might in all points be firmelie and truelie kept
and obserued, aswell betwixt England and Scot-
land, as England and France, and betwixt all and
euerie the subiects of the same realmes, both by sea
and land. Monsieur de Mourret was sent into Scot-
land with the copie of this peace, by whose means it
was proclaimed anon after Easter about the begin-
ning of Aprill, and euerie thing used and ordered ac-
cording to the articles of the agreement concluded.

In Maie the Frenchmen and Almaines were im-
barkeed at Leith in sixtene French ships, and cer-
taine Scottish ships, and departed from thence in-
to France. A few there were, as Sigropellice and
Saint Jalcise, captaines of light horsemen, with o-
thers that passed through England, and so home into
their countrie. Moreover the marquesse de Daine,
after duke Daumals comming ouer into England
about the same time for an hostage, passed after-
wards through the realme into Scotland, to visit his
sister queene Dowager, and shortly after returned.
They mourned both for the death of their father
Cland de Lorraine, the first duke of Guise, who de-

ceased the eighteenth of Aprill this present yeare
1550.

As soon when the French departed out of Scot-
land, there were manie Scots appointed unto them;
partlie, to defend them from pirats, if they should of-
fer them anie iniurie in the streit of the Britissh
sea, and partlie for honors cause to bring them on
their iournie into France. By whose departure
Scotland was free lie deliuered from all forren sol-
diers, except certeine Frenchmen, who remained
still in the countrie; because they had the Ile of In-
keth and the castell of Dunbar committed to their
charge, which afterwards they did most faithfullie
discharge. Monsieur de Thermes, Chapellie, and
diuerse other captaines of France, remained also in
Scotland (after that the others were imbarkeed to be
gone into France) for pleasures cause, and to see the
countrie; who (trauelling ouer Scotland, and behol-
ding the cities, searching the castels, and marking
the bulwarks of defense) did constantlie affirme,
that in the whole world they neuer saw forts and
townes more pleasantlie placed, or more naturallie
defended. In seeing whereof they consumed the
time with great pleasure, vntill the moneth of
December, in which they all went into France
with the queene Dowager.

Thus, as there was peace (by the departing of the
French) with forren nations, which continued three
yeares: so was there within the wals and king-
dome warre and dissention amongst the Scots;
which was most perillous and troublesome. For
they which were the chiefe rulers (as the gouernor
and his brother the archbishop of saint Andrews
and others) did vse all things with extream crueltie
& conetonsnesse. For the archbishop, being giuen
to all libertie, followed by law his pleasures in all
things, as though it had bene permitted unto him.
For first, as a presage of his following tyrannie, he
permitted the slaughter of William Cheychton to
go unpunished, the same William being slaine in
the gouernors house (if not within his owne sight)
by Robert Semple: next followed the death of
John Maluill an old man of life; who next unto
the gouernor was most accounted of by him, as chie-
fest of his familiars. This John had his letters
(which he wrote to an Englishman, to whom he did
commend a captive his friend) intercepted. In
which, although there were not anie suspicion of anie
fault, yet was the author of them punished with the
losse of his head, whose patrimonie made his death
seeme the more vile; because the same was giuen to
the younger sonne of the gouernor. The hurts of these
wicked parts did pertaine to few, the enemie there-
of to manie, and the example vniuersallie to all. For
by reason of this unskillfull gouernement of the
kingdome, and the slouth of his life, which offended
the common people; the gouernor began to be had
in contempt almost of all men.

In September following, the queene Dowager
accompanied with the earls of Huntley, Castile,
Marshall; Southerland; and diuers other of the
Scottish nobilitie toke the sea, and sailing to France
landed at Diepe: she was conueied thither by the
prior of Capod, & Leon Strogie, sent and appoy-
ned with six gallies to haue the conduction of her;
from Diepe she remoued to Rone, where the king
then late, of whom she was right portecouslie recei-
ued, and had such attendance and seruice done vnto
her, during the time of hir tarriance there, as stood
with the dignitie of hir person, and was answerable
to the minds and expectations of hir traine; to the
high praise likewise of the king and his court in that
behalf.

The causes of the queene Dowagers going into
France

Buchanan.
lib. 15.
Lelcus lib.
pag. 508.

Fr. Thin.
Lelcus lib. 10.
pag. 507.

1551. Lelcus
lib. 10 pag.

Buchanan
lib. 15.

Lanchlan
Spakint
apprehen

Lelcus. li.
pag. 509.

The queene
Dowager sails
into France.

Buchanan.
lib. 15.
Lefleus lib. 10
pag. 508.

France were, that now having disposed all things at home in Scotland, the might renew the old league in France, the might see his daughter and his other friends; and procure the gouvernement of the realme to his selfe. For the ambitious and subtil woman did thinke in his mind, that the gouernor by his euill demeanour would soon be put out of his office, and that the might easilie find means to be substituted in his place. But before his shipping into France, and whilst they were preparing, the earle of Huntley commanded William Pakintolche (chiefe of the familie of the Glenchattens, and his followers) to be apprehended (for a conspiracie secretlie begun against him, whilst he was the kings deputie in those north parts) and from thence (being first deprivied of all his goods) caried him to Strachbolgie, where he was beheaded. Which fact (greatlie offending the minds of the earle of Castles, and others that fauored the Pakintolche) did so stir them against Huntley, that a commotion and tumult had bene raised by them, unlesse the wisdom of the quene had appeased the furie of their minds.

For although the quene certeine yeares after, had vndone the sentence of proscription for the goods of Pakintolche (restoring the same with the possessions and inheritances unto the sonne of Pakintolche) and thereby had seemed to cut awaie the cause of dissention betwene Huntley and them: yet the kindred and friends of the Glenchattens (not suffering so great an iniurie to their familie to go vnrueged) did secretlie (but eagerlie) pursue the same with great contention of mind. Wherefore entring the castell of Pet by deceipt, they apprehended Lanchlane Pakintolche, and (condemning all his followers to banishment) did cruelle kill him (as the betrayer of the head of his owne familie) because they supposed, that he ministered and blew the cole that fired Huntley, to make the said William Pakintolche out of the waie.

A little before which, the maister of Cresskine, and Henrie Senclere deane of Glasgou were sent into England; who at London did anew confirme the peace concluded before with the English; from whence they passed into Flanders, to make the like league with the low countries, which they did renew, to the great reioicing of both nations; although in the beginning of the treatie there grew great and contentious questions for the restitution of the ships of Flanders and Holland (whereof the Scots had taken manie in the warres) notwithstanding that the Scots had alleged, that they did not offer any violence to those of the low countries, before that they (by the persuation of the English) had offered wrong to the Scots, in detaining their ships and merchandize.

Thus much digressed from the quene Dowagers going into France, whereunto afresh to direct our pen, we say; that being at Rome, the king did there openlie make shew of his welcome unto him by diuerse arguments. Amongst which, this was not the least: that (besides other shewes, honorable triumphs, & manie courtesies shewed to the Scots) calling a chapter of the knights of the order of saint Michael, he admitted the earle of Huntley and other chiefe lords of Scotland deere to the quene, and fauored by him, into the said order. Which honors and pleasures seemed the more augmented, in that the yong quene of Scots was there present, adorned with such singular beautie, as was not easilie to be spoken, by the iudgement of Lefleus. After that they had thus spent some time in delights of courtesie, to feed the mind and eye, the king of France, the two quenes of Scotland, and the other nobles, departed from thence to Paris; where they were with great triumph of

the citizens most iustlie receiued. At what time againe, the French king shewed such humanitie to Huntley, and the other Scots; that he seemed for ever most firmelie to bind them vnto him. After that they spent some daies there at Paris, the king with that companie remoued to Blesics; where he remained all the winter.

Now the quene Dowager, thinking the time and place fit for the executing of the cause of his coming into France, and vsing therein the aduise of the duke of Guise, and the cardinal of Lozeine (his brethren) openeth the same vnto the French king, shewing that amongst others, the chiefe cause to take that iournie, was to require his opinion, touching the gouernement of the kingdome of Scotland: and to know, if it pleased him that the helme of the same kingdome should be committed to his rule. Which if he misliked, or deemed the contrarie; that yet the would wholie rest on his determination. The which matter pleased well the king, but yet with this promise; if the gouernor without any tumult or raising of quarrels would giue it ouer.

Whereupon the quene, to bring euerie thing about as she desired, did persuaide the king to confirme the dukedome of Chateleault in France, vnto the gouernor, before granted to him and to his heires; & to make his eldest son erle of Arraine chiefe capteine of the bands of Scots in France. And further, to giue the earledome of Purreie to the earle of Huntley (kinsman to the gouernor) and to his heires; the earledome of Rothleie to his sonne, which had married the kinsman of the said gouernor; the whole earledome of Angus, to the earle thereof; and the earledome of Moriton, to the sonne of George Dowglafe. All which he should procure likewise to be confirmed by such, as should be gouernors of the yong quene. These things now done, the French king carefullie receiued the yong quene of Scots into his protection; untill she should come vnto more sufficient yeares, able to confirme all these gifts; the which if she refused then to doe, the French king would then bestow as large possessions on them in France.

In the meane time the gouernor had sent Carnegie knight and senator into France, who should in the name of the Scots giue great thanks to the king for the aid which they receiued out of France, against the Englishmen. After this the French king did liberallie open the determination of the quene mother of Scotland to the bishop of Rolles (then ambassador for the Scots in France) to Robert Carnegie, and to Calvin Hamilton (to whom, as was said, the abbey of Kilmain was given in commendam) to the end that the same which was at the first secretlie consulted betwene the king of France & the quene Dowager, might now openlie be considered among the Scots which were in France: declaring further, that he desired nothing more, than that the quene mother should suffer the parts and place of the quene his daughter, in the administration and gouernement of Scotland, with the same moelie stood with reason and equitie; and that he (the better to win the gouernor to yield thereunto) had giuen the gouernor the dukedome of Chateleault, to his sonne the capteinship of all the Scots in France, and manie other liberrall benefits to manie other of his kinsmen.

And to the end that no deceipt might be supposed to be hidden vnder this liberalitie, the French king willed the ambassador to take possession of all these things in the dukes name. Robert Carnegie hauing his errand, returned into Scotland; & shortly after, the bishop of Rolles was appointed ambassador, who at length with much adoe did wining from the gouernor a consent to part from his authoritie,

Lefleus, lib. 10,
pag. 510.

Buchanan,
lib. 16.
Lefleus, lib. 10,
pag. 410.

Lanchlane
Pakintolche
apprehended.

Lefleus, lib. 10,
pag. 509.

and to applie himselfe to the will of the French king: which thus in the end obtained, the bishop of Ross goeth againe into France, to aduertise the king what he had done. Whereupon the king considering his painfull & faithfull seruice, did reward him with the abbeie of Labeie in France.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 511.

Blots.

Whilest these things were in doing, Edward the first, king of England, did send the marquesse of Northampton, & other of the nobler sort of ambassadors to Henrie the second, king of France, then so iourning at Blesies, to moue him to giue his daughter in marriage to the king of England. At what time there were manie martiall games and pastimes shewed before the king, in which the English ioining the Scots with them as companions of their sports, did beare a part, and wan the garland (from the others) to their singular commendation. The summer next following, the French king accompanied with the quene mother of Scotland and other of the nobilitie, did with great pompe enter Turon, Anisw, Plants, and other cities of Britaine, which he had not before seene since he attained the crowne. After certaine moneths consumed in those iournies, he returned to Founteinblew.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 512.

But the quene Dowager of Scotland, taking hir courteous leaue and farwell of the French king, hir daughter, & of other the nobilitie, departed from the court, and with easie iournies came to Jamieilie: where remaining a certaine time, she had the pleasant companie of hir mother the duchesse of Guise, and hir other friends to their great ioy: but that she shewed a certaine grieffe (for hir father lately deceased) which somewhat diminished the sweet pleasure of that meeting. Now when the quene Dowager had remained almost 12 moneths or more in France, honorable interteined, bountifullie feasted, louinglie saluted by hir friends and kindred, and having obtained a willing grant of the effects of hir request, the Scots doe vge hir to hasten hir returne into Scotland, preparing at Paris all things necessarie thereunto.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 512.

Wherefore departing thence, and comming againe to Rone, the quene mother moued and persuaded the nobilitie about the taking of hir iourne through England into Scotland. By occasion thereof, loosing their ships from Newport, they passe the seas, and happilie landed at Portsmouth, a famous port of England. The knowledge of which arriual comming to king Edward the first, he presentlie sent thither the earle of Southampton, and the lord William Howard to intertaine hir: who receiued hir with singular ioy and courtesie, and conueied hir through Hampshyre, Suffre, and Surrete (three prouinces of England) to Hampton court, where the king as then remained; from whence (after that she had bene there most honorable receiued) she came along the riuer of Thames to London, and landed at Poules wharfe in the after noone, and from thence rode to the bishop of Londons palace by Poules, and there lodged.

Hir receiuing
at the court.

The fourth of Nouember, she rode in hir chariot to the kings palace of the Whitehall, accompanied with the ladie margaret Douglas, the three dutchesses, of Suffolke, Richmund, and Northumberland, and diuerse other great ladies and gentlewomen, both Scottish and English. At the court gate the dukes of Northumberland, and Suffolke; and the lord treasurer were readie to receiue hir. And at hir entering into the hall, the king stood in the upper end thereof, and the erle of Warwike holding the sword before him. She at hir approaching to him, kneeled downe, and he courteously took hir vp, and kissed hir; and taking hir by the hand, led hir vp into his owne chamber of presence, & after into the quenes

chamber of presence, where he kissed all the ladies of Scotland, and so departed for a while.

She dined on the quenes side that day with the king, his seruice and hirs comming both together; the kings being placed on the right hand of the table, and hirs on the left. What plentie of all maner of coslie meates and drinks there was, and what rich furniture of plate and all other things was shewed to set forth the feast, it were superfluous to write. All the ladies both of England and Scotland dined in the quenes great chamber. After dinner the king shewed hir his gallerie and gardens, with all other commodities of the place. And about foure of the clocke, he brought hir downe againe by the hand into the hall, where he first receiued hir, and there kissing hir, she took hir leaue, & returned to the bishops palace from whence she came.

* And here I must not forget what Lesleus hath set downe in this place for the defense of his people, in not deliuering the yong quene of Scots to the English, to haue entered the marriage bed of king Edward the first. Whose reasons although they may (the first ground of the warre considered, with the consent of the Scots parlement to that marriage, and the willingness of the English to haue caused them to performe their promise without battell) be well answered, as matters that not verie greatlie defend the cause: yet I will not anie way say anie thing of him (being a man estranged from vs in religion, but learned, wise, of great experience, a faithful seruant to his mistresse, and a graue bishop of Ross) but let them downe plainelie as he writeth them, leaving the same to the iudgement of others, sith I meane not in anie thing to derogate from them, or arrogate vnto our selues more than is due. Thus therefore he writeth.

Fr. Thin.

When the quene (saith he) of Scots was come to London, the king of England sheweth vnto hir his treasure, openeth the monuments, latest abroad the antiquities of the kingdome, and laboured by manie other such kind of means, that he might prepare himselfe a passage (with the open notes of courtesie) to obtaine the good will of the quene. For he after persuaded hir with manie speeches, that she should giue hir daughter vnto him, as it was before decreed by the Scottish nobilitie: which he proueth by manie arguments to be most beneficiall vnto both nations. When on the contrarie part (if she were giuen vnto the French kings sonne) it should not be profitable either to the Scots, which should giue; or the French, which should receiue hir to wife. Therewithall adding this vnto it, that there should alwaies be continuall hatred, and deadlie enimitie betwene him and that person which should marrie hir.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 513.

Whereunto the quene both presentlie and wisely answered, that the cause of hir daughters marriage to be solemnized with the French, was onlie by reason of the protectors of England, which so bitterlie pursued the Scots with such earnest warre as then was made against them. For it was vnadvisedlie done of him, to seeke to compell by force of battell a woman, which is to be allured to the marriage bed with faire promises and flattering speeches. Whereunto she ioined, that the Scots were so behementlie pressed by him, that they were inforced to craue aid from the French: for the more speedie & easie obtaining thereof, they were vged to leaue the yong quene of Scots in France for a pledge. Wherefore she greatly grieued that the matter was so fast knit vp by the necessitie of time, other wise than the Englishmen would haue had it. But yet, she would labor the French king by hir letters and messengers, with all the diligence that she might, to see if hir trauell and furtherance could doe anie thing with him therein.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib.
pag. 513.

The arch
shop of A
chane.

15

15

therein. Thus much Lescus, and so againe to the matter.)

The first of Nouember, the quene Dowager departed from London toward Scotland, riding from Poules through the citie, passing south at Withops gate. The duke of Northumberland, the erle of Penbroke, and the lord treasurer brought hir to Shordich church, and there took their leaue of hir. The duke of Northumberland had an hundred men after him with ianelins, whereof fourtie were gentlemen clad in blacke velvet cotes garded with white, & hats of blacke velvet with white feathers, and chains of gold about their necks. The earle of Penbroke had six score men well appointed also, with blacke ianelins and hats with feathers, and the lord treasurer had an hundred gentlemen and yeomen with ianelins in like maner, well appareled: which three companies of horsemen furnished the streets on either side, from the crosse in Cheape, to Birchen lane end, as the passed that waie.

The shiriffes of London had the conduction of hir to Waltham towne end, where she lodged that night: and in euerie shire through which she passed, the shiriffe, with the gentlemen of the same shire, receiued hir, and gaue their attendance on hir, till she came to enter into the next shire, where the shiriffe and gentlemen there receiued hir: and that order was obserued till she came to the borders of Scotland, and all hir charges for meat and drinks, aswell for hir selfe, and whole traine, as also the prouision for their horses, was borne and allowed by the king. Besides which, (as saith the same Lescus) Richard Shelleie, now maister of the knights of Malta in England, and Edward Dumble baron, were appointed to attend on hir all the waie through England, from London to Edenburgh, where she was honorablie receiued by the earle Bothwell, and the lord Hume. The earle of Huntlee, and diuerse other of the Scottish lords returned home by sea, the said earle landing at Montrossie, about the latter end of December.

* After that the quene was arrived in Scotland, she labored euerie waie to stop all occasion of dissention; and that these bralles which were risen amongest the nobilitie in the time of the warres, and were not yet fullie quenched, might grow no further, to bring the common wealth (alreadie much impaired) into new troubles. Wherefore, by the aduise of the gouernor, of the earles of Huntlee, Angus, and Argile, and by the quenes trauell, the controuersies moued about the archbishopricks of saint Andrews and Glascow, the bishopricks of Dunkeld and Brechin, the abbeies of Aberbrothie, Inchcape, and other benefices, were ended: by bestowing some of them vpon noble mens chyldren, and some vpon such persons as worthilie deserved them.)

The archbishop of Armachane.

1551.

Doctor Wanshop, whome Lescus lib. 10. pag. 514. calleth Robert Warhope, a Scottishman borne, archbishop of Armachane, so nominated by pope Paule the third, and after created *Legatus a latere* by Julius the third, deceased this yeere in Paris, the tenth of Nouember. This man was blind from his infancie, but yet gaue himselfe so to studie, that he was first made doctor of diuinitie in the vniuersitie of Paris, and after attained to such estimation in the court of Rome, that he was by the foresaid popes aduanced (as before ye haue heard.) So that it is to be presumed, that the sufficiencie of his learning, (where to he must needs aspire altogether by the eare) (sith he was quite deprived of the benefit of sight) coupled with other good qualities of mind, were means to preferre him first into the popes fauour, and then to promotion of his bestowing.

1552.

This yeere in the moneth of June, the quene Dowager, and the gouernor, went into the north parts of

Scotland; and at Invernes, Elgin, Banff, Aberdeen, and Perth, the gouernor sat in iustice for redress of wrongs, and administration of righteous lawes and orders. And afterwards they repaired to the west parts, and sat likewise in iustice at Dunfreis, Glascow, Lanricke, and in other places of that countie, where diuerse were put to their fines for transgressing the lawes, but few or none touched by corporall punishment. Which was but a slender course taken in reforming enormities, and little better than impunitie; though in leuening of the fines (perhaps) a proportion were vsed: for by that meanes manie an offense was redeemed by monie, and iustice was little better than bought and sold, as at a publike mart.

* After this, they returned to Edenburgh, where all things requisite for the establishing of iustice were confirmed by the counsell of the nobilitie, and of the wise senators. Whereupon, when nothing seemed to want for the setting of a perfect peace through all the realme, but this, that certeine of the inhabitants of the east limits (accustomed to spoiles) did by buying booties of cattell from the borders of England, seeme to offer new occasion of warre. At this time, the gouernor goeth to Jedworth, and remoued such magistrats as had negligentlie gouerned their owne prouince, or dispatched the generall affaires of the kingdome: where taking pledges of euerie familie, he made them after that time in better quiet. Whereupon a long time following, there was a mutuall peace betwene England and Scotland. About which time also, the protestants religion making breach into the doctrine of the Romans, there was a prouinciall councell kept at Withquoe, where the Calvinists with their doctrine were condemned and accurssed; and all things decreed in the councell of Trent vnder Paule the third, were established, with manie other needfull lawes made to purge the corrupt manners of the clergie.

In which meane time, David Painter or Painter (for I find both written) being a man of great learning, and famous by great experience, hauing faithfully consumed seuen yeeres in France, in the seruice of an ambassadoz legier, came out of France to Jedworth: where, when he had declared to the gouernor (in the assemblie of the nobilitie) the reason, order, and meane which he vsed in accomplishing of his office; he was greatlie commended of all men. And for that he had so diligentlie, wiselie, & trustilie performed that great charge, he was with great solemnitie consecrated bishop of Ross, in the presence of that assemblie. At which time also, the gouernor did dub into the order of knightshood certeine bozders, who had deserved well of the common-wealth, to the end that their vertue adorned with such honorable recompense, might be more enlarged toward the care of their countie. Amongest which persons so aduanced, these were the chiefe: Cessford and Ferniburk, Andrew Bar of Littleeden, Condoinknols, Greinherdie, Balclenche, with manie other valiant men.)

In this sortie (wherein the gouernor was this the iustice) the quene secretlie trauelled with the lords, both spirituall and temporall, to haue their consents to be regent of Scotland, immediatlie after hir daughter the quene came to sufficient yeeres, and that the time of hir tutorship were accomplished, or sooner; if the lawes of the realme would so permit. And to assure hir selfe of their good will in this behalfe, she contracted sundrie priuite bands with them, making large promises of great rewards vnto euerie of them. To conclude, this matter was so handled by hir and others, to whome she committed the doings therein, that in the yeere following, the gouernor agreed to surrender by the gouernance into

wronge done are by iustice rebeld.

Fr. Thin. Lescus lib. 10. pag. 515.

1552.

Lescus lib. 10. pag. 516.

The quene mother seeketh to be gouernor

1552. Lescus lib. 10. pag. 516. The gouernment is resigne

The historie of Scotland.

hir hands, hir daughter the yong quene being not yet full twelue yerres of age.

The gouernour was promised not onelie a full discharge and a *Quietus est* of all his doings, as well for receipt of monie, ieiwels, & other things, during the time of his gouernement, but also a confirmation of the heritable gift of the dukedome of Chateleault: likewise an other confirmation of all gifts and restitutions by him made. During the time he had exercised the office of gouernour. And forthwith the quene Dowager sent into France, to get all these things dispatched, with such assurances of writings vnder hands and seales, as was expedient, and to be sent home into Scotland for his securitie in all things.

* But before the gouernour had consented to the quenes demand, there was great contention about the matter: for the well vnderstood that he would not depart with his office, before the time that the yong quene had attained to the age prescribed for hir full yerres. For it is ordeined by the law of the kingdome, that the king shall not remaine any longer vnder tutors, than to the age of foureteene; & the quene (as it is in other women) at the yerres of 12, at which times they may appoint procurators, which shall haue the gouernement of the kingdome vntill their full age. For which cause, the yong quene chose amongst other (as after shall more appere) the quene Dowager to be one: whereupon, the quene Dowager challenged the gouernement vnto hir selfe, for that hir daughter was certeine moneths aboue those yerres of twelue. Against which the gouernour did stillie contend, constantlie affirming that the yong quene did not exceed the age of eleuen yerres.

Whereupon the quene, to take from the gouernour all starting-holes and other shifts, doth vze the custome of that kingdome, and the obseruation of those lawes to be, that they must reckon the yere in which the Scottish king or quene is yet vnborne in their mothers bellie, to be part of that number of twelue or foureteene; in which they may appoint gouernours to rule vnder them. Which the gouernour perhaps did seeme to confesse for the king, but that the same was true for a quene it did not appere; sith it seemeth to be wrought by Gods high prouidence, that the kingdome of Scotland was alwaies heretofore by manie ages gouerned by kings, and that a woman did neuer before this time (especiallie one within age) challenge that kingdome vnto them, although the male line (as appered from the Bruses to the Stewards) descended from the women, haue sometime possessed the sterne of Scotland.

But in the end, saie or do what he could, the gouernour did surrender his place (as after shall more plainelie appere) vntill which time we will pursue the orderlie course of things done in this place: which is, that whilste the gouernour & the quene mother were in this discord for the regentship of the realme, manie seditious persons (taking occasion thereby with hope to scape unpunished) did renewe the memorie of old iniuries. For hereupon it hapened, that manie of the familie of the Hars did (at Edinburgh) with great boldnesse vtterlie slaine Balcleuche the knight. Besides which, the yonger sonne of the lord Ruthwen or Kelven, did publikelie thrust through and slea John Chartrusse a noble and a valiant yong man, for deadlie hatred (as was thought) betwene those two families. Yet it was spred abroad, that the chiefest cause why Ruthwen did kill Chartrusse, was for that Ruthwen (being called into late of law by the other) distrusting his cause, and supposing that it would passe against him by iudgement, had none other remedie to relieue the matter, than that vertie day to kill Chartrusse. Which matter was the occasion of making this law, that whosoener with force or

armes did either pursue or abate, recouer or lose in any action, should not onelie be punished for the rashnesse of the fact, but also should haue the matter forthwith (even in that moment of time) iudged against him.]

This yere, the first of Julie, Edward the first of that name, king of England, departed this life, after whom succeeded his sister Marie, eldest daughter to H. Henrie the eight. [Touching whose regiments, sith this historie requirereth matter appropriate vnto it selfe, we will saie little in this place, remitting the readers to the conuenient course of time wherein they flourished and vaded. Whelie this is worthy the noting, that the realme of England was not so much in hir time afflicted with exquisite troubles of barbarous persecutors, to the diminishing of Gods seruants, and the increasing of satans synagog, as it was like to haue triumphed vnder the glorious title of the victorious gospel, if God had not (for the vnworthinesse of the English people) taken the yong king awaie. For the prosperous beginning of his gouernement foretold an happie proceeding, and a blessed ending. But to returne to Scotland.]

* About this time, Thomas Lesle, who (as you heard before) had fled for the death of the cardinall Beton bishop of saint Andrews into France (where he then was imprisoned) being now set at libertie, did priuile conueie himselfe into Scotland. Which vnderstand of the gouernour, he fined all those that had receiued him into their house, & compelled Thomas to flee to Denmarke, for feare that (if he were taken) he should suffer extreme punishment. But when he knew that there was no place of safetie for him in that countrie, wandering ouer manie prouinces, he came at last into England, in the reigne of Edward the first; of whom, with the rest of his companions, he was most courteously receiued, with yerrelie pensions out of the exchequer or common tresurie assigned vnto them for their maintenance, according to their estates.

But after that king Edward was departed the world, they all were also commanded to depart the realme, to whome earnestlie vying that their pensions might be paid to them in an other place where they should remaine) the duke of Norffolke did publikelie say in the councell, that it seemed not iustice, that a catholike prince should paie any pensions to such as had murdered a catholike cardinall. With which answer the said Thomas was almost stricken dead, and being then wearied with the griefe of his exile, went againe into France, and there by king Henrie (by the meanes of the baron Bunsfome, whom this Lesle had sent before to request the same) he was made capteine of the Scottish light horsemen in France. This man did so valiantlie, worthilie, and honozable behaue himselfe in warres, which the French king had (with Charles the sixt then emperor) on the borders of Flanders, that he was alwaies foremost in the front of the battell, to assault the enimie; hoping by that meanes to wipe awaie the blot of the cardinals slaughter, and more firmitie to bind the French king vnto him.

But after certeine light skirmishes (which he happily performed against the enimie) following the battell at Kenton (a towne in Picardie) most hotlie, and drawing nere within danger of the enimie, he was so wounded with a shot, that he could hardlie returne to his companie: but being relieved by his owne souldiers from the hands of the enimie, he was caried to Montreulle, where he shortly after died, greatlie repenting him of his former wicked fact, and greatlie abhorring the other authors thereof, as furtherers of him therein. Towards whom (after his death) the French king was yet so loving (for the singular

Fr.Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 517.

1552.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 519.

1552.

Sundrie
slughters of
the nobilitie.

1553.

Abr. Fl.

Fr.Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 520.

1554.

The couenants and articles are perused.

1555. Buch.

1554.

A parliament at Edinburgh called belated to the lord Erskin to be pe.

The quene made gouernour by parliament.

The gouernour made duke.

Fr.Thin.

The gouernour resigned his office vnto quene.

The quene giveth the renuance the realme to the quene mother.

Fr.Thin.

Buch. lib.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 522.
Buchan.

ingular fortitude of mind that was in him) that he procured all such of his Scots (as returned from the warres with Bunstone) to be received into their owne countrie, and restored to all their goods and possessions.]

In lent all the lords of the realme of Scotland assembled at Striueling, where all the covenants and articles of agreement, betwixt the quene and the gouernor, were perfectlie and fullie concluded, and thereupon a parlement appointed to be holden in Edinburgh, the tenth of Aprill next ensuing: and in the meane time the gouernor deliuered the castell of Edinburgh vnto the lord Erskin to keepe, as it were by waie of assurance for his part, that all things at that parlement should be accomplished, according to the points of the agreement made by full consent. The lords then assembling in parlement at Edinburgh, on the said twelfth day of Aprill, all the covenants of agreement had & made betwixt the quene Dowager and the gouernor were presented & read, touching the dimission and giuing ouer of the gouernors authoritie, confirmed by the quene hir selfe in France, with consent of the king of France hir husband, the duke of Guise, and the cardinall of Lozrain hir curators, with a gift of the dukedome of Chateaufault vnto the gouernor, vnder the great seales of France, and others, to whome it appertained.

After this, there was read a confirmation of the thre estates of Scotland, touching the premisses, in which they bound themselves to warrant the quenes discharge made to him, & to establish him as second person of the realme [& to haue the gouernement of the castell of Dunbarton (as saith Buchanan)] with other things contained in the contract: to the which there in open parlement all the estates subscribed, and put thereto their seales. Which done, the gouernor gaue vp his office of tutorship, in presence of the said estates, the quene mother, & monsieur Dorsell being there present, who receiued the same in the quenes name, at that time remaining in France. And herewith presentlie was a commission shewed, giuen by the quene of Scotland in France, with consent of hir curators, making the quene Dowager hir mother, regent of hir realme: which office she toke vpon hir, and was thereto admitted by the estates of the realme. Then was the parlement newlie authorized in the quenes name, with consent of hir curators, and in name of the quene regent.

* Where is to be noted, that as at the first they which had the administration of the common-wealth vnder the king of Scotland in his minoztie, were first called gardians, and then gouernors: so now began they to haue a new title for the same, to be called regents of Scotland, not before accustomed among the Scots, which name hath euer since remained to all such as execute that place (euen in our age) during the minoztie of Charles James the first, now ruling the scepter of Scotland. In which declaration of things (as before you heard) to the gouernement of the French, the Scots could neuer be persuaded that the castell of Edinburgh should be deliuered to the rule of strangers: fearing that if the quene should die without issue, that then the French would there by tyrannie settle themselves. Wherefore the same was committed to the defense of John Areskine, which he should not deliuer to any, but to one of the order, and of the nobilitie and parlement.

About this time, the quene regent sent George Gordon earle of Huntley to apprehend John Spader (or Spaderac, as saith Buchanan) chiefe of the familie of the Reginaldins, a notable theefe, & one that was fraught with most wicked deeds: which tourne it is supposed that Gordon did not vertie faithfully discharge. Wherefore, when he returned without the

dispatch thereof, in not taking of that man, he was committed to prison vntill the day appointed, where in he should answer the cause. Whose friends in the meane time (to mitigate the enuie against him for the same) did spread false rumors thereof, lateng all the fault in the familie of the Cathans: for they said that the same was hindered by them for the malice that they bare vnto the Gordons: which speeches did one lie rise almost vpon this occasion.

Whilest the quene prepared for hir iournie into Scotland, Gordon did cast into prison William (the head of the familie of the Cathans) a yong man liberalitie brought vp with the earle of Spurrete for kindreds sake, being sisters son to the said earle; for none other cause but for that he would not yield him selfe to the protection of him. Gordon therefore grieued at this man, did not thinke it safetie to leaue him free and at libertie behind him, when he should go into France with the quene, although he could find no fault to laie to his charge worthy any punishment. Wherefore (by his friends) he persuaded the yong man (ignorant of all deceit) that he should yield him selfe into his protection and tutorship: for so by that one meanes, both the fame of the one and safetie of the other might be provided for, which the yong man did accordingly lie.

Wherefore Gordon being now lord ouer the life and death of this William, did (dissembling his hatred to him) breake with his owne wife to execute the yong and gillie man in his absence, supposing thereby to transference all the malice which should rise thereof vnto the fact of his wife, as not done by his consent. Which fell out quite contrarie: for when euerie one knew the subtil wit of Gordon the earle of Huntley, and that his wife (a chosen and rare woman) had passed all the rest of hir life within the bounds of womanlie modestie; they were all easilie persuaded, that he alone was author vnto hir of that wicked counsell. Whereupon, Gordon being now cast in prison for that fact, there was (in a councell holden by the regent) great contention and varietie of opinions, touching the punishment which he should haue. For some would haue him banished into France for certeine peares, & some would onelie haue an excessiue mule to be laied vpon him.

Both which opinions were rejected by the chiefe of his intimies, Gilbert earle of Caillies. For he, perceiving by the present state of things, that peace would not long continue betwene Scotland and France; did bitterlie withstand his banishment into that countrie. For he would not haue that man (being so subtille and vncoustantlie witted, proud, and desirous of reuenge; of and vpon such as were emulous, or backbiters against him) to be a firebrand and capteine to those French, who (he was assured, for their insolent pride) would haue warre with the Scots. For although he thought, that of right he ought to be punished, yet he did not iudge, that any domesticall euill was so much, or the punishment thereof should be thought so great, that they should accustom the French to shed the Scottis blood. Wherefore at length his punishment was agreed vpon (as after shall appeare) in renouncing of all his right to the earldome of Spurrete, & other things.

The quene hauing the disposition of all things, did at hir pleasure change all the officers, and made the earle of Caillies treasurer, & Westmost a French man controller; also another Frenchman called monsieur Rubie, keeper of the great seale, as vicegerent in place of the earle of Huntley, who was chancelor; and therein warden; and James Bachill register; and the abbot of Couper keeper of the priuie seale, as saith Buchanan lib. 16. pag. 521. Donald gouernor of the Isles. [These men's counsell and mon-

Officers are changed.

Fr. Thin.

The covenants and articles are perferred.

1555. Buch.

1554. A parlement. Edinburgh castell deliuered to the lord Erskin to keepe.

The quene made gouernor by parlement.

The gouernor made duke.

Fr. Thin.

The gouernor resigned his office vnto the quene.

The quene giueth the gouernance of the realme vnto the quene mother.

Fr. Thin.

Buch. lib. 16.

Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 52. Buchanan lib. 16.

The earle of
Huntleie re-
nounced ma-
nie things.

seur Doffels the used principallie in all things. The earle of Huntleie being to be deliuered out of ward, did for his punishment renounce his title to the earldome of Murreie; whereof he had a gift in heritage. Also he renounced his interest vnto the farmes of Mkenzie and Sheatland, and to the earldome of Mar, and of the quenes lands of Straits Die: and further was contented to go ouer into France, there to remaine for the space of five peares. But yet afterwards the quene was contented, that he should still remaine within the realme, for the which he gave to hir five thousand pounds in monie.

Fr. Thin.
Lefleus.lib.10.
pag.522.

1551.

* About the same time Marie the quene of England, and the regent of Scotland, thought good to haue a peace betwene both nations, and that their commissioners should meet to determine all controuersies. At what time for the Scots, were Robert of Rintwardie, and John Wellenden of Acknowle knights: and for the English, were Thomas Cornwallese, and Robert Bowes knights. At what time there were lawes made touching fishing, aswell in the sea, as in certeine other limited riuers; by which all occasions of contention was taken awate from both nations. Richard Porxon, a man of great counsell in prosperitie, and of great stomach in aduersitie, being capteine of Portsmouth castell in England, was at that time cause of the making of this law for the commons; That if anie Englishman from a Scot, or a Scot from an Englishman, did by force take away anie fish that was taken; that he should pate the muld of twentie shillings for the same: beside other punishments of the common law.

The law for
fishing.

Concnants
for seamen.

Further it was agreed, that whoesoener by force of tempest, or for anie other cause, were driuen into Scotland or England, he should not by anie pretense be staied; but he might frelie by land or sea, either on horsebacke or on foot returne home. Provided, that he had the testimonie of the next maister of the port, or of the next towne, to witnes the cause of his arriuall; and that during the time of his abode in such a countrie, he attempted nothing against the lawes of the kingdome. Not manie daies after this, Henrie Sinclair deane of Glasgou, senator, and vicepresident of the high court, did returne into Scotland out of France; being a man greatlie familiar with James the sixt, aswell for the singulartie of his wit, as the excellencie of his learning.

Lefleus lib. 10.
pag.523.

1555.

But in the time of the gouernour, the courtiers (not greatlie esteeming such wise dome & learning) made no account of him, although the quene Dowager, and diuerse of the nobilitie held him in great hono; aswell for his deepe studie in the best arts, as for his rare knowledge of the publike lawes and antiquities of Scotland. This man, vpon his first returne, was forthwith both autho; and persuader to and of the bishop of the Orkades chiefe president, and to the other senators; that there should be new lawes made for the short ending of lutes in law; for the obseruation of a right course of iudgments, and for the taking awate of all euill customs. In the making & tempering whereof, he was of so great iustice; that such things as were set downe in the law, were more holie and perfectlie brought to their ancient forme than they had bene before.

The reason is readie; to wit, aswell for that in equall deliuering law to all men: as in pleading, there was by his meanes more diligence used by the magistrats, aduocats, scribes, and officers; in cutting awate vaine and superfluous formes and orders: which ministred occasion; that their sutes did long hang in court, before they could be determined. At this time also the marquesse of Maigne (being after made duke of Almaine) who in the meane time

with manie other nobles of France, had remained pledges in England, did (hauing licence therevnto) come into Scotland to see his sister, accompanied with sir Thomas Stetokleie of England notu knight; who after he had remained some daies with his sister in pleasure & delight, discharged his faith, and returned againe into England.]

Lefleus.lib.10.
pag.524.

In Julie was a parlement held at Edeburgh, in the which manie acts and statutes were made, 1555. A parlement.
10 right profitable (as was then thought) for the common-weale of the realme. Amongest which, to passe ouer the rest, these seeme worthie to remaine chonickled to posteritie. First, that none of the citizens (in the feasts of Whitsonide, or anie such times, in which their hirelings are accustomed to go forth) should assemble armed, to cast forth the husbandmen after the old maner. Secondlie, that the inhabitants meeting together, should no more assemble vnder a certeine colour of gaine, which for exercise of the bodie (as it was supposed) was holden after the example of one (I can not tell who) Robert Wood a wild or vplandish man. Thirde, that there should be no priuat leagues contracted betwene subiects. Which lawes did after bring great peace, ease, and quiet to the publike state.

Fr. Thin.
Lefleus.lib.10.
pag.524.

In the verie same yeare 1555, in the eight hundred and eighth of August, fell the mariage of Marie quene of England with Philip king of Spaine in the citie of Winchester. Wherefore ambassado; were sent from the quene regent to Philip and Marie, to congratulate their mariage. Besides which, these ambassado; did require a renewing of the league, and that commissioners should be appointed to meet the next summer in the borders, to end all controuersies. In the meane time, whilest the quene regent did administer the affaires of South Scotland, John Stewart earle of Atholl was sent into the north parts with a chosen compante, to breake the force of John Spudiard or Spudrace. At what time this earle bled such courtesie and counsell in pacieng, and such celeritie and wisdom in executing of things; that he brought the seditious Spudiard (impatient to haue anie gouernour) to the quene, to whome the said Spudiard did willinglie yeld himselfe, his children, and his kindred.

Lefleus.lib.10.
pag.525.
Buchanan,
lib.16.

To which man, the quene (in respect of singular clemencie, and pietie to all men, according to the disposition of his nature) did wholie remit all his offenses, with this condition; that he should faithfullie remaine prisoner in the castell of Westens, and in the towne of Perth. But as the for (as the proverbe is amongst vs) cannot liue without his starting holes; so this Spudiard and his companions, imbued with more than forlike conditions, did (deseruing their keepers) returne to their olone causes, and afresh trouble all the north Scotland with their raised seditions and spoiles. Which things inforced the quene, that she did go into those parts, to hold iustice of oces: in which she might bide the evils of wicked men, and purge those prouinces from all the roots of sedition.

Wherevpon, in the moneth of Julie, the quene accompanied with the earles of Huntleie, Argile, Rothes, Castils, and Marhall; the bishop of Aberdeen and Ross, M. Doffell, Rubie, and others, went to the towne of Inuernesse, in which citie the faults known by publike accusation there was iust punishment taken vpon the offenders. And because there were manie hidden in the higher and mounteine countries, which by their absence fled the punishment, she commanded the heads of the mounteine families, that they should bring their guiltie countreymen and kindred to iudgement, according to the law established by James the sixt; with a great paine

1555. Buch.
1556. H.B.

Lefleus.lib.10.
pag.527.
Buchan.lib.16.

pergine set upon the chiefe of those families: if the o-
ther did stidie resist, & would not come into iudge-
ment: whereupon it followed, that hundreth of diverse
families, that were in contempt departed a waie,
did come to publicke judgement, where manie and
thole not of the meanest sort, were the punishment
for troubling the peace: amongst which some Grant
a baron being committid to prison, and some Grant
and others others, had persons before the iudges,
did promise to bring their dead bodies: when they
could not take their live bodies. The earle of Cath-
nes also for cause that being warned therunto, he did
not bring his people before the iudges, was first
committed to prison in Inverness, then at Aber-
den, and lastlie at Edinburgh, from whence he was
chased his libertie with a great masse of monie.

Macbride in like sort, head and chiefe of the tribe
of Strathnauerne of Glencone, being called to
iudgement (for that he had often wasted the countie
of Southerland next adjoining) did contemne the
precept: whereupon the queene provided a great ar-
mie, which under the erle of Southerland brake into
Strathnauerne, where he possessed all the places of
doubt, least anie hole might be left for the theues to
passe a waie from thence. Whereupon Macbride,
when he saw himselfe so beset (as that no place of
flight was left him) perloped himselfe to Hugh Ben-
die, who led him to the queene, by whom he was com-
mitted together at Edinburgh a long time, but they
of Glencone put in pledges, & (being committed to
safe and strong prisons) were referred to the iudge-
ment of the queenes pleasure.

After this, the queene leaving Inverness, and
progressing the province of Ross, she came to El-
gine, Banff, Aberdeen, and the chiefe places there-
abouts, diligentlie to inquire of the misdeemeanors of
those people. At what time she did temper the rigor
of law with such courtesie, that she punished the of-
fenders by fine, and not by death: From thence she
came to Dundee, and to saint Johns town, obser-
ving the same cause and course of hir coming.
When she had thus passed over the summer in bring-
ing the mounteine people to their dutie, she sent
the earle of Huntlie to joine with the bishop of
Ross and Breneis, and to Hugh Benedie; to whom
she did substitute a better and more commodious
forme of dispatch of their affaires by others: who
should receive the libels and accusations of private
persons, and diligentlie to inquire of them, in the
townes of Inverness, Elgine, and other places.
By whose diligence it came to passe, that all those
counties (being reduced to the rule of iustice) were
made the more quiet.

Here I will not (saith Lesleus) now declare how
honourable & sumptuouslie the queene in all hir pro-
gresse was received (without anie charge to hir) of
the pères, bishops, and other nobles and gentlemen
of Scotland, sith the Frenchmen (which were then
present with hir) have opened to other nations as
well as to their own people (with singular commu-
dations to the Scots) the gorgeous shew of this
Scotland, being a most wortheie signe of the fauour
they bare to the queene. In the meane time there
were sent commissioners to the borders, as the bi-
shop of Dunblane, the lord of Lethington, & master
James Macgill: where doctor Tunstall bishop of
Durham, & certeine others for England met them
at Duns, and remained there till the queenes com-
ming backe forth of the north in September next
following.

This yere was a parlement holden, in which the
lords Binning, Dinnison, and Orange, with mat-
ter Henrie Balnauers, and others, which were for

fasted in the gouernors time, were restored. At the
same time the queene, by the counsell of monsieur
Doissell, and Aubie, and certeine of the nobilitie of
Scotland, requested that a new order might be
made, whereby euerie mans substance should be put
in an inventarie, and according to the rate thereof
to paye a peneltie taxation, to be put and kept in the
treasurie-house till warres began, and that then men
of warre might be waged, therewith to lie upon the
borders, and more in that case to be charged to come
from their home houses, and then anie great armie
came south of the firth to invade Scotland.

A hurdle of the great lords were agreed to this
ordenance; but the most part of the barons hearing
thereof, assembled together in Edinburgh, to the
number of two hundred & above, and sent the lords
James, Sandilands, of Calder in Louthian, and
John of Wemyss in Aife, to the queene and lords, be-
seeching them not to let such new taxations upon
them, for they could not draw such burdens; but
would defend the realme, as before time their elders
had done, not meaning to put their goods to towne-
tare, as if they should already make their last will
and testaments: and be past all hope of inioyning
their temporall goods, as persons not to live longer
in the world, but to take their farewell, and give o-
uer all that they had by laie of fatal necessitie not
to be avoided.

Adding further, that their elders
did not onlie defend themselves, and their goods a-
gainst the English, when they were of farre greater
power than they now be; but did also manie times
make further invasion upon them in to their owne
countie: For which cause, they being not anie lot
now so degenerate from their ancestors, that they
would not when need required, bestow to their substance
and life in defense of their countie.

And as touching the hired souldiers, it was a
thing full of danger, to commit the state of Scot-
land to men without substance, or without hope of
advancement, and to such as for manie will bare so
deanie thing, being a thing apt to kindle their deape
contentnesse, and to minister occasion to them to
attempt other matters. But to the end all other
things may the better be looked vnto, let them more
remember the deerenes of their countie, than their
owne estate or condition. For will anie man
believe, that hired souldiers will more valiantlie
fight for strangers, than the owners will fight for the
defense of their owne? That a little hire or wages
readie to be abated in peace, will greatlier incense
the minds of the common people; than gods, chil-
dren, wives, and temples, will moue the hearts of
the nobilitie?

Whereunto may be ioined, that this matter per-
taining to the highest god of the kingdome of Scot-
land, and that the same is of farre more importance
than that it should be communed of at this time, and
in the tender age of our yong queene. Besides which
the greater part of men do suspect and feare, that the
same new order for warre is impossible, and such
as cannot be performed without some commotion
of the Scottish nation, especiallie sith so great sums
of monie can hardlie be wrought out by tribute impos-
ed on the same Scots, as may suffice to nourish a
hired armie to defend the borders. Wherefore it is to
be feared, least the end of persuation grow to this
point, that it do not rather open a gap to let in the
nimie, than to be a barre to keepe them backe. For if
the English, after this example, being a farre richer
nation, shall gather a much greater summe: who
doubteth, but that they may with lesse trouble to the
comon people, raise an armie twice as great as
that of the Scots, & such as shall not onlie enter the
borders, but rush even into the verte bowels of the
king.

This taxati-
on is not
granted.

1556.

Thin.
Buchan. li. 10.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 528.

Commis-
sioners sent.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 527.

A parlement.
Gentlemen
restored.

us. lib. 10.
24.

555.
parlement.

Thin.
us. lib. 10.
524.

us. lib. 10.
525.
banan,
16.

555. Buch.
556. H.B.

esleus. lib. 10.
pag. 527.
uchan. lib. 16.

kingdome of Scotland.

For the other part of the nation, I cannot tell
 whether it be better to suppress it in silence, or to deli-
 ver it (saith Buchanan) to common eyes & eares. For
 I doe heare (writeth he) manie which doe murmur
 and aske who shall gather this monie? How much
 thereof shall be necessarie to and for the hired soldi-
 ers, and how much to be left in the hands of the reed-
 siners? There be manie things which play in great
 hope, that no such thing shall be established for the
 especiall goodnesse and temperance of that worthy
 prince (in whose hand the whole government now
 resteth) doth incourage us, that we shall not be so
 taxed. But yet when we remember the outward
 debts of others, and our owne at home, which haue
 before time bene done; we cannot so gouerne our
 selues, but that we must feare the same hereafter to
 fall vpon vs, which we haue already felt.
 But letting these things passe, which perchance
 we haue feared, let vs come to those things in which
 our ancestors did place their whole helpe (for mainte-
 nance of their libertie) against the weapons of their
 aduersaries: Robert the first, who was in com-
 parison of whose none of the Scottish kings were
 counted wise, and without doubt none more
 valiant, as we all confesse, did not onely profit his
 subiects whilst he liued, but also after his death: For
 when he was at point to surrender his life, he gaue
 this admonition, that we should neuer make con-
 tinuall peace, nor long truce with the English. For
 that man (by nature and by vse of long time exer-
 cised in both forwarres) did well perceiue, that such a wil-
 led in idleness and sloth, had their stomachs and
 minds abated, and their bodies weakened with de-
 lights of pleasures, and that covetousnesse and le-
 cherie did spring vp as it were in unfiled ground,
 when seuer discipline and sparing was quenched,
 which made them also to be impatient of labor, and
 to hate battell, whereby their strength being dimi-
 nished, they should easilie giue place to their enemies.
 After that these two noble men had said thus
 much, the regent fearing tumultuous insurrections
 if he persevered in this exaction, lest off anie further
 to pursue this far, and is (in often acknowledging
 his error) said to haue used this speech; That some
 of the best of the Scots, and not the, were authors
 and workers of the same. By which words manie
 supposed that the ment the earle Huntley, a man of
 a sharpe wit, latelie deliuered out of prison, and
 rather ready to reuenge the iniurie receiued by re-
 stituent of his libertie, than mindfull of anie benefit
 thesed vnto him in his deliuerance. Therefore when
 he saw the regent bent to this one thing to inure the
 Scots with taxes and payments of monie: and fea-
 ring least his power being overmuch increased, that
 the would abate the strength of the nobilitie, dimi-
 nish their authoritie, and call the whole government
 of Scotland into the hands of his people, it was sup-
 posed that he gaue his counsell answerable to his
 disposition for the gathering of monie which he had
 then in hand, being in deed the part of an enemy to
 him, because he knew that the Scots would not paie
 anie tribut, nor be so obedient vnto him as they had
 bene before. There were also some that supposed
 this deuise to grow from David Painter bishop of
 Ross; for he being a man of rare wit, and no lesse
 learning, was with manie benefites tied to the Ha-
 miltons, and was not anie waie estranged from
 their counsels and kinreds.

In this yere, an ambassador of Spalcoine going
 into England with a great ship, & another bote, was
 cast on land by sudden tempest of the sea in the coast
 of Bachquane, a prouince in the north part of Scot-
 land; who having lost all his goods by this wrecke,

some time himselfe, and some of his companie, be-
 came the lighted on a rocke, where he & they might
 save their liues. The inhabitants did liberally
 receive this strange man, and brought him to
 dwell with them, who would not permit him
 to want anie thing so long as he remai-
 ned with them, but they desired him to be re-
 turned, that his goods might be restored into the hands of
 the people, who he had lost. And so he was
 gaue, who nothing more desired, than to be
 restored to his companie, which he did.

This yere also in the moneth of Iulie was Robert
 the first sent ambassador (from Anna wife of Al-
 bert, duke of Burgonie, and Desheren, and earle of Genden)
 out of ball of Pisa into Scotland, to request that the
 alliance betweene of all yembred yeres made be-
 twene the Scots and the people of Genden (which
 by course of some yeres past, was now of no force)
 might now againe be renewed. Which being gran-
 ted, & solemnely established, both those nations from
 that day did liue together in mutuall & perfect friend-
 ship. After this, warres arising betwene England
 and France, quene Marie of England, fearing least
 the Scots would be stirred at the motion of the
 French, to attempt something against England,
 sent ambassadors to the regent, to require that some
 of the Scots might with his people meet on the
 borders, to treat of matters belonging vnto them.

Whereupon in the moneth of Iulie, the procura-
 tors for both the kingdomes met at Caerleill, whi-
 ther for the Scots came Robert Reid bishop of Ark-
 neie, Henrie Seintclere deane of Glasgow, Robert
 Carnegie knight, senators, and the lord Harries, at
 that time president of the west borders. For the
 English did come Tunstall bishop of Durham, the
 lords Dacres, and Wharton; amongst whom there
 was talk of peace, and recompense of such iniu-
 ries as were committed by both the nations. In the
 meane time a certaine Frenchman landed at the
 west part of Scotland, and declared to the quene
 the warres betwene England and France, desir-
 ing her to make warre vpon the English. Where-
 upon the quene sent for the lords to commune with
 them at Perth, where she opened to them di-
 vers things done on the borders by Englishmen,
 and how no redresse could be got: wherefore she requi-
 red that warres might be moued against England
 in reuenge of those iniuries, although the bishop of
 Arkenie was the same time at Caerleill in talke
 with Tunstall bishop of Durham and o-
 thers, commissioners for England. The principall
 cause that moued the quene regent to seke to
 make war against England, was for that the Eng-
 lishmen aided the Emperor in fauor of his sonne
 king Philip against the French king, because their
 quene had taken to husband the same king Philip,
 and sent the earle of Denbroke ouer with an armie
 to aide king Philip's power.

It was thought therefore, that if the Scots inua-
 ded the English borders, it might cause them to call
 backe their power forth of France to defend their
 owne countie. But the Scottish lords would not
 consent in anie wise to begin anie warres: which
 their dealing when monsieur Doilell perceiued, he
 speedily went to Hatmouth beside Berwicke, and for-
 tified the same with all diligence, making inuasions
 into England. Whereupon the Scottishmen in their
 owne defense were constrained to make warre, and
 the earle of Huntley was made lieutenant vpon the
 borders, who came thither; and remaining there by
 the assistance of the Frenchmen, made sundrie inua-
 sions and roves into England, burnt diuers townes
 and villages, and cast downe manie stone houses,
 piles

Lesleus, lib. 10,
 pag. 529.

Lesleus, lib. 10,
 pag. 529.

1557.

The quene
 regent desi-
 red warres.

An assembly
 at Caerleill.

The occasion
 why the quene
 regent desired
 to haue war.

The Scottish
 lords refuse to
 take warre in
 hand. Hatmouth is
 fortified. Inuasions
 are made into
 England.

An armie at-
 tacked.

The lords do
 not consent
 thereto.

The castell of
 warke belie-
 ged by the
 Scots.

Captaine
 Read.

The earle of
 Westmerland
 gathereth an
 armie to res-
 cue the Scots.

The Scot-
 breake by
 their armie.

pieces and strength.

In this meane tyme were the Scottish countie-
mers at Caerleill; and the matter of Spawell was
den of the west borders, being there with them, with
much adoe got a way and came home into Scotland.
The quene assembled a great armie out of all parts
of the realme, the which came forth to helpe in
the moneth of October; where the quene's French
men persuaded them to enter by invasion into Eng-
land. But they meaning to take further advise, passed
over to the west of Spawell hagh, where they encam-
ped, and afterward approached the castell of Marke,
involving the same with a siege for the space of
two or thre daies. Capteine Head at that present had
charge of that castell, with three or foure hundred
footmen, and one hundred horsemen, meaning to care
little for the Scottish men's forces.

The earle of Westmerland, being then lieute-
nant of the north parts, gathered such power together
as he might make, and came to Louthie; accompa-
nied with the lord Talbot, sir James Crofts, and
others, to succor where most need should appeare. The
Scottish armie, perceiving the Englishmen thus in
a readinesse to resist their attempts, took advise to
gether, and concluded that it was not for the weale
of the realme, at that time to hazard battell forth of
the bounds of their owne land, their princeesse being
absent, and as yet in her minority; considering also
that the war was not taken in hand for their owne
quarrell, but for the pleasure of France. These and o-
ther the like reasons, being alleged by the earles of
Arche, Huntlye, Argyle, Cassils, and others, to the
quene and French capteins, they were nothing sa-
tisfied therewith; but the Scottish lords would at-
tempt no further, but retired backe and scaled their
armie.

In remouing from Marke, they were pursued
by certeine bands of the borderers, and others, which
were repelled, and stood in danger to have bene de-
stroyed, if capteine Head had not with noble courage
assisted forth, and in time relieved them that were re-
tiring: whereby they staid and gaue a new charge,
in which as the Scots were beaten backe againe,
and chased ouer the water to their maine armie that
was already passed ouer. The quene and monsieur
Doissell, perceiving that they could not get the Sco-
tish lords to make any further exploit at that pre-
sent, they retired home; but Doissell with his French
men were appointed to remaine still in Hainmouth,
to countergarrison the Englishmen within Ber-
wick.

There were diuerse lost bands of Scots waied
by the French king, which were appointed to lie in
places about the borders, as at Hells, Rockesburgh,
and such like for defense of the countrie, and the an-
noyance of the Englishmen, as occasions might
serue. After this, sir Andrew Har, and diuerse other
entered England with a power of men about Spar-
tinnasse. Nevertheless, the earle of Northumber-
land, being then lieutenant of the north parts of
England, and lying on the borders, assembled his
forces together, & coming to encounter the Scots
on the very border's side nere to Chemot, at the first
the Englishmen were put to the worse, but yet at
length the Scots were ouerthrowne and chased: sir
Andrew Har, and manie other being taken pris-
oners.

Sir John Foster bare himselfe verie valiantlie
at this encounter, so that his seruice might not well
haue bene spared. He was thrust through the mouth
into the necke, and also through the thigh; moreover,
his horse was slaine vnder him. The conflict was
sharpe, for both the horsemen and footmen came to
make proue of their forces. The warre thus being

began and fallowen, the Scots kept their quarters
tyme, and euerie noble man (as he was appointed)
lie on the borders with a thousand horsemen; dur-
ing his ordinary seruice. And on the other side, the
English borders were furnished with like supplies
of men of warre, so that there were double robes and
succours made by the parties to the great damage
and spoile of the towne and villages situate adre
to the confines of both the realmes.

In December the quene assembled a parlement
at Edinburgh, where (the night following the
French) she read forth the letters of Henrie king of
France, to be read by the whole assemblee, touching
the solemnization of the marriage betwene the young
quene of Scots, and the French kings sonne, which
I haue here set downe.

The substance of the letter of the
French king concerning the ma-
riage of his sonne to the
quene of Scots.



Entie by the grace of God, king of the
French, to his worthy conlines & princes
of Scotland, and to the rest of the orders,
being our deere friends, greeting. It is
most plainlie knowen to all nations, how fast a bond
both alwaies hitherto remained betwene Scotland
& France. Neither can it be hidden that these signs
of amitie were, being for number manie, for great-
nesse large, and for dutie of friendship mutual ech to
other; by which the kings our ancestors haue seemed
to confirme; and as it were to increase this amitie, to
the end it might remaine whole and sound for euer:
yea and so farre the theys thereof hath appeared, that
all the benefites of either realme haue seemed to be
common to ech other. Which bond of friendship we
also haue (for the tyme in which we first receiued the
ensignes of our kingdome) labored firmelie to re-
taine, to the end the same should not any waie be de-
caied or broken. The which in like sort we well under-
stand, that you haue likewise abundantly performed
vnto vs.

Wherefore (more stronglie to knit the same) we
will not suffer this opportunitie (which the diuine
goodnesse hath laied before vs, as we verelie suppose)
of marriage to be solemnized betwene our son the
Dolphin, and your quene our deere and sweet sister
and daughter. Which thing (after that it began to be
intreated) was byged by all parts, as the young
quene was vpon that condition left with vs, when
she was caried into France, by the consent of our sis-
ter the Dowager, and the gouernor of Scotland, to
the great reioysing of all you that yelded thereto;
where now she hath attained such beaultie and num-
ber of vertues, partlie by the liberalitie of nature
(which she receiued from the kinglie blood of hir pa-
rents) and partlie by the instruction of my wife, that
I can hardlye any longer suffer (in respect of the age
of my sonne) that this marriage (which we haue so
much desired) should any longer be deferred. And
sith at Christmasse next my son shall come to those
yeeres, in which he may promise all things that shall
be necessarie for the knitting vp of the marriage; and
sith also we haue determined (if it so seme god to the
quene hir mother, and to the rest of the parlement of
Scotland, which we earnestly request at your hands)
that the marriage shall publike lie at Paris (on the
day consecrated to the thre kings) with such ceremo-
nies as is requisite, be fullie consummate with
the speech of my sonne and of your quene:

We do by these letters request you, that by com-
mon consent you forthwith send some of your chiefe
nobilitie,

Quartrage
kept by the
Scots for de-
fence of their
borders.

1558.
A parlement.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 533.

In armie af-
sembled.

The lords do
not consent
thereto.

The castell of
Marke belie-
ged by the
Scots.
Capteine
Head.

The earle of
Westmerland
gathereth an
armie to resist
the Scots.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 529.

The Scots
beate by
their armie.

1557.
The quene
gent desir-
ed warres.

An assemblee
at Caerleill.

The occasion
why the quene
desired warre.

The Scottish
lords refuse to
the warre in
Hainmouth is
justified.
Inuasions
made into
England.

The Scots
discouraged by
the earle of
Northumber-
land.
Sir John
Foster.

nobilitie, that might honor the marriage, and the more
 therefore that (being published and authorized therefore)
 may freely and according to law, dispose of those
 things, which are accustomed to fall in such affairs.
 The which is the third point, I promise that hereafter
 they shall liberally receive and hold acceptable, they
 shall be to me, and to those that you shall receive all
 the fruit and benefit which shall come of any such mar-
 riage (for the performance whereof, the reason of his
 sufficient age, we will shortly provide) which and com-
 moditie shall not make now remission to you that be
 present, but allow more abundantlie with great plea-
 sure, shall continue to your posteritie: for with both
 our and your people, of France and Scotland, shall
 be so firmly conjoined (as we hope) by this mutual
 knot of marriage, and our affairs with yours, and
 yours with ours, shall hang the one upon the other,
 as it were by a certaine mutuall linke and knot, that
 both we (being out of the danger of such as would di-
 vinitie and overthrow our states) shall for ever in-
 joy such quiet as we did never hope to do before this.
 From our castle of saint Germans, the fourth da-
 yens of November. 1557.

**Subscription
 to the king
 below:**

Upon the reading of which letters in the parlie-
 ment, by the consent of the whole estate, there were
 elected and chosen James Beton archbishop of Glas-
 cow, Robert Read bishop of Dherme, George Le-
 lie earle of Rothes, Gilbert Kermedie earle of Cal-
 fles, James Stewart prior of saint Andrews [the
 queenes ballard brother] George lord Seton [cap-
 teine of Edinburgh] James Fleming, and John
 Crichton lord of Dunn [governor of Montrose] am-
 bassadors and commissioners to go into France, and
 there to contract marriage betwixt Marie queene of
 Scotland, and Francis Dolfine of France: and to
 solemnize the same marriage. Whereupon, sufficient
 commissions and instruments were made to them
 by the estates of the parliament, and they accepting
 the same, made preparation for that iourne, and de-
 parted in the moneth of Februarie forth of the rove
 of Leith, and with great winds & boisterous stormes
 came into France, losing in their iourne one of
 their ships, with men and horses before saint Ebbes
 head, in the Forth of Scotland; and an other with
 great riches & manie gentlemen, with the capteine
 called Waterton in the rove of Bullongne.

The ambassadors themselves nevertheless esca-
 ped, and coming safe unto the French court in the
 moneth of March, were honorably received of the
 king at Paris, where the contract of marriage was
 made; and that score thousand franks assigned in
 dowrie to the queene of Scotland, & thirtie thousand
 franks of yerelie pension, with manie rich jewels.
 There was also a perpetuall bond of league conclu-
 ded betwixt France and Scotland, and great prepa-
 ration made for the marriage, which was solemnized
 in Paris with great triumph and assistance of all the
 cardinals, dukes, earles, barons, lords, and bishops of
 the realme, in the church of Notre dame, the 24 of
 April in that present yere, 1558.

After the solemnitie of this marriage, the legats
 of Scotland were called into the counsell-house of
 the French king: at what time the chancelor of
 France delt with them, that they should represent
 the crowne and scepter, and other ornaments of the
 kingdome, to the end the husband of the yong queene
 might be crowned king also of Scotland. Whereunto
 the ambassadors did shortly make answer, that
 they had no such thing given in charge to them. After

which, the cardinall said: We desire nothing more at
 your hands at this time; but that which lieth in your
 power to performe; which is, there none to confirme
 by writing that hereafter, will, forsooth, approve, and
 keep the same bond (which now we have here signed)
 made betwixt the Dolfine, when the same shall
 be taken out in the parliament of Scotland. Which re-
 quest (when returned full of impudence) they suppo-
 sed best more to constantie and charpelle to returne
 answer for they answered, that their ambassage
 was confined within certaine bounds, which they
 neither could nor would exceed. But and if they had
 bene sent with free libertie of their ambassage, that
 yet it were not the part of faithful friends (as the
 French professed to be) to require that which could
 not be granted without certaine and assured danger
 and infamie of treason; though danger of life were
 absent from it. All which notwithstanding, in all ho-
 nest things which might well be granted, they would
 yield unto the French, joined unto them by so manie
 necessarie occasions. Wherefore they requested the
 French that they would not in their demands exceed
 the limits of modestie. Whereupon the ambassadors
 being dismissed from the court, some of the chiefe of them (before they
 departed home) which were these, Gilbert Kermedie,
 George Le lie, Robert Read, and also James Flem-
 ming, all men of singular vertue and lone to their
 countrie, besides manie other of the companie, died
 there, not without mistrust of poison. It was also be-
 lieued, that James the queenes brother had received
 the same daunt: for (although he were of a better
 composition of bodie, stronger constitution of com-
 plexion, and of more youthfull strength, whereby he
 escaped death) he had alwaies after a continuall and
 dangerous infirmite of his bellie whilst he lived; of
 the death of all which shall be somewhat more said
 hereafter. Thus leaving the Scottish lords amba-
 sadors there in France for a time; we will returne to
 shew what happened betwixt the Scots and English
 men at home, where the warres were pursued, to the
 losse or little gaine of both parts.

About Whitsonday, sir Henrie Perrie with di-
 verse bands of the countrie garrisons, & sir George
 Wolnes then marshall of Berwike, with sundrie
 bands of the garrison of that towne, passed forth in-
 to Scotland; they being in all about seven or eight
 hundred horsemen, and two thousand footmen. They
 burnt the townes of Duns and Langton; and ha-
 ving got together a great number of cattell, retur-
 ned homewards. The Scots that laie in Kelso, and
 other places, keeping their quarterage on their bor-
 ders (for the realme, as ye have heard, was quar-
 tered, euery part keeping their turne, as the manner
 is) assembled together to the number of two thou-
 sand horsemen (or few lesse) and three bands of foot-
 men, halting forth to defend the countrie. And per-
 ceiving where the Englishmen were, followed and
 coasted them as they returned with their bodie, till
 they came to Swinton, where they overtook them,
 and skirmished with them sharplie as they were pas-
 sing through the towne.

The Scottish footmen beat backe part of the Eng-
 lishmens shot into their battell, and pressed vertie
 forward in hope to be assisted by their horsemen, the
 which (as ye have heard) overmatched greatlie the
 English horsemen in number: but the fight grew
 somewhat hot, and the more unto the disadvantage
 of the Englishmen, for so much as their shot & pol-
 der began to faile them, by reason the mistie mor-
 ning had made much of their powder dankish, so that
 they could haue no vse thereof. But herewith sir
 Henrie Le lie, capteine Read, and others, being in the
 battell, behaued themselves vertie stoutlie, causing the

Lesleus, lib. 10.
 pag. 533.
 Fr. Thin.

Ambassadors
 sent into
 France to
 consummate
 the marriage
 betwixt the
 queene of
 Scotland and
 the Dolfine
 of France.
 1558.

Two ships
 lost.

The assigne-
 ment of the
 Scots queens
 dowrie.

Fr. Thin.
 Buchan. lib. 16.

A robe into
 Scotland.

Duns and
 Langton
 burnt.

The Scots
 assaile the
 Englishmen
 at Swinton.

The Scots
 horsemen flie

The Scots
 footmen flie

The lord of
 Leith with
 others taken
 prisoners.

Mr. Chylin
 taken.

Sir William
 Bereton

The Scots
 put to flight
 at Grend

The god-
 der of the
 French
 in their

Log
 burnt.

the footmen to state, and holdie to abide the same: & herewith procured the horsemen to give a charge in such convenient time, as if the same had bene protracted, it might have turned verie unill to the English side.

But now as well the horsemen as footmen playing their parts, the Scottish horsemen abiding without the rowle in troope (while their footmen were in skirmish) fled awaie, leaving their footmen to be slaine and spoiled of the Englishmen, and yet those footmen fought it out right manfully: so that if the Scots horsemen had done their parts so well as the footmen, it was like to have gone hardet on the English side than it did. But now the Scottish horsemen not entering the fight, their footmen were inclosed by the Englishmen: for those that were in the foreward, and were passed by, returned and coming behynd their entrees, holpe to beat them downe, so that few or none of the Scots or Frenchmen (whereof there were some few amongst them) escaped, but were either taken or slaine.

Amongest others, capitaine Calhane, and capitaine Benedie, two chiefe leaders of the footmen were taken: diuerse of their horsemen also in the retire were taken, amongst whom William lord Beith, sonne to the earle Marshall of Scotland was the chiefe. But this victorie was not attended with out losse of diuerse Englishmen: Amongest other one Pell, ensigne-braver to sir John Sparkeham's band of footmen was slaine. Also master Crington a capitaine of light horsemen was taken prisoner by the lord of Comynston, at the first charge given by on the Scottish horsemen, and led awaie without rescue. Beside the manfull prowesse of sir Henrie Persie, and the other English captains before mentioned, the forward valiantie shewed that day of sir William Breerton, and Thomas Sparkeham, that led his father sir John Sparkeham's band of footmen, also of Kase Ellerhar a capitaine of horsemen, are not to be forgotten, who with diuerse other captains & souldiers behaved themselves in such wise at that present service, as their dealings therein deserue speciall memorie.

Moreover, at an other time the Scots & Frenchmen entring into England, the Scottish horsemen, to the number of a thousand or thereabouts, passed forth to burne and forraie the countrie: but the earle of Northumberland, & his brother sir Henrie Persie, assembled together a power of horsemen: and sir Henrie Persie meeting with them at Grendon, set vpon the Scots and chased them over the water of Twissell, vnto the foot battell of the Frenchmen: who retiring to the river of Twed, passed over the same at Chapell Fould, where they were assailed both by certaine foot bands of the garrison of Berwick, that were come forth to aid the earle, and also by the horsemen: so as diuerse were drowned in the river before they could get over.

But after they were once got to the further side, they put themselves in order of battell againe, and retired in a squadron verie stronglie, sustaining little or no hurt at all, notwithstanding that the earle of Northumberland (being then come) and his brother sir Henrie Persie, with the rest of the captains and gentlemen of the countrie, pursued them over the water for the space of two miles, skirmishing with them still as they marched awaie, but could doe them no harme, because they kept themselves in so good order, & the English footmen were not able to reach them. Wherevpon the English horsemen suffering the Frenchmen to depart, left them, and passing into the countrie, burnt long Ednam, and diuerse other hamlets and villages, and so returned. Diuerse Scots that day at the ouertizow and chase of

their horsemen were taken prisoners, as the lord Greie, and others.

And after this, the Englishmen won the strong pils of Catonsills, wherein were situate Frenchmen that defended it for the time verie stoutlie, so that it cost the lues of diuerse Englishmen, before they could take it. Shortly after, there was a foie skirmish at Haldon hill. For whereas the most part of summer it was ordeined, that euerie daie certaine bands of souldiers should ward on the same hill; to giue libertie to the inhabitants of Berwick, to mow and carie in their haie; they continued for a time without any trouble offered by the Scots or French, so that the warders standing in no doubt of the enemies, vied out of their armour to shoot, bolle, quat, & exercise such like games of pleasure. Whereof the Scots & Frenchmen being aduertised, came one day from Almouth in so secret wise, that they were drawn verie nere to the Englishmen, yet they had any learning of their approach.

This approach as it was private, so was it likewise sudden, insomuch that before they could be got into order, the Scots and Frenchmen were almost at their elbows; and falling in skirmish with them, handled them verie roughly: although sir William Breerton, sir John Sparkeham, master William Dreghzie, Cathert Claugham, and other the captains of the Englishmen did behaue themselves right manfully, bringing their men in order, encouraging them, and doing what appertained vnto hardie and skillfull warriors. But yet three times that day the Scots and Frenchmen put them from the high of the hill, till at length sir James Croft coming from Berwick, vied such diligence and politie in the matter, that the Scots and Frenchmen were repelled and constrained to retire, withdrawing backe into Almouth, after they had continued in skirmish from one of the clocke till it was past foure with no small losse on both parts.

After this, the earle of Bothwell, being on the borders as lieutenant, according to the order for the time of his quarterage, entred on a day into Wighland, and sent his forraie to burne Fenton talone, keeping himselfe in ambush at Halthwell Swyre. Sir Henrie Persie aduertised that the Scots were thus entred, got together a thousand horse, and making forth to defend the countrie, set vpon the earle at the aforesaid place of Halthwell Swyre; but some feare entring into the hearts of the Englishmen, by reason of certaine shot which the Scots had there with them, fled, and were pursued by the Scots ouer the water of Till. There were taken adoue six score Englishmen, amongst whom capitaine Crington, and capitaine Bar, that had the leading of light horsemen, were two: beside diuerse other men of good account in service, as one Claugham a gentleman and such like.

About this time, whilest the lord Cure commonlie called Cues, remained capitaine of Berwick, one Birchaudie cousin to sir William Birchaudie lord of Grange, chanced to be taken prisoner into Berwick; and afterwards being ransomed, at his coming home to Almouth, he made report that he had bene to freelie vied, during the time that he remained prisoner, at the hands of the said lord Cure. By reason therof, vpon challenge made by Grange to fight a combat with the lord Cure, the matter grew to this issue; that where their degrees were not equall, Kase Cure brother to the lord Cure vnder-toke (in his brothers behalfe) to breake a staffe with the lord of Grange vpon the side of Haldon hill at a day appointed: where they met, either of them bringing twelue gentlemen with them, to see the stiall of this challenge performed.

The lord Greie of Scotland taken prisoner. Catonsills won by the Englishmen.

A foie skirmish vpon Haldon hill.

The earle of Bothwell.

Halthwell Swyre.

The Englishmen put to flight.

The lord of Grange challenged the lord Cure.

The Scots horsemen slain.

The Scots horsemen slain.

The lord of Beith with others taken prisoners.

Mr Crington taken.

Sir William Breerton.

The Scots put to flight at Grendon.

The good order of the Frenchmen in their retire.

Long Ednam burnt.

The lard of
Grange and
maister Rafe
Cure ran one
against ano-
ther.

Sir John
Clere flaine
in the Ile of
Orkneye.

The tourne
of the earle of
Suffex into
the west parts
of Scotland.

Kentire.

James Ma-
conell.

The earle of
Suffex burnt
the Ile of Ar-
rane.

But when they came to hand their arming, weapons blessed, the truth is so, that Grange was armed in a cote of plate, and a curace aloft upon it: wherewith some fault was found; because maister Cure was also armed in a single cote of plate, without any other peeces of armes for defense of his bodie. But yet he was the great courage of the said maister Cure, that he would not refuse the challenge, notwithstanding his adversaries advantage of armor. Whereupon they ran together, and brake both their shields; and as it fortuned maister Cure was hurt in the flanke. The warre being thus pursued betwixt England and Scotland; beside the incommenurable roads which are before mentioned, there were two great roads made into Scotland; the one by the earle of Westmerland; and the other by the earle of Northumberland: the lord Talbot being there, & having the leading of certain gentlemen. Porcuquet it was thought good by the Englishmen, not onely to annoy the Scots by land, but also by sea: whereupon Sir John Clere with certaine ships of warre sailed forth along the coast; till at length he arrived at the Isles of Orkneye, where going on land about an entrenchment, staying longer than was requisite, he was incourted by his adversaries, and flaine with many of his people; which were there on land with him. But though the Scots had good successe in that part; they sustained great damage on the west side of the realme, by a tourne which the earle of Suffex then made deputie of Ireland attempted against them. For the better understanding whereof ye shall note; that after the lord Clinton high admerall of England had burnt the towne of Conquest in Britaine, there were seven ships of warre appointed to passe into Ireland, as the Marie Willoughbie, the Peter barke, the Sacket, the Greafalon, and three other that were merchants, and appointed that yeare to serve the queene of England in hir warres.

There were also beside those seven ships of war, two bittellers appointed to attend upon them. Sir Thomas Cotton was ordained their admerall; and one Southwike of Dover was assigned to be their viceadmerall. Upon their arrivall in Ireland, the earle of Suffex having also prepared three other ships, with sufficient and necessarie provision for his tourne, embarked with so manie soldiers as convenientlie might be bestowed aboard in that fleet; containing twelue saile in the whole; and departing toward the west of Scotland, landed in a part of the countie called Kentire, with as manie soldiers and mariners as might be spared out of the ships, leaving them furnished with competent numbers for their safeguard; and being got to land, he passed forth into the countie, & burnt two houses that belonged to James Macconell chiefe governor of those parts, & a great enimie to the Englishmen.

He burnt also diuerse townes, villages, and hamlets belonging unto the said Macconell, with great store of coyne and other things which came in their waie. The Scots oftentimes skirmished with the Englishmen, but durst not adventure to joine with them in battell, they kept so good order by the earle of Suffex his politike and valiant conduction. There were a sort of Scots gotten into a boate meaning to have fled, but being apprehended by the Englishmen, they were executed. Finally, after the earle had remained there on land, in burning and spoiling the countie for the space of three daies, he returned to his ships, and in safetie went aboard againe with his men: and making saile to the Ile of Arrane, entred the haven called Amalasche, and landing at that place, burnt the countie; and after

went to Couper; where the like was burnt and harried that Ile of Arrane, and other parts thereof.

This done, he meant to have gone into other places, like Arundell; but the winds grew so terrible with tempests and foule weather, that they lost one of their ships; and some of the rest were so rent & spoiled of their tackle and furniture, as they were forced to be in great hazard of being cast away also. There were six and twenty mariners drowned, the which perceiving the ship to be in danger of sinking, fled into the boate, and so perished: the other that remained in the ship were saved, as maister Francis Randall, and others; by reason whereof, perceiving foule weather, the earle of Suffex was constrained to returne into Ireland, arriving in Cragfergus, where he landed with his soldiers; and appointing the ships to returne into England, he passed by land into Dublin, spoiling the countie, committed by the waste; and taking from them a great prebend bottle of cattell, notwithstanding the painfull passage that he had to make, through the numberlesse bogs, boggs, and fens, without reliefe of all necessarie things, in that so troublesome a tourne.

Thus far for those yeares warre in the daies of Marie quene of England, betwixt the Englishmen and Scots: whereof sith I have found none that hath written any thing at all, I have yet set downe those notes, as I have learned the same of such as had good cause to know the truth thereof, being eye-witnesses themselves of such enterprises and exploits as chanced in the same warres; namely capteine Wead, capteine Wood, capteine Crington, capteine Warleie, and capteine Parkham; with others, which of their courtesie have willingly imparted to me the report of diuerse such things; as I wisht to be resolved in. Which accordingly (so far as my remembrance hath served) I have here delivered, to the end the same might give occasion to others (that may happily light upon more full instructions) to impart to posteritie a more perfect discourse, where otherwise the matter might peradventure wholly passe in forgetfulness.

And now to returne unto the Scottish ambassadors, that were sent into France, for the conclusion of the marriage betwixt their queene & the Dolphin. After that the same marriage was consummat, and euery thing ordered and brought to passe according to the effect of their commission; in the moneth of August they took their leaue of the French king, the queene, and nobilitie there, to returne homeward into Scotland: albeit few of them came home, for the bishop of Orkneye departed this transitory life in Diepe, the fiftenth of September; the earle of Norths deceased there the ninth of November; the earle of Caillis lord treasurer departed in the same place the fourteenth of November; and the lord Fleming deceased in Paris the eightenth of December. And so onelie the archbishop of Glasgow, the prior of saint Andrews, and the lard of Dun returned into Scotland in October. After whose coming, there was a parlement summoned by the queene, to be holden in December next.

In August, Archibald Campbell erle of Argyle, whose wit was singular in dispatch of the affaires of peace as of warre, was made high iustice of Scotland; and in France was advanced to the title of a knight of the order of saint Michaele. Few daies betwene these things departed this life the bishop of Brechin, and Andrew Durie bishop of Whitechurch. To the one did succeed the abbat of Couper, in place of the other came Alexander Gordon archbishop of Athens by the queenes benefit. David Painter or Painter bishop of Ross, & James Stewart, whome James the sixt (being illegitimate

Foule was
ther.

The earle of
Suffex returneth into Ire-
land.

The amb-
sadors died
almost all.
Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 538, 539.

Ther came
home againe.

Lard of Dun
A parlement.

Fr. Thin.
Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 539.

Candida Casa.

Lefleus lib. 10.
pag. 542.

father unto him) had made abbat of Melrose and
Kello died also this yeare. Whole monasteries the
quene did forthwith giue unto the cardinall Gulse,
long after which followed also the death of the ab-
bat of Barmoth. At this same time many pro-
digious sights (which I will not here recite, being
toucht by Leshus) did appeare by a marker of such
ominous things; whereof these verses were made:
Porrenthum est iugiter a gemitu, quod amine lafo
Diuina stridula in pectore

In September there was a parliament holden at
Edinburgh, in which the acts of the former legats in
France (about the mariage of the quene of Scots
to the Dolphin) were confirmed. At what time the
Dolphin of France by his ambassadors did de-
monstratie request, that the crowne (which they terme
matrimoniall) should be giuen unto him by the de-
cree of the states, whereby he might be called king
of Scotland as long as the quene lived. The
quene also (touching it a point of honor, to heape all
title of glorie which she could vpon her husband, as
one that by a detestable inclination of mind did ver-
tuouslie saue him; gaue in charge also to the ambal-
adors, that they should earnestlie follow the same
cause amongst the Scots. And to the end to draw
them the more easilie into his opinion; he drew the
matter into certaine articles, deliuered to the am-
bassadors with more ample instructions touching
the same: the summe of all which was this.

First, diligentlie to beat into the Scots with what
disposition of mind the Dolphin was affected toward
them, as well as his father, who held the Scots in
that account as he did his owne people; and so al-
waies would haue them: which good mind of the
French toward the Scots to be plaine without a-
ny dissimulation, it maie well appeare as well by the
covenants established for the marriage, as also by the
benefits which he hath not onelie bestowed vpon the
Scots and Scotland in generalitie, but also in par-
ticularitie vpon certaine especiall Scots, of his
owne free will, almost without the request of any
bodie. And that they should also further laie abroad,
what helpe the quene and Scots haue had of the
worthy cardinall of Lorraine, & the duke of Guise
the quenes vncke. All which the ambassadors their-
selues (as they haue fullie proued) did well vnder-
stand.

Secondlie, where the quene doth thinke that she
is greatlie benefitted with manie honors by so great
a king, but especiallie in this, that so mightie a
prince hath taken her into the fellowship of the holie
bed, by which there can not any other commoditie
grow to the king than the revenues of the kingdome
which he hath purchased with his great charge and la-
bor: and that the quene considering all this (with
great grieve of mind) doth seeke by what meanes she
might at least expresse some small token of a thank-
full mind for so manie benefits (because if she should
not do something, no small blot would seeme to be
imputed to the quene and the Scots) it came into
her mind to thinke by what meanes she could requite
some part thereof, which she could do (as she thought)
if at the least she did but honor her husband with the
kinglie title, & giue unto him the marriage crowne of
Scotland.

This thing therefore the quene her selfe doth ear-
nestlie desire, and doth courteouslie request all the
states of Scotland, that the same maie be established
by the voices of the full parliament; and that they will
command some three or foure of the chiefest nobilitie
honorable to carie the ensignes of the kingdome to
him, that at the least by this token of loue, the king
& the best of the court maie well perceiue, with what
reuerence and with what dutie they saueur the king

her husband.

And to the end that this request of the quene, for
the rarenesse of the example, should not breed any
doubt in the mind of the nobilitie; and to hold them
as if were in suspence, it was giuen in charge also to
the ambassadors, that they should in manner point
with their finger, that manie ages past, the quene
of Spaine did not onelie for loue the doctore vnto
him, adorne the duke of Ardon her husband, with
the bare name of a king; but did also by the consent
of the nobilitie, giue him title and gouernement o-
uer the same kingdome. The like whereof was al-
so done in our memoire to the quene of Spaine to
her husband the archduke of Austria, & by the quene
of Portugal to the duke of Brabant.

But if that the Scots be moued by the example
of the English, who haue excluded Philip king of
Spaine, that then the ambassadors should easilie
wipe away that doubt, if they admonish the Scots
that the English are not tied to the Spaniards with
that kinde and needfull band as the Scots are to the
French; both which nations haue one priuilege, ma-
gistrats to gouerne, and one fellowship and parti-
cipation of the administration of all the things in
either kingdome. What vnto they must further adde
that it was so far off, that the English should reape
any fruit or commoditie by the Spaniards, that the
king of Spaine himselfe did (as it were) loosing
from the English all the dominion he could, to
performe his affaires out of the realme. And fur-
ther, that the English bring out of all hope for their
quene to haue any issue by the same marriage, they
would not grant vnto it, when there is a certaine
and full hope left to the Scots, that issue may come
of this marriage.

Besides all this, let it be opened vnto the Scots,
what great benefit maie rebound vnto them by this
signe of a thankfull mind. For it maie so happen,
that if the king Dolphin shall seeke himselfe increa-
sed with this title of honor by the Scots, as a note of
their good fauour to him, that he maie raise by his
father the king of France; that he will not by any
meanes permit the quene of Scots his wife to be
excluded from the kingdome of England, after the
death of quene Marie, who was not like to liue long
being soe troubled with the droppe.

These things and manie others were giuen in
charge to the ambassadors (comen out of France) to
declare to the parlement of Scotland. Which being
thus declared to the states and the quene regent,
with might and maine seeking the furthering there-
of; at length it was granted that he should be king
during the life of the quene. For which cause Wil-
lesper Campbell earle of Argile, and James Ste-
ward, bassard brother to the young quene, being per-
sons of S. Andrews, were named to execute their con-
sent vnto the Dolphin, to declare him king; and to
inuest him with the ornaments thereto belonging,
and further to shew the readie minds of the Scots
toward him, not onlie in this but in all other things:
by which any honor or profit might any waie rise
vnto him.

But whilst these men doe prepare all things for
such a iournie, certaine factious persons did beat in-
to their eares, how heauie a iournie that would be
vnto them. For it would happen, that whilst they
were busie in prouiding for small things abroad, they
should by delate corrupt, or by absence cleane ouer-
furne matters of greater importance at home. For
they did know how the subtil wit of James, and
the great power and strength of the earle of Argile
would be misling in those new things which were in
hand amongst these of the religion: for which they
neuer left off intreating and perswading, vntill they

well fished to
catch a frog.

Not so likelie
as that lies
drop out of
your pen.

had wholie staied them from that iournie.

During these affaires, Marie quene of England died, and that worthy ladie Elizabeth succeeded in hir place. Immediatlie thereupon, the yong quene of Scots bare hir selfe as heire to that kingdome, and caused all hir hangings, bedding, vessels, and other household stuffe to be stamped and marked with the title and armes of the kings of England. And although France were then miserable afflicted in chalenging the dominion and gouernment of Aquilane, Naples, and Flanders; yet they would needs heape euill vpon euill, and adde therevnto the title of England, as being vnto them a herie home, and mockerie (as Buchanan tearmeth it.) Neither did the wisser sort of the French looke into that matter: for the Guises, who at that time gouerned all things, did content to this error of the Scottish quene, because they would thereby seeme to haue gotten to themselves a singular hono^r in adding the title of England to the French name.

The regent hauing now gotten a consent (as before you haue heard) of the matrimoniall crowne to be bestowed vpon the husband of the yong quene of Scots, began after a sort to put on a new mind: for by little and little she conuerted that old and accepted courtelie, into commanding arrogancie; and the gentle answers wherewith she was wont to appease all parts, were turned contrarie. Which before she durst not do by reason of the present state, which then was such, as she feared not to promise what she would not haue to be performed, because she had not then obtayned the grant of the matrimoniall crowne: but now hauing all things after hir owne mind, she vsed other conditions, and other speeches. There was also a parlement appointed at Striueling in the first Ihes of Maie.

And because she was heard oftentimes to saie, that she would not suffer the maiestie of the chiefe gouernement to be cast downe from the seat thereof, but would restore it to the former place. By which sayings manie were admonished of some troublesome tempest to follow. Whereupon diuerse came to treat hir for the protestants, amongst which for the dignitie of his name, to make the matter to be more easilie obtained, there were sent Alexander Cunnigame earle of Glencarne, and Hugh Campbell shiriffe of Aine, a worthy knight, before whom the regent could not restraîne hirselfe, but burst forth into these wordes.

These men (saith she) sith they haue preached not verie sincerelie, shall be banished, though you and your ministers resist against it. And when they replied, beseeching hir that she would remember what she had often promised: she answered, that the performance of promise is to be chalenged of princes, so farre as it seemeth commodious for them to performe it. Wherevnto they replied, that they therefore renounced all dutie and obedience vnto hir, and did further forswearne hir of the great mischiefs that would flow out of this fountaine: with which answer she being stroken more than she looked for, said in the end, that she would both thinke on it and them.)

In Iulie and August, there was a conuention of all the prelates and cleargie holden at Edinburgh, in the which certeine men & women of Edinburgh were accused of heresie, and abjured at the towne crosse with faggots on their backs: [whereupon (as saith Lesleus lib. 10. pa. 538.) were great tumults raised at Edinburgh, for the appealing whereof, the lord Selton was made gouernor there.] In this assemble it was required, that the common prayers might be read in the Scottish tongue in churches, with certeine other articles of reformation, whereof the

answer was deferred till March, in which moneth a prouinciall councell was appointed to be holden at Edinburgh. The second of March, the said prouinciall councell of all the prelates and clergie of Scotland began, wherein diuerse articles were proposed by the temporallie: as to haue the prayers and administration of the sacraments in the Scottish language, the election of bishops and all beneficed men to passe by the voices of the temporall lords & people of their diocesses and parishes, with diuerse other reformatiōs: all the which the bishops refused to grant, where through there arose shortly after great trouble in Scotland.

The quene regent caused summons to be given to John Knox, John Molloche, John Dowglas, and Paule Hestane, to appeare at Striueling the tenth day of Maie: and for lacke of appearance they were denounced rebels, and put to the horne. Whereupon the said John Knox being in Perth, perswaded the master of Hildesie, the lords of Culibardin, Dun, Hettarrow, and diuerse other being there assembled, with the burgeses of the towne of saint Johns towne and Dundee, to pull downe the images and altars in all churches, and to suppress the houses of friers, & other religious places. Who after a sermon made by him to that effect, the same tenth of Maie they began in saint Johns towne, and cast downe the abbeie of the Charterhouse, the Blache and Carmelite friers, called the Tullulum [and so cleane, that (as saith Buchanan) within two daies there was left no signe thereof almost to be seene] and reformed all other churches thereabouts, breaking downe the images and altars in Fife, Angus, Pernis, and other parts there next adioining.

The quene regent being aduertised thereof, sent for the duke of Chatelaerault, and diuerse other of the nobilitie, as the earles of Atholl, Argile, Marshall, and others, who came with hir to Perth, otherwise called saint Johns towne, hauing with them two thousand Frenchmen [to whom also repaired (as saith Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 548) the archbishop of saint Andrew and Glasgow, the bishops of Dunkeld, and Dunblane, James prior of saint Andrews, the abbat of Coloper and Dunfermeling, with manie other chiefe of the cleargie] who entered the towne by appointment of the lord Ruthen capteine thereof, and so receiuing it, gaue it in keeping to capteins James Stewart, and capteine Cullane, with their bands of men of warre. In the meane time the erle of Argile, and the prior of saint Andrews, left the quene in Perth, and went to saint Andrews, joining themselves with the other, and made reformation of the churches, casting downe altars, images, houses of friers, and abbeyes in that towne, and in Coloper, and other places thereabout: and assembling a great companie of countrie men, came to Londros, Balmeare, & Coloper, to make resistance against the Frenchmen that were in Falkeland with the quene [coming thither from Perth, after that she had left in Perth five hundred men under the charge of James Stewart cardinall, & James Cullane.] But when they should haue met on Coloper more in battell, the duke of Chatelaerault, the earle Marshall, and others laboured betwixt them, so that the battell was staied, & the quene with the Frenchmen returned vnto Edinburgh.

The earle of Argile, the prior of saint Andrews, and their assurers, came to saint Johns towne and besieged it, till it was to them surrendered. The erle of Huntlie was sent to them from the quene to treat with them of some accord, but he profited not. At the same time a certeine number of persons of the towne of Dundee & Perth, came to the abbeie of Scone, and spoiling the church, burnt it with the most

A prouinciall councell.

Requests made by the laitie.

1559.
John Knox with other are summoned.

Images and frierhouses pulled downe.

Fr.Thin.

The quene regent came to Perth.

Fr.Thin.

S. Andrews

Cowper.

Fr.Thin.

Two armies were pacified.

Saint Johns towne besieged.

Scone abbey burnt.

An assemblee of the cleargie.
Fr.Thin.

Common prayers to be had in the vulgar tongue.

most part of the house, the earle of Argyle, and the prior of saint Andrewes being with them in companie. After this they went to Striueling, and to Liffquod, where they caused the houses of the blacke friers and grate friers to be throwne downe. From thence they passed to Edenburgh, where the quene hearing of their comming, departed with the Frenchmen vnto Dunbar, the duke of Chatelerault, and the erle of Huntlie being with hir in companie.

The earle of Argyle and his companie, called the lords of the congregation, were receiued into Edenburgh by the bailiffes of the towne, where the places of the blacke and grate friers were suddenly ouerthrowne, & the Church a field, and Trinitie college, and saint Giles church were reformed, and the images and altars pulled downe. The lords remaining thus in Edenburgh [apprehended Robert Richardson (as saith Lesleus) that was gouernor of the publicke treasure, toke the keis by force from him, entered the abbey] the coining house, toke the coining tools, seized vpon the quenes moueables, which they found in the palace, and kept the same. * Whilist these things were thus done at Edenburgh, Marwell lord Harries gouernor of the west marches, which at that time was detained prisoner in Edenburgh castell, did priuily get out of the same by a rope hanged to the wall, and hauing speedie horses, departed to his owne companie, shortly after joining himselfe to the lords of the religion.]

Monsieur Doissell and the Frenchmen came from Dunbar to the links of Leith, accompanied with the duke of Chatelerault, the earles of Huntlie, Bothwell, Spourton, and others. And the lords of the congregation came forth of the towne of Edenburgh of purpose to haue giuen battell to the Frenchmen, albeit they were not sufficient partie to resist them. But the erle of Huntlie travelled betwixt them, by whose meanes there met tielue on euerie side, who agreed vpon certeine articles, and so the quene and Frenchmen entered into Leith, and shortly began to fortifie it.

The articles of agreement betweene the regent and the lords of the reformed religion.

I First, that all the souldiers of the religion, and such as did belong to them, should depart from Edenburgh, and leaue the same to the gouernement of the quene: with this prouiso, that the citizens should either remaine, or depart at their pleasure.

2 Item, that those of the religion should restore vnto the magistrats wholie and trulie all such sums of monie, or other pretious things, which they had either priuily taken, or by open force spoiled from the magistrats.

3 Thirdlie, that the quenes palace, which they of the religion did possesse, with all the furniture and ornaments thereof, should be deliuered by againe to such as should be appointed therefore.

4 Fourthlie, that they of the religion should not depart, before they had committed the lord Rutherford and Wetherrow (whome they promised to put in pledges for their credit and good dealing) to the keeping of such as were on the quenes part.

5 Fifthlie, that all men should acknowledge the gouernement of the king and the quene to be lawfull, which before they had gaine said by the pretense of religion: and that they should faithfully obeie the regent, and the old lawes of the kingdome, except such decrees as pertained not to religion.

6 Sixthlie, that they should not by any meanes trouble the catholike priests and ecclesiasticall per-

sons, or hinder them from quiet gathering and inioyning their rents, tithes, and profits, vntill the fourth Ides of Januarie.

7 Seuenthlie, that they should not from henceforth violate or deface churches, religious houses, or any other holie places.

8 Eighthlie, that euerie man might at Edenburgh professe and vse what religion he would, which they commonlie called the libertie of conscience.

9 Ninthlie, that the quene regent should faithfully prouide, that the preachers of the reformed religion should not be molested or hurt, either by hir, or by any of the catholike gouernors. Both parties being thus satisfied with these conditions, the French entered Leith.]

Shortly after this, the duke of Chatelerault, partly through persuation of the earle of Argyle his sisters sonne, and the Westland lords, and partly because he understood that his son the earle of Arrane was fled forth of France to Geneva for the religion, he toke part with the lords from that time forth against the aduise of the bishop of saint Andrewes, and diuerse other his friends. This yere in June, Henrie the king of France, at the triumph of the marriages betwixt the king of Spaine and his daughter, and duke of Sanoie and his sister, was wounded in iusts at the tourneillis in Paris by the count Montgomerie, and died of the hurts the tenth of Iulie next ensuing, being the eleuenth day after he was wounded. Then Francis his sonne, that had married the quene of Scotland, was crowned king at saint Denis, and annointed at Reims in September following.

* In the moneth of September, Croke a noble man of France was sent to the regent, to comfort hir in the kings name, declaring vnto hir that an armie was preparing to come into Scotland, vnder the leading of the marquesse of Albufe or Elbuse (as saith Buchanan) and that in the meane time with all speed some troopes of men should shortly be there with monie, and other defenses of warre. And to the end that nothing should want to further hir, the king would shortly send certeine noble men into Scotland, which should counsell hir in these troublesome affaires. Besides which, he brought letters out of France from the king and the quene, to the prior of saint Andrewes, in which they rather sought to incline his mind by courtesie to obedience, before that they would inforce him thereto by warre. Which letters being by Lesleus turned out of French into Latine, are by me thus deliuered in English, with the answer of the prior to the same.

Francis king of France to Iames prior of the monasterie of saint Andrewes.

After that I understood by certeine letters, & by the common report of all (my cosine) that Scotland did flame in euerie part with tumults and seditions, it is strange to see how greatlie I was astonished therat. But when I heard that you (to whome my dear father, my deere wife, and my selfe, haue giuen so manie large benefites) should be forgetfull of them all liberallie bestowed, and become the author, head, and nourisher of this fire of contention and bralles; I could not be perswaded that you would so farre digresse from that office and dutie of pietie, which you haue alwaies made shew to beare vnto the quene. But if the thing were so, as the common fame doth report of you, I did verelie thinke that the promises and flattering words of others had inticed you to this deceit, onelie to take the fault vpon you; for

Duke Chatelerault taketh part with the reformers of the churches.

King Henrie was hurt and died.

Francis the Dolphin succeeded his father.

Fr.Thn. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 554.

Lesleus lib. 11. pag. 554.

whose cause (when they had discharged themselves thereof) the offense would seeme to be either none, or verie small, after that you had taken it vpon you. Which my opinion of you, if it be true, it shall be as ioisfull to me, as that which should be most ioisfull: for by this meanes I wish that some part of my displeasure (into which I would haue you thinke that you are woorthilie fallen) were quenched, in that you haue (as I heare) but onelie deceiued the good hope which we conceiued of your pietie towards God, and your faithfull seruice towards me.

Wherefore, sith nothing is more dære or acceptable vnto me, than that (controuersies appeased) all things without anie tumult maie be knit together by the law of good order: and sith the same (as it seemeth to me) maie best be done by your trauell, I doe admonish you by these letters, and (for the good will I beare you) doe earnestlie request you, that you will returne to your owne profit and fidelitie, from which you haue most shamefullie fallen, to the end that I maie by the same more plainlie vnderstand that you carie an other mind than that which I can gather out of your foolish doings, the which shall then faillie appere to me, if at length you so bend all your force, that all things disordered in those parts, maie by your diligence be called backe to the commonwealths ancient, sound, and holie forme of obedience, which you know is due to God and me.

Otherwise I would haue you be persuaded that I will shortly subdue you, and all those which shall cleane or minister helpe vnto you, in taking iust punishment vpon you, which I will bitterlie execute. The charge of declaration thereof, and the further large expressing of my mind, I haue committed to this bearer, whome I would haue you credit as much as my selfe. I praye God (cosine) to keepe you in health. Paris the sixteenth kalends of August.

Subscription,

Francis

A little beneath that: De Laubespine.

With which letters also the quene of Scots directed other letters in this forme, as here followeth.

Marie queene of Scots, and Dowager of France, to James the prior of the monasterie of *Saint Andrewes*.

I Can not (cosine) but greatlie wonder, that you which are not onelie nearest to vs by blood, but are also (as you know) greatlie benefited by vs with manie liberalities, should be either of that malice or boldnes, that you would with one fault ouerthrow the maiestie of God, and violate the authoritie of me and the king my husband. For it is a thing woorthie of great admiration, to consider how it might happen that you who being present, did open to me the names of the duke of Chatelaerault, and of manie others, which lined to you to diminish my authoritie, should now being absent (as a leader and head of all other seditious persons) hurt my dignitie, and that in matters of greatest weight, in which the honor of God is lessened, and my authoritie clearelie taken awaie: all which I should more easilie haue beleued of anie other my subiects, than of you.

Trulie most grieuouslie (as I ought) I beare this, that you haue falsified that faith to me, which had a speciall hope of your fidelitie: though as yet I can scarce be persuaded to thinke you to be so farre from truth and reason, that you would be caried awaie in

to such blind errors. All which I desire to fall out to be as true, as true maie be, requesting also of God so to giue to you his light, that returning into the right waie, you maie shew your selfe a good man, and obedient to our lawes, by doing contrarie things to that which you haue already performed. Wherefore, by these letters I admonish, and with intreatie as earnestlie as I can, desire you to recompense your former euill with following good deeds, and that the anger (which I and the king my husband haue bitterlie conceiued against you) maie by that meanes be pacified. Otherwise trulie I would haue you vnderstand, we will execute such punishment vpon you, that you shall for euer be mindfull thereof. The which doubtlesse if you compell vs by your deedes to performe, it shall be to you a most grieuous thing. I praye God keepe you from all danger. Paris the 9 kalends of August.

Subscription: Pour good cosine Marie.

James Stewart the prior of saint Andrewes (whome prosperous successles had before advanced) did in reading these letters of the king and quene so frie in anger and hatred, that he could not forbear but must needs retorne answer, expressing the same (after confirmed by his deedes) though now somewhat smothered with good words. The effect of which letters were in this sort: That he was grieued in his mind as much as he might, because he was so farre fallen into the milke and displeasure of those princes, whome he reuerenced with great dutie, that they should bitterlie obiect vnto him in their letters that he was a seditious person, noted of ingratitude, fraught with malice, and deiled with heresie.

Touching which notes of these wickednes, sith they were imputed to him by the nobilitie of Scotland (meaning such as stood against the reformed religion) he with faire speeches requested the princes, that they would not attribute more to the malice of his enemies in accusing him, than to his brightness in purging himselfe: and that they should not thinke anie thing to be spoken by his enemies, but that which sauoured of malice, enuie, and hatred, especiallie sith they did not onelie go about to diminish his fame abroad amongst the princes, but also at home did openlie laie wait for his life and liuing.

But he would so labor, that all men should well perceiue his good mind (towards the princes) fullie laied abroad without anie veile of dissimulation, whereby his aduersaries should be ashamed to haue laied such open reproch against him, and the king & quene should mislike that they had so easilie credited his enemies. Wherefore he desired that hereafter they should rather beleue anie thing of him, than that he would be noted for an vnthankfull man, as they had obiected vnto him. From the detestable spot whereof (being of all the verie worst, sith nature abhorreth the same) he would keepe himselfe, and rather die by anie kind of torment, than to suffer the least spot of such a vice to dwell in his name, especiallie in the affaires of that king and quene, whereof he had found the first most courteous, and the second most bountifull.

And therefore, as he had with all dutie hitherto prosecuted their fauour, so he (would during his life) contend, that his trauell, diligence, and faith, should neuer want in performing or defending their affaires, so that they would not burthen him with that which might be a detriment to the cause of God and religion: for if either of them were in hand, neither the fraudulent counsels of his struing aduersaries, neither the bitter words of the sharpe threats of the king or quene, should make him leaue off, or repress the

I can not see why Lesleus should call hie Dowager, sith by hie letter it appeareth hie husband was yet liuing, in that she talketh of hie and hie husbands displeasure.

155

Leith be

The S men are quitted.

The qu came to denburg

New m sent into Scotlan

cc their worthie force in taking upon him the defense of those things.

cc Therefore he would not haue the king or quene to thinke that their authoritie is touched, when he labored to pull auaite the deuises of the papists. From which queltie thing (as he supposed) the honor of God, the glorie of the king and quene, and the helpe and health of his countrie to be contained therein he will not be withdraue by the force of anie man; nor be in quiet for all the threats of the king and quene, until he haue wholie cut auaite the branches of superstition, and utterly pulled vp the roots thereof.

cc Crokes handcarle performed his ambassage for which he came (as before you haue heard) in deliuering these letters: but forthwith alanded at Leith a Traurian a Frenchman, with foure troops of soldiers, with a great masse of monie, & other furniture needfull for the warres: whome after a few daies the regent sent back againe into France, to requyre of the king, that foure other companies of soldiers might be sent ouer, which might with those already holding Scotland, supplie the number of twentie companies; to whome also it were expedient to ioine a hundred horsemen, which number she affirmed would suffice to pacifie all the tumults in Scotland, so that foure ships well appointed might alwaies lie in the haven of Leith, to watch the port: All which if the Scots were prouider by the benefit of the king, and that the comming of his brother the marquisse of Albute were hastened, she promised them to bring all things to an end.

Besides which, she did also signifie vnto the king, that the Scots of the reformed religion, for the increase of their faction, had secretlie growen in league with some of the nobilitie of France, who did ballie send letters and messengers to the Scots, to incourage them not to leaue off from their attempts; promising also vnto them that they would hinder (by all the meanes they could) that no great armie should be made out of France against them: and moreover, in that the Scots had sent ambassadors to Germanie, and into Denmarke, for religious cause, to requyre aid from thence, but their chieffest and principall hope did rest (as saith Lelous) in England.

During these things, the duke of Chateleraut and the lords of the congregation sent to the quene (whereof we will speake more hereafter) beseeching hir to leaue off from making of forts within the realme. But she would not grant so to do: wherefore they assembled their whole forces in Edenburgh, and besieged the towne of Leith in October: the quene and Frenchmen, with the bishops of saint Andrews, Glasgow, Dunfreis, the lord of Seton, and diuerse other Scottishmen being within it. But the Frenchmen of warre issued forth of Leith, and met nere to the abbey of Holie rood house, with the Scottish lords and their companie, where manie Scottishmen were slaine, & the rest chased into Edenburgh: the Frenchmen also following them vnto the gates of Edenburgh, had entred, if those within the castell had not shot off the artilerie at them, to stave the slaughter and pursue.

In the time of this siege, the young lard of Leithington, secretarie to the quene, being with hir in Leith, left the towne, & secretlie departing, got him to the lords, and holpe greatlie afterwards to obtaine aid out of England. After this, the quene and Frenchmen came to Edenburgh, which was peaceablie rendred to them, where they remained all that winter. About the same time, Nicholas Pelue the bishop of Amiens, monsieur de la Brosse, & two doctors of diuinitie, came to Scotland in September, and la Brosse was made lieutenant of the French armie, monsieur Partigues coronell of the footmen.

And with them came a great companie of French souldiers vnto the quene regent, so that then the French power was thirtie fixe hundred good men of warre, besides two bands of Scottish souldiers, vnder the leading of capteine Anthonie Kenedie, and James Stewart of Cardonall.

* The Frenchmen being thus entered France, the chiefest of the nobilitie were assembled at Edenburgh, of whome there was a day required of hearing to be giuen to la Brosse, and to the bishop, affirming that they were sent thither as ambassadors. To whome it was answered, that they did not seeke peace (as they did dissemble) but threaten war: for other wise to what end were it to bring armed soldiers to dispute thereof? For the Scots were not ignorant of the state of things, that they would commit them selues to that deciding of matters, in which they might be compelled to accept conditions answerable to the mind of the aduersarie. But if amongst weapons it pleased them to make peace, they would also prouide, that they would not rather seeme to be vnto them thereunto by compulsion, than quietly led by reason. For if they did trulie from their heart require that in deed which they seeme in words, they would discharge those strange souldiers, and meet (as they haue often done in other places) vnarmed, as to a thing that by words and reason is to be decided, and not by swords the strength to be compassed. And thus much for the ambassadors.

Now you haue heard before of the battell of Leith, the besieging and the regaining of Edenburgh; touching which, because it is omitted before in the reciting of the things done in those places, I thinke it not amisse (though it come a little out of course) to set it downe (as Buchanan hath placed the same) next after the speeches used to those ambassadors. Thus therefore he writeth touching the defense of Leith. These noble men (meaning those at Edenburgh) did write to the quene much after this maner, That they did greatlie maruell, that the regent prouoked with no iniuries, did so sone depart from the former covenants; and expelling the ancient inhabitants of Leith, and placing there a colonie of strangers, she would in that place build a castle to the destruction of the lawes and liberties of the realme, and to the danger of the liues of them all. Wherefore they did earnestlie intreat hir, that she would desist from this thing rashlie attempted (against the faith of hir promise, the publike commoditie, and the lawes and liberties of the kingdome) least she inforce them by necessitie to prae in aid of the whole people.

Besides which also, they which were assembled at Edenburgh, did write to the same effect; about a moneth after that they had dispatched the other letters, adding these petitions to the same last letters; That ouerthrowing the new fortresses, she would command all the strangers and hired people to depart out of the towne, to the end that it might be free for all men (according to iustice) there to traffike and vse their mutuall trade of buying & selling one with an other. The which if she refused to do, they would take it for a sure token, that she ment to bring this kingdome into seruitude; against which euill they would prouide all whatsoeuer remedie that they could. Within three daies after, the quene sent Robert Forman chiefe herald to answer the matter, with instructions and commandements deliuered to him in these words.

First of all, you shall shew vnto them, that nothing could happen vnto vs more contrarie to our opinion, than that there should be anie other hauing authoritie here, besides my daughter and hir husband my sonne in law, vpon whome all our authoritie doth depend; that the former acts of the nobilitie,

Fr. Thin.
Buchanan
lib. 16.

Buchan, lib. 16.

1559.

Leith besieged

The Scottishmen are vanquished.

The quene came to Edenburgh.

French men sent into Scotland.

"tie, and this present request, or rather commande-
 "ment doth well declare, that they acknowledge no
 "other superiortie; and that their demands (or rather
 "threatnings) with what shew of words soever they be
 "cloked, are sufficientlie enough knowen unto vs, as
 "no new things. Again, you shall require of the duke
 "of Chastelaucourt, that he call to mind what he hath
 "promised to vs by his words, and to the king by his
 "letters. Which was, that he would not onelie hear-
 "ken to the kings commandement; but also worke,
 "that his sonne the earle of Arrane should not at all
 "ioine with those tumults of the countrie, and whether
 "the things which he now doth, are the performance
 "of his promises.

"To their letters also you shall answer; that we
 "haue openlie shewed our indueor to bring things to
 "quiet; that we will grant to anie thing, which maie
 "not resist the pietie due to God, and doth not fight
 "with their duetie towards their king and quene, and
 "that I did neuer so much as once thinke of the over-
 "throw of their lawes and libertie; and much lesse, so
 "much as dreame of conquering the kingdome by
 "violence. For to whome, or for whome should I seeke
 "the kingdome, when my daughter doth already
 "possesse it? Touching the defense and fortifying of
 "Leith, you shall aske them this; whether that we at
 "anie time haue attempted anie thing that waie, be-
 "fore that they with manie assemblies, and at length
 "with conspiracie among themselves, did openlie
 "shew that they would shake off the lawfull gouerne-
 "ment, and before that they at their pleasure troubled
 "the whole publike state (vnto knowledge to vs, who
 "held the place and authoritie of the chiefeest gouernor)
 "strengthened their factions with strong cities, and
 "made league and couenants with our ancient en-
 "emies?

"And to omit other things, what cause can they (in
 "the end) bring forth, whie it was lawfull for them to
 "reueine an armie at Edinburgh, to inuade the gou-
 "uernors of those affaires? And that it is not lawfull
 "for vs at Leith for our owne defense and safetie, to
 "haue anie other gard about vs? Cruellie they seeke
 "this therein, that we should laboꝝ to shun their furie
 "(as hitherto we haue done) by continuall and daile
 "change of places. Is there anie thing in their let-
 "ters that mentioned their dutie to the right magi-
 "strate? Doth there lie open anie waie for the resto-
 "ring of concord? Do they shew anie token that
 "they would haue these seditions pacified, and that
 "they would all things should be reduced to their for-
 "mer state?

"Let them cloke this with what colour they will of
 "publike commoditie; yet it is manifest that they
 "thinke and seeke nothing lesse. For if they had one-
 "lie staied vpon a concord, we haue often shewed
 "them a waie thereunto. Neither are they ignorant
 "that these French had (by the commandement of
 "their king) bene long before dispatched out of Scot-
 "land, vnlesse their doings had bene the cause of
 "their state. Wherefore, if they will yet now offer
 "anie honest conditions which may induce vs to hope;
 "and that (the maiestie of the gouernement alwaies
 "saued sound) maie declare that they will modestlie
 "and obedientlie obeie their superiours; we will re-
 "fuse no means to restore a concord & quiet amongst
 "them and vs, nor omit anie thing that maie tend to
 "the publike commoditie.

"Neither are we alone so affected towards them,
 "but also their king and quene; who hath sent vnto
 "them a worthy knight of the order of the scallop
 "shell, and one of the chiefe of the ecclesiasticall order,
 "with letters and commandements touching the
 "same: whome they did so contemne, as that they
 "would not bouchsafe them answer, no not so much

as hearing. Wherefore, you shall demand, and
 command the duke, the nobilitie, and all others of
 that condition soeuer, that they depart in sunder;
 or otherwise, that they shall not be kept together,
 vnlesse it be by strength of armes. To all this the
 next day, which was the three and twentieth of Oc-
 tober, the nobilitie answered after this order.

"We easilie vnderstand by your letters and com-
 mandements sent by the herald, how obstinatlie
 you be euillie minded against pietie towards God,
 the publike commoditie of the realme, and the com-
 mon libertie of vs all: all which things we must
 defend, as of right we ought. Wherefore, from
 henceforth we do suspend and forbid your gouerne-
 ment, in the name of the king and quene, or by
 what other name or title you do vsurpe the publike
 administration of the kingdome; as persons cer-
 teinlie knowing, that those things which are now
 done by you, do with the mind of those princes fight
 against the publike safetie of this realme.

"And as you do not esteeme vs lawfull subiects of
 those princes & of this kingdome, to make a publike
 senate or councill: so we do not acknowledge you
 for a regent to execute supreme authoritie; speciallie
 with the gouernement (if you haue anie such commit-
 ted vnto you by the princes) is for most iust & weigh-
 ty causes forbidden you: and that in the name of
 the same princes, whose counsellors we are bound to
 be, chiefe in matters which pertain to the safetie
 of all the people. And although we haue determi-
 ned not to see anie danger, in deliuering of that
 towne, in which you haue placed strange and hired
 souldiers against vs: yet for the reuerence which we
 beare vnto you, as vnto our quene mother; we
 earnestlie with all faithfull intreatie beseech you,
 that you depart from thence; whilst the cause of
 publike commoditie doth inforce vs to recouer that
 towne by weapons.

"Besides which, we further request, that you will
 leade them out of the towne with you, within foure
 and twentieth houres; if there be anie which chal-
 lenge vnto themselves the names of ambassadors,
 either to decide controuersies, or to gouerne the af-
 faires. For it is but equitie that we prouide for the
 safetie, and willinglie spare the blood of all those
 hired souldiers, aswell for the ancient amitie which
 hath bene betwene the French and the Scots, as
 for the mariage of our quene with their king:
 which friendship we would rather should be increas-
 ed than diminished. The same day also, the said
 herald declared at his returne to the regent, that the
 day before it was perswaded in an assembled coun-
 cell of the nobles and the other commons; that all the
 deeds and sayings of the regent did onelie tend to
 verie tyrannie.

"Herevpon, there was a decre made to take the
 gouernement from hir: so that the whole com-
 panie subscribed, as to a most iust matter: and
 that there they did forbid anie ambassage, giuen or
 sent to hir by hir sonne in law and hir daughter:
 further, commanding hir to execute no gouerne-
 ment, vntill the generall assemblee of a parlement
 to be appointed by them in such place as they should
 thinke conuenient. The five and twentieth daie, the
 lords of the religion sent an herald to Leith, to will
 all the Scots to depart the towne within foure and
 twentieth houres, and to separat themselves from the
 subuerter of publike libertie. Thus much Buchan-
 an of this done about the state of Leith, before the
 nobilitie besieged the same (as is before set downe.)
 And so againe to the order of the historie.]

"The lords of Scotland, perceiuing the French
 men increased, so that they by their owne forces onlie
 were not able to resist them, sent William Spetel-
 lan

The lords too
 for aid vnto
 the quene of
 England.

They had
 their request
 granted them
 1560. Bud
 1559. Lell
 pledges sent
 into England

Lord Hamil-
 ton taketh
 part with the
 crown of Eng-
 land

The towne
 Glasgow is
 taken by the
 French

The towne
 Glasgow is
 taken by the
 French

Certaine
 Frenchme
 name.

1560. Le

The towne
 Burnt
 is fortified

lan to Elizabeth the queene of England for assistance, to expell the Frenchmen. Whiche the queene of England granted, not onlie for to serue the Scottish mens turne; but speciallie for the sake of hir owne realme and state, which as the dukes thought to stand in danger of trouble; in case the Frenchmen were suffered to remaine in Scotland: considering the euill dealing of the French king and his counsell in some pointes already shewed. The queene of England therefore sent the duke of Northfolke to Berwicke, whither came to him the earle of Argile, the prior of saint Andrews, Harrie the maister of Maxwell, Robert Carnegie, and the young lord of Livingston secretarie; & made agreement to haue aid of England, to the effect aforesaid.

And for sure keeping hereof, the Scottish lords deliuered pledges into England, there to remaine during the life of the king of France, and one yeere after his decesse. The pledges were these: David Hamilton, sonne to the duke of Chateaufort; another called Colme Campbell, sonne to the earle of Argile; Robert Douglas, brother to the prior of saint Andrews; and the lord of Acheslun, and a sonne of the lord Ruthuen. About the same time, James Hamilton earle of Arrane, eldest sonne to the duke of Chateaufort, and capteine of the Scottish companies of men of armes and archers in France, being fled for religion secretlie to Geneva, from thence came by the conuoy of maister Randall Englishman into England: which at his coming into Scotland he performed, and joined himselfe with the earle of Argile, and other lords in the cause aforesaid.

The duke of Chateaufort, the earles of Argile, Arrane, and others, came to the towne of Glasgowe, and caused the images of altars to be taken downe, seizing the bishops living into their hands, and toke the castell of Glasgowe pertaining to the bishop, and put certeine gentlemen into it to keepe it. Whereof the Frenchmen being aduertised, marched forward to Glasgowe, to the number of fife thousand men: the bishop of Glasgowe, the lords Sempill, Seiton, Ros, and diuerse others with them, toke the castell againe, and staid one night of the towne, returned on the next morning to Kirkintulloch, and from thence to Lithgow and Edenburgh.

After their returne from Glasgowe, a certeine number of Frenchmen went to Striueling, and passing by the bridge over the water of Firth, came into Fife, in purpose to haue gone vnto saint Andrews, and to haue fortified the towne. But they being in Kingcorme, there assembled together in Fife the earles of Arrane, and Mothes, the prior of saint Andrews, the lord Ruthuen, the maister of Lindsey, and diuerse other, hauing with them no great number: but yet they daile skirmished with the Frenchmen, and would not suffer them to come from the sea side; where diuerse Frenchmen were slaine, and one of their capteins, with thirtie of his souldiers, and few Scottishmen, or in maner none: except that the earle of Southerland, who chanced to be with them at the picking, was sore hurt and maimed in the arme with the brydge of a calauer shot.

As the Frenchmen were in their progresse, at the mouth of the water of Leuin in Fife, there arrived in their sight a naue of ships: which at the first hearing they toke to be French ships, but shortly after perceiuing them to be the English naue, they returned with great diligence to Burnt Island, where they passed the ferrie of Kingcorme in botes and craters to Leith, and instantlie began to fortifie that towne, casting great trenches about it, and making great blockehouses for their defense, as preuenting such perils as otherwise might haue befallen them, and

using remedies in due time, by warlike policie of present defense, to prouide against afterclaps. The English ships came to the rode of Leith, where they call anchor, the fourth Ides of August.

At the same time, whilst those of the religion had almost despoiled all monasteries, certeine battell of monks, hartlie for harted to the catholike religion (as the Romish cleergie tearmeth it) and hartlie blinded with desire of preie (as in all assemblies of battell there will be some) ouerthrew the monasterie of the Carmelite friers at Aberdeen. Who going about also to haue spoiled the monasteries of the Trinitie, and of the friers spinous, were hindered thereof by the lord Leslie, and the baron of Buchanane: at the commandement of the earle of Huntley. Notwithstanding which, they could not be so sufficientlie repressed, but that they went to old Aberdeen (for so they call that place in that towne, which is beautified with the bishops palace, the cathedral, and the vniuersitie) and would haue assaulted the magnificent and statelie church thereof. But to keepe them from the same, the bishop, & John Leslie (the official of that place, the one by counsell, the other by preaching; and both by the aid of the earle of Huntley) did their indeuor, at what time the Leslies put their bestes their purpose.

The queene regent hearing of the arrival of the English, sent vnto the viceadmirall of that fleet, named maister Winter, requiring to know of him, for what cause he was come into those waters. This gentleman addressing himselfe to accomplish the commandement imposed and laid vpon him, came face to face to the said vice-admirall, and with countenance, wherein appeared tokens of inward courage, put forth his demand as he was intoned. The viceadmirall answered, that he had bene abroad on the seas seeking after pirats, and in case anie of them came thither, he was arrived there in the forth to wait on them: where as the principall cause in deed was to impeach, that no Frenchman should land there, in case anie came forth of France, and also to keepe them that late in finkith from vessels, and that no Frenchman should passe by sea forth of Leith.

Whereupon the queene regent did send vnto the king of Frances orator in that realme, to request the queene of England, that she would call hir ships home againe, and that she would not send aiding souldiers to the lords of the religion (whome Leslies neuer tearmeth by anie other name than sedaries and seditious persons) whereby the peace might be broken with the French, and so occasion of warre giuen. Wherevnto hir maiestie answered (with no lesse care of hir kingdome than became the maiestie of so good a mother to haue of hir children) that she had no such mind as to make warre. But because that the certeinlie vnderstood, that great troops of Frenchmen did daile land and increase in Scotland, for what cause she knew not: she could do no lesse than place souldiers in diuerse forts and hauens, which might defend the English from the malice or hurt of such strangers, if they should attempt anie thing. Perther would she suffer that hir people should set foot in Scotland, vntesse that they were prouoked therevnto by iniuries offered them.

About the same time, the queene regent, hearing that the duke of Northfolke was come to Newcastle as generall lieutenant of the north, sent an herald with a letter to him, in which letter it was signified that the herald had credit to declare further matter than was contained in the same letter. But when he was demanded what he had to say, he denied to haue anie credit at all. Wherefore William Flower, then Chester herald, and now Portreie king of armes, was

An English naue.

Leslieus lib. 10. pag. 563. 1560. Fr. Thin.

This Leslie is now called bishop of Ros and compiled an historie of Scotland in Latine, printed at Rome.

Leslieus lib. 10. pag. 564. Fr. Thin.

A Scots herald sent to the duke of Northfolke.

They had their request granted them. 1560. Buch. 1559. Leslie.

Pledges sent into England

Lord Hamilton sent with the earle of Argile.

The towne of Glasgowe taken.

Certaine Frenchmen slaine.

1560. Leslie.

The towne of Burnt Island is fortified.

lords sent vnto the duke of land.

An English
herald sent to
the queene of
Scots.

was sent unto the queene, who comming to Holie
rood house nere to Edinburgh, was receiued by
sundrie heralds, & so was had to one of their houses,
and there kept for that night. The next day after he
had dined, he was brought to the court, and at his
entering within the gates, there were a number of
harquebussiers readie with their peeces that discharg-
ed and shot off the same.

At his comming to the presence of the queene, he
with dutifull obessance deliuered his letters, and af-
ter the same had bene read, he was demanded what
credit he had to vttter. Whereupon he declared, that
the duke of Posfolke, being the queenes maiesties
lieutenant in the north parts of England, maruelled
greatlie that she would send an herald with letters,
and write therein how she had giuen credit to him;
and yet when he was demanded to vtter his credit,
he should confesse that he had none. The queene
herewith called for the herald, to vnderstand whether
he had credit or not: who denied to haue anie at all.
Wherewith the queene seemed to be somewhat abashed,
but neuertheless she brake forth and said, that she
maruelled greatlie that the queene of England
should send hir ships into hir riuer, without giuing
hir knowledge aforesaid.

Chester answered thereto, that where it was cer-
teinlie knowne, that the French king had prepared
to send a power of men of warre into Scotland,
without aduertising hir thereof; she could not but
thinke that dealing verie strange, and therefore had
in verie deed sent certeine of hir ships, with vittels
for prouision to be laid within hir townes and castles
on the frontiers. Which ships by tempest being dis-
persed, might happilie be dizen into the riuer there,
albeit he had not spoke with anie of them since there
comming forth. But yet (as he had heard by others)
they had bene verie vncourteouslie bled: for com-
ming in after that maner for succor, the canon had
bene bent against them. Herewithall the count
Partigues standing by, began to speake verie stout
words vnto Chester, alleging that where it was per-
ceiued well enough, that the queene of England
ment to make war against his maister the French
king, he trusted she should gaine as little thereby, as
his sister had done in breaking with hir father Hen-
rie the late French king. Chester herevnto answer-
ed, that he thought to haue found but one regent
in Scotland, to whome he should need to make an-
swer: whereupon Partigues was commanded to
silence.

All this while the queene had talked with Chester
in the Scotish tong. And because he did not so well
vnderstand hir, he began to speake in the French
language: whereat the queene seemed greatlie to re-
ioisse, & so began againe to discourse with him of hir
griefs; and he on the other part made hir answer as
fell best to purpose. And at length, when he was de-
manded what further credit he had; he declared, that
where she had requested a safe conduct for monsieur
le Brosse to passe through England into France, if
she would see him safelie conueied to Bertwike, he
durst assure hir of a sufficient safe conduct for his
safe passage through the queene his mistresse realme:
but at length, there was another gentleman com-
mended to him, in lieu for la Brosse, that was his
cousine. And now when Chester should take his leaue,
he declared that he had not bene courteouslie dealt
with: for since his comming thither, he could not
be suffered to passe anie where abroad out of his
chamber, but at meale times. And therefore if anie
of hir messengers should come into the queene his
mistresse dominions, he would procure (if he might)
that they should tast of the like intertainment. But
the queene seemed not to vnderstand that he had bin

in ante: so he dealt with, the thing that she
was not well contented therewith; and so Chester
toke his leaue, and returned backe into England,
without anie rewarde for his paines taken in that
iourne, at the hands of the Scotish queene: how so
euer she liked of his message.

In the meane time, there was an armie prepa-
red in England, of seven or eight thousand men, who
were sent into Scotland; the lord Greie of England
being appointed generall, who came to the linkes,
beside the towne of Leith, on saturday the first of
April. Before they pitcht downe their field on the
said linkes, monsieur Partigues, colonell of the
French armie, issued forth of Leith with nine hun-
dred harquebussiers of Frenchmen, to a little knoll
called the Balke hill, where a fore, continuall, and hot
skirmish was begun betwixt the Englishmen and
Frenchmen, with hagbutts, calauiers, and pistolets,
which skirmish continued five or six houres, in the
which there were manie slaine on both parties, and
diuerse hurt. At length Partigues was forced with
his companie to retire backe to the towne of Leith,
and the Englishmen pitched downe their campe, and
planted their ordinance beside the said hill.

The lord Greie being in Inskelburgh, sent to the
queene regent, that late as then in the castell at
Edinburgh, desiring an abstinence of warre for foure
and twentie houres, that in the meane time he might
send some of his counsell to declare to hir the cause
of his comming with that armie, and to commune
of such things as might stand the shedding of blood.
The queene granted herevnto, and sent an herald to
Leith, to cause the said assurance to be taken: but
yet he came to the towne, the skirmish aforesaid
was begun with forwardnesse (nough of both sides).

In this meane time, the lord Greie sent sir George
Howard, and sir James Cross to the castell of
Edinburgh, to speake with the queene to that effect:
who had long conference with hir vpon the blocke-
house at the vtter gate of the castell, during the time
of the skirmish; where they declared, that the occasi-
on of the comming of the armie, was for the cause
aboue mentioned, desiring the queene to procure the
Frenchmen to depart the realme of Scotland: and
they promised in that case to returne againe into
their owne realme, and neither to disquiet French-
men nor Scots. Whereupon the queene toke time to
be aduised till the next day, that she might consult
with the principall personages within the towne of
Leith, requiring that it might be lawfull for hir to
send to them to that effect, which was granted.

The next day she sent one Drummond a trum-
petter, or herald (as saith Lelleus) with a letter to
monsieur de la Brosse, to the effect aforesaid, direc-
ting him to passe to the English campe, and to get a
guide with him to go to the towne of Leith, as was
agreed: and there was one appointed to go with him.
But immediatly after his departing from the Eng-
lish campe, he was suddenlie called backe againe,
and his letters taken from him, was commanded
to repaire to the castell of Edinburgh to the queene,
and to declare to hir that they would not haue anie
talke, but would be reuenged on the Frenchmen, for
the slaughter of their men the night before. Thus
the parole ceassing, the siege was inforced with
right sharpe pursute, and strong defending on either
part.

The Englishmen cast trenches vpon the south-
east side of the towne, and raised a little mount which
they called mount Bellam after the capitaine name,
and placed their ordinance aloft thereon: but because
it was so farre from the towne, they did not so much
scath thereto as they intended. The lord Greie, lieu-
tenant of the English armie, lodged (during this
siege)

1560.
An English
armie.
Lelleus lib. 10.
pag. 565.

They were
backed with
500 pikers
which kept
aloofe.

The lord
Greie sent
vnto the
queene.

Men are sent
to speake with
the queene
mother.

The French-
men to depart
the realme.

The English
are desirous
to reuenge the
injuries done
vnto them.

A trench cast
to little pur-
pose.

Partigues a
forward cap-
taine, but an
vntrue pro-
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siege) within the towne of Leith, in the deanes house, and the most part of their demillances and other housemen late in the same towne. The Scotsmen with their capitaine lodged in hailes, tents, and panitions, upon the south and southeast side of the towne of Leith, and diuerse Scottish lords incamped with them in the fields, as the earles of Argyle, Arrane, Morton, and Glencairne; the lords Bots, Ogiltrie, the prior of Saint Andrezus, the maister of Sparwell, and others. The duke of Chateleraut, and diuerse with him remained in Holie rood house: and with the quene in the castell, the bishop of S. Andrezus, the bishop of Dunkeld, the earle Sparshall, the lord Erskin capitaine of the castell, maister James Macgill cleirke of the register, the promost of Douglas, called maister Abraham Cheichton, and diuerse others.

On Easter euen, capitaine Wood, and capitaine Deshicke, seruing on the sea vnder maister Winter the English admerall there, were appointed by him to passe by the riuer to Blackenelle, who with their bands going aboard into a barke prepared for that purpose, sailed forward: and on Easter day in the morning, presenting themselves before the castell, it was yelded to them by certaine Frenchmen that were within, and thereupon it was deliuered to the keeping of James Hamilton, an ancient gentleman; and capitaine Wood, being set on shore, came to the campe before Leith by land. On blacke Monday, the Frenchmen, issuing forth of Leith, set upon the Englishmen in their trenches, and did much harme: as in the English historie it further appeareth. During the siege thus afoze Leith, the quene regent was soze bered with sickenelle, but neuertheless, she continued to labor for agrément, not ceasing to send to the lords for to haue the matter taken vp. And for the better accomplishing of hir desire, she procured the earle of Huntley to come forth of the north, who toke by his lodging in Edinburgh, and toke great paines to treat betwixt the quene and lords for some agrément: but when he perceiued his travell to be in vaine, he returned into the north againe, and left the siege lieng still as hee found it.

In this meane while, the Englishmen, lodging on the southside of the towne beside mount Bellam, battered with their great artillerie at the parish church of Leith, and at saint Anthonies kipple, in which the Frenchmen had laid certaine peeces of artillerie, and at length beat it downe: but perceiuing they could not do anie great hurt to the walles on that side, they cast new trenches vpon the south and southwest side of the towne, and raised a mount there, naming it mount Summerfet, & placed there on certaine peeces in batterie, and so beat the walles, that a great part thereof was ouerthrowne, and a breach made. Whereupon the Englishmen & Scots on a morning came with their ladders, and presenting themselves to the assault, found the breach nothing reasonable; so that although they egerlie pressed forward to enter the towne, yet they were fiercely beaten backe with great slaughter and bloudshed on both parts, but namelie of the assailants.

The Englishmen, perceiuing that they were too rash in assaulting the towne, being not assaultable, deuised other thifts to obtaine their purpose, raising an other mount of earth on the west side of the water of Leith, and named it mount Falcon. Aloft on this mount, when it was brought vp vnto a great height, they planted their great artillerie, which continually beat into the towne, soze annoieng them within, but speciallie beating the houses and places by the thore side, so that none might go by nor downe the towne on that part, without danger to be slaine.

with shot from that mount. The Frenchmen, during the time of the siege, manie times issued forth towards the lands, and sometimes towards the trenches, so that sundrie soze skirmishes chanced betwixt the Englishmen and them, with the slaughter of diuerse, both of the one part and the other. Amongest other of them within, there were slaine two Scottish men of name, to wit, capitaine Kenedie, and young Henrie Drummond: and of them without, there was slaine a Scottish gentleman, called the lard of Cleisch.

The English armie was thoughtlie furnished with vittels forth of all parts of the realme, and that vpon reasonable prices: but the French within the towne could get none, more than they had provided before the comming of the English armie, which when it began to faile them, they were constrained to eat their owne horses, whose flesh seemed to them in that necessitie more delicious, than before that time anie manner of venison. Those within Insketh also were in great necessitie of vittels: but yet neither they within the one place, nor they within the other, would render their strength, looking still for aid forth of France. * Whilest these things were done in Scotland, the French king, to shew how he fauoured the pope, and how farre he maligned the reformed lords of Scotland, sent his ambassadoz John Babone a Burdseie knight, and that eloquent man Anthonie Paret of France to pope Pius the fourth of that name, to yeld all the dominions of France & Scotland at the popes commandement.

In the meane time, the quene regent, perceiuing hir sicknесс so to increase, that she looked for present death, sent for the duke of Chateleraut, and all the lords of Scotland that were in the towne of Edinburgh, and in the campe: who came vnto hir altogether into the castell of Edinburgh, where she made vnto them a graue and pithe exhortation, persuading them to vnitie and concord with their ancient friends of France; and now more steadfast to them than at anie time before, by reason of the mariage of the quene their god soueraigne, with the king of France. And herewith she brake out into certaine words, to dissuade them from the amitie contracted with the Englishmen, declaring that the Englishmen assted them not for anie other respect, than for their owne turne and commoditie. Whereupon, for hir owne part she said, that she fauoured the weale of the realme of Scotland, as much as France; considering she had the honor to be quene and regent thereof, and hir daughter heritable quene of the same.

Furthermore she said, that if she had attempted anie thing that seemed or appeared to the noble men contrarie thereto; the same came to passe rather for lacke of wisdom and iudgement, than for want of aies god will: and if it pleased God to prolong hir daies, she would be glad to amend that had bene done amisse: and if he called hir to his mercie, she praied them most hartlie to acknowledge their dutie vnto the quene their soueraigne, and to mainteine their ancient amitie with the king and realme of France, & to make some god accord with the French that were within the towne of Leith, who would gladly accept the same, to the end that as well they as the Englishmen should depart this realme. For she feared greatly (as she said) least if the Frenchmen departed, the Englishmen would still remaine, and subdue the land to their obedience: and therefore she besought all god Scottishmen to haue respect to the libertie and weale of their countrie.

After she had talked thus a god while with manie teares, she desired the lords to forgive hir in anie thing wherein she had offended anie of them, during the time of hir being in Scotland, which they gladly seemed

The towne of Leith being provided of vittels.

Fr. Thin. Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 568.

The quene sent for the lords.

The quenes oration vnto the nobles.

A mistrustfull mind.

560.
English
e.
us lib. 10.
565.

ep were
ad with
pikes
ch kept
e.

the lord
ie sent
othe
nc.

The castell of Blackenelle towne.

She more hereof in England.

Lesleus lib. 10.
The quene laboured for an agrément.

en are sent
peake with
quene
ther.

the French-
n to depart
realms.

Saint Anthonies kipple
batter downe.

Mount Summerfet.

the English
delirious
revenge the
uries done
to them.

They are beaten backe.

Mount Falcon.

French call
little gurs
e.

secured to do: and on the other part, the forgaue them with all hir hart (as it appered) all offenses which they had committed against hir: and thus diuerse of them weeping, she toke euerie of them by the hand, and so they taking leaue of hir, departed, and returned into Edenburgh, and to their campe. Whilste the siege thus laie before the towne of Leith, diuerse great troubles rose in sundrie parts of the realme, and speciallie betwixt the earle of Huntleie, and the earle of Atholl, so that there was taking of prisoners, and overthrowing of houses on either part, and great preparation made; and armie put in a readinesse to invade either others countreies.

But this businesse was pacified by the trauell and good mediation of maister Alexander Gordon, then postulat of Gallowaie, maister John Lesle official of Aberdeen, and William Lesle the young lard of Buchquhan, who agreed them for all matters in controuersie, & caused them to go to either others house. [During which siege of Leith also, the earle Bothwell, and Sarlatouie, then capteine of the souldiers, and gouernor of the castell of Dunbar, did at Dunbar with many light excursions intercept many of the English and Scots going to Leith, whome they ransomed for a great summe.]

At the same time, one maister Donald Frasier, archdeacon of Rosse, toke the bishops castell of the canonic of Rosse, and kept the same against maister Henrie Stinclair, then bishop there, and the chiefest men of authoritie in that diocesse, as Wachenze, Balnagoun, Foulis, and the shiriffe Cromerchie, who assembled about the same, and besieged the castell, where great force was used, both by them without to win it, and of them within to defend it. The bishop being then resident in Cromerchie castell, hearing that the house wold not be gotten without great slaughter, thought it against his conscience, his profit, and honor, to win it in that manner: and therefore sending for maister John Lesle, official of Aberdeen, and maister Alexander Dunbar, subchantor of Purreie, by their labour and diligent treating in the matter, the bishop by reasonable appointment recovered his castell of them that held it against him.

The French king, vnderstanding in what distresse his men remained that were besieged within Leith, and perceiuing himselfe not able to send an armie to succour them within the time that their necessitie required, thought good to trie if the matter might be taken vp; and to that effect sent two ambassadoz, the earle of Randon, and monsieur Ponluc bishop of Valence, who declared to the quenes maiestie of England, the cause of their comming; which was, to desire hir to retire hir armie south of Scotland, vpon some such reasonable conditions as might be agreed vpon. And herewith they declared that they were sent to the quene, and not vnto the subiects of Scotland: for it was not meet that the king should send to his owne subiects (as they were by the marriage of their quene) to require peace, or to condition with them for agreement.

The quenes maiestie of England therefore sent sir William Cecil knight, hir principall secretarie, and doctor Motton deane of Canturburie and of Poike, one of the priuie counsell; with the French ambassadoz into Scotland. Whilste they were yet vpon their iourne, the quene regent (whome they thought to haue found alitie, and to haue used hir helpe as an instrument to haue furthered the treatie to some good end) consumed partlie through melancholie, thought, and grievous displeasure, and partlie with long and incurable sicknesse, departed this life in the castell of Edenburgh the tenth of June, in the yere of our Lord 1560. Her bodie was first conueied into France, to the monastrie of Feschampe,

which is in Normandie; from thence it was caried to the abbete of St. Peter at Rhemes in Champaigne (whereof hir sister was then abbess) in which it was after most honorable buried. She was a wise and vertie prudent princeesse, and in hir time had learned good experience of the nature and inclination of the nobilitie and people of Scotland.

During the time that she was regent, she kept good iustice, and was well obeyed in all parts of the realme in Beremeie, and the westerne Isles. And if she had to hir owne experience ioined the counsell of the nobles and wise men of the realme of Scotland, without following the aduise of strangers, there had bene neuer question nor debate betwixt hir and the nobilitie, as some deemed. But because that others, and namelie, monsieur Dossell, and Ruber, were adioined to hir by the estates of Scotland, who daile pressed hir to deuise new alterations of lawes, impositions, taxations, and such things as were not in vse in Scotland: therefore the estates and people of the land did grudge, although not for anie misliking they had of hir, who suerlie deceased, to the great griefe and lamentation of the whole number of the estates and people of the realme.

The death of that noble princeesse made the French men within Leith, and also the ambassadoz more discouraged than otherwise they would haue bene. But neuertheless these foure ambassadoz of England and France comming to Edenburgh, entered in conference among themselves, vpon articles propounded as well for reliefe of the Scottishmen, as for the weale and suertie of the quene of England and hir subiects. Wherevpon certeine lords of Scotland were admitted to talke with them also: and after long treatie, a peace was concluded the tenth of Iulie, in the yere of God 1560, with certeine articles touching as well Scots and French, as Englishmen. The effect whereof here insueth.

Articles of the peace.

Item, it was agreed, that all the Frenchmen should depart south of the realme of Scotland by sea into France, & to that effect should imbarke and make saile within the space of twentie daies next following: and because the Frenchmen had no ships, the Englishmen should lend them ships, and certeine of the Frenchmen remaine as pledges in England, till the same ships were returned.

2 Item, that they should render the towne of Leith, and the Frenchmen to haue their munition, bag, and baggage, to conueie awaie with them at their pleasure, and that the wals of the towne should be thowne downe and demolished.

3 Item, they should cause monsieur Charlebois capteine of Dunbar, to demolish and race the fort which they had built before the castell there.

4 Item, that the Englishmen should raise their siege and depart south of Scotland: after the departure from thence of the Frenchmen, and racing of the wals of Leith and Dunbar.

5 Item, that there should be made an act of oblivion, in which the quene of Scotland, with consent of the French king hir husband, should forget and burie in oblivion all attempts made by the lords of Scotland against their authoritie, from the tenth day of March 1558, to the first day of August in the yere of Grace 1560. And for confirming thereof, a parlement should be holden in Edenburgh, in the moneth of August next insuing, in which parlement the same should be ratified and allowed by the aduise of the estates of the realme of Scotland.

6 Also it was agreed, that there should be a commision

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 569.
1560.

The prime of the quene Dowager.

To put a waite the armes and ciatine of England.

possession to be kept with souldiers.

The French me depart out of Scotland.

Parliament

A confession of faith published.

Learned men called.

A disputatio

Fr. Thin.

Lesleus lib. 1.
pag. 574.

They haue conference.
Peace is concluded.
1559. Buch.

Articles of the peace.

French conf. diers depart the realme.

Leith they should render it.

The fort before Dunbar to be raced.
The English men should depart also.

An act of oblivion to be made.

A parlement to be kept.

Things be showed.

The Scottish quene does into a prison

Fr. Thin.

Buch. lib. 1.

The quene taketh hir leaue.

The earle of Huntleie and Atholl are at variance.

The matter is pacified.

Fr. Thin.
Lesleus lib. 10.
pag. 571.

The castell of Rosse taken.

The castell is besieged.

The castell was restored againe.

Ambassadoz sent.
Monsieur Ponluc bishop of Valence.

An ambassage sent by the quene of England.

The Scottish quene mother departed.
Fr. Thin.

mission sent from the French king and the quene of Scotland, to hold the same parlement to the effect aforesaid.

7 Item, that the quene of Scotland and king of France should cause to blot out and put awaie the bearing of the armes of England out of their scutcheons.

8 Item, it was agreed, that there should remaine still in the Ile of Inskith thre score Frenchmen, and as manie in the castell of Dunbar, to keepe (as it were) possession to the quenes vse.

The whole number of the Frenchmen (a few excepted that passed through England) went aboard the English ships in Julie, and sailed into France, and in companie with them went the bishop of Glasco and the lord Seton. The Englishmen departed also, and in their way caused the fort of Dunbar to be rased, as by the agreement of the peace it was appointed. A parlement was holden in August, and the act of oblivion ratified by the states, & a confession of faith published in the same: it was concluded also to send ambassadors into England, which was done. And shortly after, the lords summoned the principall learned men of the realme forth of the universitites of saint Andrews, Aberdeen, Glasco, and other parts, to give a reason of their faith.

And amongst other of Aberdeen that toke upon them to dispute with John Banor, John Wullocke, and maister Goodman [were John Lelle (doctor of both lawes, chiefe iudge of the diocesse of Aberdeen called official; who shortly after was senator of the high court, and of counsell to the quene of Scots, and lastlie made bishop of Ross) Patrike Spirtoun the treasurer, James Stragubine canon, and Alexander Anderson a verie graue divine. At that time these Roman prelats behaved themselves so well, that they were commanded not to depart the towne; but to be present at the sermons of the ministers.]

In the winter, the lords of the counsell gave faculties of benefices to diuerse of their friends, who put forth the prelats, and receiued the fruits. The earle of Argyle disposed Dunkeld and Dunblan. The earle of Arran had the ordering of the bishopricks of saint Andrews, also of the abbasies of Dunfermling, and Melrose, and other small benefices. The like was vsed by other noble men, through all parts of the realme. Shortly after, Francis the French king, husband to the quene of Scotland, departed this life in December, and Charles his brother was crowned in his place. The quene being then widow, and Dowager of France, departed from Douleance (where the court lay when hir husband deceased) and went to the towne of Reims in Champagne, where she remained till the fifteenth daie of Aprill following.

And then purposing to returne into Scotland, she toke hir iourne towards Januille, and so into Lorraine, there to take leaue of hir kinsfolke by hir mothers side. The bishop of Glasco, and the abbat of Dunfermling Scottishmen, were still attendant on hir in this iourne. There were with hir also the cardinals of Lorraine and Guise, the duke Daumale, and the marquess Walbent hir vnclies. Amongst whom there had bene great disputation touching the quene of Scotlands returning into hir owne realme, wherunto hir vnclies were verie willing; although some did seeme to staie the iourne, whose speeches tended to this effect as followeth.

That the iourne was dangerous, especiallie because the quene of England did not greatly fauor it; then that she should come to men by nature barbarous & seditious, which would not easilie obey the

gouvernement of a man. Whereof she had fresh examples before hir eyes, of hir father, and of hir mother, whome (when they either could not or durst not openlie oppresse) they forced to a desperation of things with their manie deuises, with they daile liued by them in danger of honor or of life.

On the contrarie part, they which would haue the Dowager of France returne to hir naturall countrie, and were skillfull of the affaires of Scotland, did allege that those seditious were rather occasioned by the default of the kings & gouernors, than of the subiects; whilst they strived to reduce that kingdom (which from the beginning had alwaies bene free) to infinit bondage, and to the free power of the lawes: which that nation (being more warlike than welthie) could not indure. When contrarilie, they did not onelie defend all their gouernors (which did not attempt the ouerthrow of their liberties) from the outward enemie, and from the inward tumults of the people: but they also made them (through loue and dutie towards their kings) inuincible ouer their enemies, and famous amongst strange nations.

And that the chiefeest meane at this time to pacifie all those troubles in Scotland, was not to make alteration of anie thing in Scotland, from the state wherein enen now it standeth. Whereupon the resolved to come speedilie into Scotland, whereof more shall be said hereafter; vntill which, we will intreat of other matters done in Scotland. The quene of Scots hauing hir mind still settled vpon hir returne into Scotland; Paulus a senator of Burdeaux landed before this in Scotland (whither he was sent) a little after the end of the publike parlement; for which cause he was staied and turned ouer to the next assemblie of parlement, which was appointed the twelue kalends of June.

But when at that time also the nobilitie assembled did not sit in counsell, because they were yet uncerteine of the quenes mind; in the meane time James Steward returned out of France; and brought with him a commission, which gave them authoritie to hold a parlement, therein to treat and conclude of matters touching the common wealth. Whereupon in the end there was audience giuen to the ambassador, the effect of whose legacie was; to renew the old league with France, to vndo the league with England, and that prelates should be restored to their liuinges, out of which they had bene thrust by violence.

To these things it was answered, that concerning the league of France, they were not anie waie guiltie of the breach thereof; and contrarilie that the French had manifoldlie neglected the same; but speciallie of late; in seeking the authoritie of their publike libertie, in that they would haue brought the people (their friends and gittles of anie euill) vnto miserable seruitude. For the league with England, they could not by anie meanes dissolue that, except they should be counted most vnthankfull, recompense so great a benefit with great wickednes, & conspire against the defendours of their liberties. And as touching restitution for such as they called prelates, they did acknowledge that they had not anie office, vse, or authoritie in the church.

In this counsell also it was decreed, to ouerthrow all the monasteries of monks, for which cause diuerse were sent out into all places of the realme to execute the same. By occasion thereof, the quene being in France, and desirous to haue peacefull landing in Scotland; would not for this present meddle with religion, but dissembled the same: although Durens abbat of Ferline, and John Sinclair late appointed bishop of Brechin, did vehementlie persuaade and labor hir to the contrarie.

¶ In. ij.

¶ In

Fr. Thin.

1560.
Abbridged
out of the
printed booke
thereof.

In this yeare also on the ninth of March, was the election of superintendents at Edinburgh, which was published to serue for the election of all other ministers in this forme following (John Knox being the minister thereof.) First was made a sermon, in which these parts were intreated; principallie the necessitie of ministers and superintendents. Secondly the crimes & vices that might disable them of the ministerie. Thirdlie the vertues required in them. Fourthlie & lastlie, whether such as by publike consent of the church were called to such office, might refuse the same.

The sermon finished, it was declared by the same minister John Knox (the maker of that speech of sermon) that the lords of the secret councill had giuen charge and power to the churches of Louthian, to chuse maister John Spotswood superintendent, & that sufficient warning was made by publike edict to the churches of Edinburgh, Louthithgue, Striueling, Treuent, Haddington, & Dunbar, as also to earles, lords, barons, gentlemen and others, which haue or might claime to haue voice in the election to be present that daie at the same houre. And therefore inquisition was made, who were present, and who were absent.

After this was called the said maister John Spotswood; who answering to his name, the minister Knox demanded, if anie man knew anie crimes or offenses of the said Spotswood, that might disable him to be called to that office. Which thing thise demanded, there was after question moued to the whole multitude; if there were anie other whome they would put in election with the said Spotswood. When the people were asked whether (if they admitted the said Spotswood for their superintendent) they would honor and obeye him as Christs minister in euerie thing pertaining to his charge.

Whereunto the people answered that they would, which thus granted, there were further questions and matters touching the articles of the apostles creed, and concerning the state of religion propounded to the superintendent, intended to be created. Whereunto, when he had answered affirmatiuelie, the people were againe demanded for his allowance; which they easilie granted with the consent of the nobilitie. These things thus performed, and a certeine praier (to obtaine the spirit of God to be pouered into this new elect vessel) finished, the rest of the ministers (if there be anie) and elders of the church present, in signe of their full consent, shall take the elected by the hand.

And so the chiefe minister giuing an especiall benediction (the forme whereof is there set downe, with the exhortation which they must also vse to the elected) this election is wholie finished (without anie imposition of hands on his head) and he sufficientlie created a superintendent minister; of whose election of elders, deacons, excommunications, and other ecclesiasticall regiment, I meane not to speake anie more (as matter impertinent to my discourse, though not to the nature of an ecclesiasticall historie) sith I haue onelie here in hand the politicall and temporall gouernement, and not the discourse of religion and essentiall forme thereof.]

Before this, in the beginning of the winter this yeare, the lords sent the earle of Morton and Glen-carne, and the young lard of Leidington secretarie, ambassadoys into England; to giue thanks to the queens maiestie of England, for the aid which they had receiued of hir, to expell the Frenchmen. The earle of Murraye passed through England into France. He departed from Edinburgh the eighteenth of March, and in Aprill came to Vitrie, as hereafter shall appeare; where he found the queene,

meaning to submit himselfe. But the day before he came, maister John Lesle officiall of Aberdeen was come thither, who was sent from the earle of Hunt-leie, and other the lords spiritual and temporall of the north parts; he took ship in the rode of Aberdeen, and landing at Bule in Holand, passed through the lowe countries in post till he came to Paris, and from thence vnto Vitrie aforesaid [the eighteenth kalends of March] where he found the queene, whom he most dutifullie saluted.

After which (being most courteously receiued of hir) he opened vnto hir the effect of his ambassage, which consisted speciallie vpon these parts; to admonish the queene that she should not suffer hir selfe to be blinded or deceined with the flattering words of James the prioz of saint Andrewis (hir bastard brother) for his onelie dytt was, that he (hauing no French aid with him into Scotland) might obtaine of the queene the whole gouernement of the kingdom, vnder the colour whereof he might moze easilie teare & cleane ouerthrow the catholike religion; which he did assault by all meanes possible.

Wherefore Lesle did with all the firmest aduise and counsell which he might, urge the queene not to yeeld to his cloked words. For the obtaining of which demand from the queene, he did sitlie ad to his persuasions, that James did rather aspire to the kingdom, than that he fired his mind and eye vpon the ouerthrow of religion. Wherefore, if she had anie care of hir owne and the realms affaires; she must prouide that this James should remaine in France, untill she were arrived in Scotland, & had pacified all the tumults there.

But if she would not do so, that yet at least she should take order, that she with hir naue should land in the north parts of Scotland, & first go to Aberdeen: for by that meanes she might prouide, that the select lords of the religion might some be pacified, and the rest which were yet wauering, might moze easilie and willingly be brought againe to the catholike religion. For there was an other order to be vsed in Scotland, than that which the French obserued, whilst they gouerned there; at which time vndoubtedly the Scots were hopelesse euer to haue inioied the presence of the queene.

But now, sith that the Scots doe vnderstand, that their queene (contrarie to their hope) will retorne vnto them, hir presence will (like the rising sun) so cause the clouds of all tumults to vanish out of the minds of all hir subiects, that they will easilie incline to the mind of the queene, whatsoeuer she shall thinke, attempt, set downe, or decree, in restoring of religion. For the Scots are of that mind towards their princes, as they will in all things obeye their vpright gouernors; and are accustomed with no lesse mind to resist tyrants, if they vsurpe vpon them in exaction of authoritie.

Wherefore Lesleus did earnestlie persuaide the queene in the name of the earle of Huntleie, and the other nobilitie, that she should not giue hir selfe (as vanquished) into the hands of the enemies, and especiallie of James Stewart hir brother, from whome (as from a founteine) all their seditions haue had beginning. For James Cullen (kinsman to the earle of Huntleie, an expert seruitor in the warres by sea and land) was sent forth with Lesle (as capteine of that iournie) to bring hir safe to Aberdeen. For all the nobles of the north provinces will soone be ready with twentie thousand men to gard hir to Edinburgh, and to defend hir against all the counsels, deceipts, and forces of all men.

Which message being thus ended from the mouth of Lesle, the queene commanded him not to depart from hir, untill she returned into Scotland; and further

Euerie nation is to haue his peculiar gouernement in religion, as is best liking to the godlie disposers of the religion of that countrie, sith *vulgus monstris multorum capit*.

Ambassadors
sent into
England.

1561.

Fr. Thin.

This is he which before is called the earle of Murraye that went into France but not rightlie, for he was not earle vntill long after this time.

The nob
assemble
Edenbu

ships
in the na
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A safe co
required

Certaine
ships tak

Monter
Dozell,

The qu
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Shr tak
br tour
to Scot

The qu
arrived
Leith.

furthir gaue in charge, that letters should be writ-
ten to the pères and nobilitie of Scotland, to let
them vnderstand of hir comming into Scotland, &
to be a witness of hir good will vnto them. The next
day after came to the quene at Vitrie, in Cham-
paigne, James Stewart (which is toucht a little be-
fore) the prioz of S. Andrews. Who after he had in re-
uerence done his dutie, bound himselfe with all fi-
delitie, trauell, and diligence, most religionlie vn-
to hir; faithfullie further promissing, that he would
prouide that the Scots should willingly obseie hir,
without anie fozren powers to be brought by hir in-
to Scotland.

For it was thought that he went into France for
that purpose, to dissuade the quene that she should
not bring any power of the French with hir. But in
the end, uttering his mind more fullie, and putting
alwaie all suspition of deceit, he did with more fami-
liaritie request the quene to honor him with the erl-
dome of Murray. Wherevnto the quene did cour-
teouslie answer, that she would satisfie his request
when she came into Scotland. Wherefore, when this
James perceived that the quene was somewhat
well bent towards him, and that she credited his
words, he attended on hir vnto Jancuile, and there
remaining with hir a certeine space, did after go in-
to Scotland (as is before said) to prepare the minds
of the people, that they might receive the quene
comming into the realme, with good content and du-
tiful honor; who passing through England, came in-
to Scotland in the kalends of Maie.]

The duke of Chateaufort, the earles of Hunt-
leie, Atholl, Marthall, and all other the noble men
of the realme, aduertised of the quens comming,
assembled at Edinburgh with all possible diligence.
In the meane time, whilst the quene was preparing
to take hir iourne, and to come into Scotland, the
quene of England let forth some of hir great ships
to the seas, to watch & guard the coasts of hir realme.
Whereof they being aduertised in France, sent the
abbat of saint Colmes Inch to the quene of Eng-
land, to desire of hir a safe conduct, in case by wind
or tempest she chanced to land in England. But be-
fore he was returned to Calis therewith, as he was
appointed: the quene and hir retinue were fasslie
landed in Scotland; nevertheless, the English ships
toke some of the Scottish lordes, as the earle of
Glentoun his ship, and others, which were brought in-
to England, and staid for a time; but were after re-
leased, and sent home into Scotland.

The quene also, by the aduise of the K. of France,
sent monsieur Doissell into England, to passe
through the same into Scotland before hir coming,
there to haue received the forts of Dunbar and In-
keith, of monsieur Charlebois, and to haue kept the
same till hir comming. But he was staid, and pas-
sed no farther than to London: for it was thought
that his going into Scotland would furrie to no
great benefit of that realme: because that he & mon-
sieur Andrie were the principall authors of all the
troubles in Scotland, betwixt the quene regent, and
the nobilitie there. She was attended on from Pa-
ris vnto Calis with manie noble men; namelie hir
vnckles, the dukes of Guise, and Daumall, the
cardinall of Lorraine and Guise, the grand prioz,
and the marquesse Dalbeuf, also the duke de Pe-
necurs, and other of hir friends and kinsmen.

There were two galleies prepared, and certeine
other ships to go with hir into Scotland; and there
went with hir three of hir said vnckles, the duke Da-
umall, the grand prioz, and the marquesse Dalbeuf:
also monsieur Dammille the constable some, and
diuerse other. She arrived at Leith the twentieth day
of August, in the yeare of our Lord 1561, where she

was honorablie receiued by the earle of Argyle, the
lord Erskin, the prioz of saint Andrews, and of the
burgesses of Edinburgh, and conueied to the ab-
beie of Holie rood house. For (as saith Buchanan) Fr. Thin.
when some had spread abroad hir landing in Scot-
land, the nobilitie and others assembled out of all
pays of the realme, as it were to a common spec-
tacle.

This did they, partlie to congratulat hir returne,
& partlie to shew the dutie which they alwaies bare
vnto hir (when she was absent) either to haue thanks
therefore, or to preuent the slanders of their enemies;
whereof not a few by these beginnings of hir reigne
did gesse what would folloio; although in those so va-
riable motions of the minds of the people, euerie
one was verie desirous to see their quene offered vn-
to them (vnlooked for) after so manie haps of both
fortunes as had fallen vnto hir. For when she was
but six daies old, she lost hir father among the cruell
tempests of battell, and was by great diligence
brought vp by hir mother (being a chosen and wor-
thy person) but yet lest as a prie to others, by rea-
son of ciuill seditions in Scotland, and of outward
warres with other nations, being further laid abroad
to all the dangers of frowning fortune, before she
could know what euill did meane.

For leauing hir owne countrie, she was nouri-
shed as a banished person, and hardlie preserved in
life from the weapons of hir enemies, & violence of
the seas. After which, fortune began to flatter hir, in
that she honored hir with a worthy marriage, which
in truth was to this quene rather a shadow of ioye,
than anie comfort at all. For shortly after the same,
all things were turned to sorow, by the death of hir
new yong husband, and of hir old and græued mo-
ther; by losse of hir new kingdome, and by the doubt-
full possession of hir old inheritable realme. But as
for these things she was both pitied and praised; so
was she also for gifts of nature as much loued and
favored; in that, beneficiall nature (or rather good
God) had indued hir with a beautifull face, a well
composed bodie, an excellent wit, a mild nature,
and good behauior; which she had artificiallie furthe-
red by courtlie education and affable demeanour.
Whereby at the first sight, she won vnto hir the
hearts of most people, and confirmed the loue of hir
faithfull subjects.]

Being thus come out of France, she brought in-
to Scotland manie rich and costlie iewels of gold
work, pretious stones, orient pearls, & such like, as
excellent and faire as were to be found within Eu-
rope; with rich furniture of household, as hangings,
carpets, counterpoints, and all other necessaries for
the furnishing of hir princelie houses. The chiefest
part of the hangings and other furniture of house-
hold, was shipped at Rone, and arrived at Leith in
the moneth of October next following. After the
quene of Scots had remained the space of foure or
foue daies at Holie rood house, the duke of Chate-
aufort, the earle of Argyle, and diuerse other of the no-
bilitie being present, there was an act made by the
lords of the counsell [in which none of the cleargie (as
saith Lesleus lib. 10. pa. 580) were present] with con-
sent of the quene, that to remouie all causes of
trouble in time to come for the matter of religion, it
was ordeined, that no alteration of the estate of re-
ligion publickly standing within the realme, at hir
arrivall in the same, should be made; & that nothing
should be attempted, either publickly or priuatly to
the contrarie, vpon great paine, which was put forth
and published through all parts of the realme with
great diligence.

After this, there were eleuen temporall lords, and
one bishop chosen to be of the quenes secret counsell,
by m. 15.

The nobles
assembled at
Edinburgh.

Ships wait
in the narrow
seas.

A safe conduct
required.

Certaine
ships taken.

Monsieur
Doissell,

The quene
was conueied
into Calis.

She taketh
hir iourne in-
to Scotland.

The quene
arrived at
Leith.

Costlie iewels

Hir household
stuffe.

An act made
concerning
religion.

Fr. Thin.

Some appoin-
ted to be of the
quenes
counsell.

Secretarie.
Comptroller.
Lords of the
privie council.

Fr.Thin.
Buchanan.
lib.16.

by whose aduise the should rule and gouerne things, six of them to remaine continuallie with hir in roome of officers, as the secretarie, comptroller, and others. The lords of the privie councill were these, the duke of Chateleault, the earle of Huntleie chancellor, the earle of Argile, the earle of Atholl, the earle of Marthall, the earle of Glencarne, the earle of Morton, the earle of Montrose, the earle of Erroll, master Henrie Sinclair bishop of Ross, and the lord Erskin, with the prioz of S. Andrew. * But among these reioisings of the quenes intertinement into hir kingdome, there happened a light fault, but such as did deepele enter into the minds of both the factions, of the catholikes (forsooth) and of the reformed religion.

For where it was agreed by the quene and the nobilitie, that no alteration should be had of religion in the publike state, yet was masse permitted to hir and to hir familie privilie to be vsed. For the preparation therof willett the vestments and other things were caried through the hall into the chappell, one of the companie snatched awaie the war candels and brake them: by occasion whereof (if some of the household had not come betwene to helpe in that action, and ended the same) all the other furniture had bene throwne downe. Which matter was taken of people diuerslie, some blaming it as a most sawcie part; others interpreting it, that it was onelie done to trie the patience of the priest; and some iudged and said that the priest was worthy to be punished with that paine which the scripture appointeth to idolaters.

Which matter in the verie beginning was appeased by James the quenes ballard brother, not yet created, but in expectation earle of Morreie. For which cause he would not offend the quene, as I suppose, though after ward he not onelie offended hir, but deposed hir, and set vp hir sonne; as moze plainlie shall hereafter appeare. At the quieting of this matter (saith Buchanan) George Gordon was greatlie grieved, being a man bent to all occasions of troubles, who thinking now to win fauor to him thereby, did say to the quenes vncles that were present, that he would reduce the countrie beyond Callidon vnto the old religion. The which being indeed suspected of manie, and feared by such as had heard manie other things of his wit; they caried the same to the quenes brother, by meanes whereof this little sparke in the beginning was the occasion of all the long ciuill dissention in Scotland, as I am led to iudge by manie reasons.

But now although the gouernment (as before is touched) was appointed to twelue before named, or at lest to six, which by turnes should be assistant to the quene; yet the whole deed of ruling did in effect depend vpon hir ballard brother James, by reason of the fauor that the quene especiallie did beare vnto him. Wherefore this James, vsing the quenes authoritie at his pleasure, did bestow manie liberall gifts vpon his fellows. Which the nobles so much disliked, that in the end manie of them began egerlie to beare his authoritie, as hereafter shall be moze touched.]

The duke Daumall, after he had remained with the quene a certeinetime, toke his leaue of hir, and with the gallies returned into France. The grand prioz and monsieur Danuille taried somewhat longer, and passed through England into France. The marquesse Daulbeuf taried in Scotland all the next winter, till the spring of the yere, and then returned into France through England. The towne of Edinburgh prepared great and costlie triumphs for the quenes entering, which she made into that towne in the moneth of September. After this,

the passed vnto Striueling, and from thence to Perth, and then to Dundee, and also to saint Andrews, into which townes the was receiued with great honor and triumph. From saint Andrews she returned vnto Edinburgh, where she remained all the next winter. In December there was a great assemblie of all the principall lords, spirituall and temporall of the realme; where it was demanded of the prelats, to grant the third part of the fruits of their benefices to the quene, towards the bearing of hir charges for the maintenance of hir traine, and to susteine the ministers, till some order were taken to mainteine hir household, and a gard to tend on hir, by the annise of the estates.

The prelats agreed for the quenes pleasure to support hir with the fourth part of the fruits of their benefices, for one yeres space onelie, to helpe to beare hir charges, and to susteine hir gard; and in the meane time order might be taken by the aduise of the whole estates for the same. But notwithstanding the refusall of the prelats to paie the third part, the lords of the privie councill made an act, and set forth letters, that all the prelats and beneficed men should be charged to paie yerele to the quenes comptroller and his collector, the whole thirds of all fruits of their benefices; and that it should be lawfull to the comptroller and his deputies, to take the third of what part of euerie benefice where he best pleased, and to deale therewith at his pleasure: also to haue to do with the rents of brotherhoods of common churches, and such like. This order hath bene obserued euer since, not without great grudge of the prelats, and other beneficed men of the realme, and their friends, as well those that professed the reformed religion, as others.

* Whilest these things were in doing, William Spettellan the younger was sent ambassadoz into England, to salute the quene of that realme (as the manner is) & to declare the god mind that the quene of Scots bare vnto hir, & the desire that his mistresse had to haue peace and vnitie preserved betwene them. Besides all which, and manie other demands touching Scotland (which I suppress for manie reasons, because (as Salomon saith) *Cor regis inscrutabile*, & the mysteries of princes gouernment are not to be laid open to common eyes and eares) this ambassadoz deliuered letters to the quene of England from the nobilitie of Scotland. In which there was a courteous remembrance of hir former fauor and of their good will. Requesting further that the quene of England would shew a publike and priuat liking and friendship to their quene, to the end that the quene of Scots prouoked by hir benefits, might not onelie remaine stedfast in the amitie already begun; but might also (if it were possible) be dailie moze and moze fast bound vnto hir; and they for their parts, would not omit ante occasion with all good will and diligence to continue this amitie.

To which ambassadoz the quene of England made no lesse honorable than wise answer: the effect whereof, because it concerneth matter of great importance, & is long and largelie already set downe by Buchanan, in hir maiesties singular commendation to the whole world in the Latin tongue, I thinke it not necessarie here to repeat; and therefore I do purposele omit the same, least I might seeme by flatterie to intrude my pen into the eloquent speech of hir maiestie; and not being able to deliuer it with such grace as both she spaketh, and Buchanan penneth it, I might dishonor hir; & ouerthrow my selfe, like vnto Aseton. For as he, taking vpon him to rule the chariot of the sunne, was by his insufficiency therefore consumed: with the heat and glorie thereof, so should I in presuming with vnskill to pen the tale

The quene
visited the
townes.

An assemblie
of the lords.

The third
part of the spiri-
tuall things
demanded.

An act for the
clergie.

Fr.Thin.
Buchanan lib.17.

Buchan. li. 1.

156
James
ward mar-
earle of
rie.
Fr.Thin.

Fr.Thin.
Buchanan
lib. 17.

The que-
Englan-
rous to
with the
quene of
Scottian

The me-
time
appre-

Fr.Thin.
Buchan.

Lesleus lib. 10.
pag 587.

Damial went
with the two
gallies into
France.
The rest went
through Eng-
land into
France.

A preparation
of triumphs.

tale of such a worthy prince, confirms my credit, in misordering or defacing the maiestie, grauntie, wisdom, and life of his singular wit and eloquence. For which cause, leaving the same, we do in this sort bring backe our pen to the continuance of the historie of Scotland.

The quene of Scots had a brother called John, a man desirous of authoritie, but yet not so severe in mind as was James the other brother. This John easilie perswading himselfe to obey the quene in all things, was the more deere unto her, and most fit for her, desirous (as saith Buchanan, but how trulie I know not) to confound all things. With this John (in absence of the other brother James) she did consult to hire a companie of souldiers to be about her, the cause whereof was this. In the night there was a tumult or stir, as though the earle of Arran would, in the absence of the nobilitie, secretly set upon the quene, and by strength have labored to carie her to his castell, which was foureteene miles from thence. All which seemeth likely to be but a tale, either for the quenes mind that was estranged from him, or for the immoderat love which he bare unto her: both which were sufficientlie known to the common people. Which tumult being spread abroad, these souldiers after they had all night scowred the fields, riding up and downe hither & thither, they shewed themselves the next day before the court gates, to the offense of some, and the iell of others.]

The sunday before Shrove Tuesday, being the eight day of February (as some write) James Stewart then p̄tor of saint Andrews, and earle of Mar, base brother to the quene, was made earle of Arrere, [in place (as saith Buchanan) of the earldome of Mar, which belonged to John Arskine] by the quens speciall gift, and was married the same day unto Agnes Keith, daughter to the erle Marshall, with great feasts and triumphs, lasting three daies. * In which marriage he did so much exceed, that he greatly offended the minds of his friends, and ministered matter to his enemies to speake euill of him; and that the more vehementlie, because he had before time in all his life behaved himselfe far more temperatlie than he did at this time.]

The quene of England desirous to have a meeting betwixt her and the quene of Scots her cosine, sent diuerse messengers with letters, desiring her most instantlie to come to Worke, where she would meet her, to talke with her of diuerse matters, that might make to the confirmation of the amitie and friendship which nature had knit betwixt them, by confution and amittie of blood. And after consultation had with her counsell, the quene of Scots agreed thereto: and so they were appointed to meet at Worke in the moneth of Iulie next following. But when things were prepared and put in a readinesse for the iourne, the quene of England sent word to the quene of Scots, that she could not keepe the appointment made for their meeting; desiring her to haue her excused for that time. Which message was accepted, and so the iourne staid.

Such about this time, or rather somewhat before, as in truth I suppose it was, James Hamilton being duke of Chatelerauld, and father to the earle of Arran, first wrote to the quene, then after went he with her to saint Andrews, and with many prayers requested her that she would upon sufficient pledges deliver him the earle Bothwell, and Calven Hamilton, but he could not obtaine a thing therein at her hands. At what time also the quene went to Dunbarton (which Hamilton held since the time that he was gouernor) to demand the deliuerie of the same into his hands, which was accordingly deliuered vnto her. Shortly after, the quene of Scots

toke her iourne towards the north parts of Scotland, and set from Striueling in the moneth of August.

About this time it chanced that the lord Ogilvie, and John Gordon of Finnerat, sonne to the earle of Huntlee, met on the callete of Edinburgh & fought, where (after many blowes and stripes giuen and taken) the lord Ogilvie and his companie were hurt. Wherefore John Gordon was taken, & put in ward at the tolbutth of Edinburgh, out of which he escaped, after he had remained prisoner therein about twentie daies, and toke his waie northward: whereupon followed great trouble shortly after to the house of Huntlee. The quene accompanied with the earles of Argile, Arrere, and Morton, the lord Erskin, and others, passed forwards in her iourne towards the north part, and caused John Gordon of Finnerat to be summoned to appeere and answer the law at Aberdeen, for breaking prison, and hurting the lord Ogilvie. The quene coming to the towne of Aberdeen, was honorablie receiued with diuerse orations, and Latine enterludes, before the grammar schoole and college.

* These things thus done at Aberdeen, as the quene determined to go further, she was intreated by John Lesle a noble man, and follower of the Gordons, to buy safe his house in her waie, being miles from the towne: to which she granted, & went vnto the same. This place, because it was no common place of resort, was thought verie conuenient for the execution of the earle of Arrere, whose death was conspired (as after shall appeere.) Whereupon Lesle, who was not ignorant of this secret counsell, besought the quene that she would not laie such a note of infamie upon him and his familie, that he should seeme to haue betrayed the chiefe brother of the quene, no euill man, and one that was not his enemy, whereby he might come vnto his death at his house. Whereupon it then ceased, and the next night was also quietlie passed ouer at Rothmie, a towne of the Abernethians, because the next day the quene was determined to go to Strabogie.]

Whereupon the earle of Huntlee, having before heard that his sonne was thus summoned, assembled the principall earles, lords, barons, and gentlemen of the north, who came with him to Aberdeen, to helpe his son at the law appointed for his appeerance, which was in September. The earle came vnto the quene himselfe, and at length it was agreed, that his sonne the said John Gordon should returne to prison againe in Striueling castell, there to remaine during the quenes pleasure. But he following the full counsell of some young heads that were with him, neither fulfilled the quenes pleasure, nor his fathers appointment, but attempted to reuenge his extreme handling (as he toke it) upon the earle of Arrere, whom he put most in blame for the rigor shewed against him, but his enterprise toke not effect. And the quene aduertised of his disobedience, went not to Strabogie, notwithstanding there was great preparation made for her in that place, for the receiving of her and her traine: but she went vnto Balthowie, the earle of Athols place, and from thence to Millis, to Larnetwaite, and so came to Inuernesse, and there lodged.

In this meane while, the earle of Huntlee, purposing to attend on the quene at Inuernesse, caused provision to be made in the castell for his lodging. The quene suspecting his dealing, least this should be done upon some policie, commanded the keeper of the castell to render the same to one of her heralds: but it was not deliuered till the next day, and therefore the capitaine of that castell called Alexander Gordon, for refusing to deliuer it, was hanged upon the towne

The quene made her progress into the north parts of Scotland. Lord Ogilvie and John Gordon fight together.

John Gordon breaketh prison.

John Gordon is summoned by the quene.

Gordon is accompanied with a great companie.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan lib. 17.

Gordon is commanded to Striueling castell.

The disordered

The quene suspected the earle of Huntlee.

Alexander Gordon was hanged.

Buchan. li. 17.

1562.

James Stewart made earle of Arrere. Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan lib. 17.

The quene of England desirous to speake with the quene of Scotland.

The meeting time was disappointed.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan, li. 17.

to the bridge. The lord Gordon and his brother John Gordon of Ffinnerie came that night within a little space distant from the towne of Inverness, which caused great feare in the towne, so that there was a diligent watch all that night. The earle of Huntley being come to Kinloss, and hearing that the castell of Inverness was commanded to be given up into the hands of an herald, sent with all diligence to the keepers, that they should deliver it, & returned himselfe to Strabogie.

The quene remained in Inverness the space of foure or five daies, where the principall captaine of the clanes of the countie came to hir, and with a great companie [of the ancient Scots (as hath Buchanan) whereof the chiefe were the Fraisers and Spurreies, balliant families in those parts] conueied hir to Spine, where she was informed that the earle of Huntley had gathered an armie to come against hir, and made their assemble at Spaine. Whereupon, they took with them all the artillerie ouer Spine, and caried the same in carts, and all other kind of munition, and passed forward to Bamf that night. The earle of Huntley all this while came not forth of Strabogie. The quene as she passed forward, rode to the place of Ffinnerie, and there in hir owne presence, caused the keepers thereof to be charged to deliver it, which they refused to do. From Bamf the quene rode to the laird of Gleditis place, called Gledit, and the next day there was great preparation for hir entrie into the new towne of Aberdeen. She lodged one night in the bishops palace, and the next day she was honorablie receiued, and lodged in the prouosts house of the towne, where she remained all the time of hir abode in Aberdeen.

After this, the lord John prior of Coldingham, with diuerse gentlemen, was sent against the earle of Huntley to Strabogie, but he was escaped before they approached. The ladie Huntley receiued them verie courteously, and gaue them good entertainment, and so they returned. There was charge giuen to Louthian, Fife, Angus, Strathern, the Peris, and to the shire of Aberdeen, to come to Aberdeen quarterlie, querie countie to remaine there sixtene daies, and so they did, during the time of hir abiding there. The earle of Huntley sent his wife in message to the quene and counsell, but she was not admitted to come within a mile of them, but commanded to returne. After this, he sent a messenger, offering to enter in ward, till his cause might be tried by the whole nobilitie: but this was refused. In the meane time all the principall of the Gordons that were landed men, were charged to enter into ward. About the same time James Hepburne earle of Bothwell, who opposed pleasure conceived against him, about a quarrell betwixt him and the earle of Arrane, had bene committed to prison in Castles Wyke the last before past, escaped out of Dawdys towner in Edinburgh at a window.

The earle of Huntley, understanding by his friends at the court how things passed, determined to flee to the mountains, but after (trusting to the promises of his friends) he determined to abide battell in a place of some strength. Whereupon in October he came with his armie to Cornethie in Spar. The reason whereof the earle of Spurreie, who at the first had scarce a hundred horsemen with him, began with James Douglas earle of Morton, and Patrick Lindesie, to lead an armie against his entrie, and gathered a greater number of eight hundred people of the regions adjoining. Wherefore he first placed souldiers about the water passages, to keepe all those places, that Huntley should not escape, and with the rest went forward on a soft pace, to meet his enimie: whose comming Huntley did a-

side, with three hundred men, keeping their places, although not a few of that companie were fled from the Gordons the night before.

When the earle of Spurreie was come to the side of a hill, from whence he might see all the marches about him, he incamped there in a slender order of battell. At length the armie met, at what time manie on the earle of Spurreie his side did flee awaie, hauing before giuen a signe to the enimie. But the earle Spurreie, which saw there was no succour in fleeing, stood to it balliantlie, called his men together, set upon the enimie, caused them (which before followed his men fleeing awaie) now to lie as fast backe as they came forward. Which change of fortune when the traitors that before fled did perceiue, they came afresh and pursued the Huntleys, and (to cleare them from the first fault) committed all the slaughter that was done that daie.

There was killed of the part of Huntley a hundred and twentie, and a hundred taken: but on the other side not one. Amongst such as were taken, was the earle Huntley himselfe, and his two sons, John and Adam. But the father being old and short breasted by reason of his grossenes, was slaine betwene the hands of such as took him, and the rest were late in the night brought to Aberdeen. The quene seemed forie for the earles death. But in Nouember John Gordon was beheaded in Aberdeen, and shortly after the quene returned southwards, leaving foure commissioners in Aberdeen, the treasurer, maister James Spargill, maister John Spens of Canobie, and the laird of Bettarow, to compound for the effects of them that were in the field with the earle of Huntley. Great summes of monie were taken and leuied of them for that trespass. The earle Bothwell was commanded the first halends of December by an herald to yield himselfe againe to prison, but because he would not, he was declared a publick enimie.

The lord George Gordon, eldest sonne to the earle of Huntley, was taken by the duke of Chateaurault his father in law, at Camernoull, and brought to Edinburgh, where he was put in the castell, and after by a iurie conuict, forsalled, and condemned to die, and sent to Dunbar castell, there to remaine in ward, where he continued till the yeare of God, 1565. At this time was a monie miled set upon such as did eat flesh in the time of Lent. The setting forth thereof was not so much for religion, as for publick commoditie, by the iudgement of Buchanan. The archbishop of Dunblane, he came (after an edict made therefore at the quenes comming into Scotland) he did not abstaine from hearing and saying masse, was committed prisoner to the castell of Edinburgh, and the rest that were found in such actions, were confined with promise of a greater punishment to be laid upon them, if they were found of sending againe in that sort.

The quene held a parliament in Edinburgh, where the earle of Huntleys dead bodie was brought present before the estates in the towne, and forsalled. The earle of Northland, George Gordon was forsalled also, and wherle other of their friends. And in this parliament the act of obliuion was ratified and approued, and diuerse other new laws made. This yeare in August, the quene went on progresse into Argyle. This yere deceased the quene of Scots, the nation of the college of St. Andrews, as maister John Strachan sonne of the laird of Clackmannan the prouost of Dunfermline, in place of the first maister John Le. The official of the shire, was promoted, and in the prouosts place, maister James Balfour succeeded. There came an ambassador from the king of Sweden, to treat of a marriage to be contracted with the

Fr. Thin.

She came to Aberdeen.

The earle of Huntley is sent for.

The ladie Huntley is sent into the quene.

The Gordons are imprisoned.

The earle Bothwell escaped out of prison.

Fr. Thin. Buchan, lib. 17.

John Gordon is beheaded.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan, lib. 17.

The lord Gordons taken prisoner, 1563, Buch. 1562.

Fr. Thin. Buchanan, lib. 17.

1564. A parliament.

The act of obliuion ratified.

The quene goeth on progresse.

New officers.

1564. Ambassadors from Sweden.

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Fr.Thin.
Buchan.lib.17

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An armie gathered against them.
The lords went unto Dunfreis.

Certaine townes are punished.

nie came to Edinburgh, where the castell shot off at them, and therefore they departed towards Dunfreis, and were receiued by the lord Heris.

The quene hearing thereof, by aduise of hir counsell assembled forth of all the parts of the whole realme an armie, appointing the same to be at Beggar, in the beginning of October, to pursue the rebels. In the meane time, the hearing that the townes of saint Andrews, Dundee, and saint Johns towne, had helped the lords to raise men of warre for their support, passed thither hirselfe, and toke inquisition thereof, giving order in those townes, that no such thing should afterwards be put in practise. But there were none that suffered death for that matter; but diuerse were committed to prison in the north parts of the realme, as the prouost and bailiffs of saint Andrews: also certeine of the towne of Dundee, and saint Johns towne, and other were banished; and diuerse barons, as Lundie, Lango, and Balward, were sent to Aberdeen, and to other parts, where they remained the winter following.

About this time, the quene toke the castell of Tantallon from the earle of Morton, because he was suspected to fauor the rebels. The keeping thereof was giuen to the earle of Atholl. The quene returning to Edinburgh in September, prepared all things necessarie for the armie, and departing from Edinburgh, came to Beggar, where all the noble men with their retinues were assembled the eight of October. From thence they passed forward to Dunfreis. In the meane time, the duke of Chatelerauld, the earles of Murreie, Glencarne, Ross, the lord Ochiltre, the abbat of Kilwinning, the lords of Grange, Cunningham, Herdie, Pettartow, maister James Haliburton tutor of Petcur, and others, hearing of the quens comming with an armie, fled into England: came to Caerleill, where they were receiued, the earle of Bedford at that time being lord lieutenant of the north.

The lord Heris then maister of Marston conueied them to the water of Sulweie, and afterward returned to Dunfreis to the quene, where (of hir clemencie) he got pardon of his offense; and the lords of Lochinwar and Dunlanrig likewise. After the armie had tarried certeine daies, putting direction for obseruing of god order in the countrie, the quene returned to Edinburgh, where she remained all the next winter. The quene sent the maister David Chalmer chancellor of Rosse into France to the king, with letters for his assistance against hir rebels. And shortly after, the French king sent a gentleman called monsieur Maluouier into Scotland, with verie friendlie letters unto the quene, promising his helpe & assistance against the rebels; which message was most thankfullie receiued, and the said Maluouier honorable at his departure rewarded.

The duke of Chatelerauld, and the other lords with him departed from Caerleill to Newcastle upon Tyne, and from thence sent the earle of Murreie, and the abbat of Kilwinning to the quene of England, making sute to hir grace for aid to be restored to their countrie againe. The quens maiestie promised them, that she would send a gentleman to the quene hir sister, and moue hir in their fauors, as she did; and so they returned to Newcastle, where the duke of Chatelerauld, perceiving no other helpe appearing, sent the abbat of Kilwinning into Scotland to the quene with letters, submitting himselfe to hir graces will, and so he obtained pardon for him and his friends, with licence to passe into France, there to remaine the space of three yeares, and shortly after he passed through England, and so came into France, according to his appointment.

The king passed the most part of that winter in the countries of Fife, Stratherne, Striuelingthire, & Bouthian, spending his time in hawkking. The quene remained at Edinburgh with the nobilitie, and because she was conceiued with child, trauelled little abroad. About this time was a new order taken for placing the king and quens name in all their writings and patents. For where, untill this time, the kings name was set before the quens; now quite contrarie, the name of the quene was written before the kings: besides which, afterward the quene hir selfe would onelie set hir name to the writings in place of his and his; and David the secretarie was appointed in his place to haue a stampe of the kings name, to vse when need required.]

In the meane time a parlement was called, to be holden in the moneth of March next ensuing, and summons decreed against the earle of Murreie, and the other lords that remained in England, and also against the earle of Argile, lieng then in his countrie of Argile to heare them forsailed. The French king sent monsieur Rambeneullet into Scotland, as ambassador from him to the quene, with commission, to make the king hir husband knight of the order of S. Michaele. Which with great solemnitie and reuerence was accomplished in the chappell of Holie rood house the tenth of Februarie, being sunday: after the which, the said Rambeneullet returned into France, being highlie rewarded.

From that time that the parlement was proclaimed, and the summons also published, the earle of Murreies friends being in Scotland, neuer ceased to seke all the waies and means they could deuise to state the same: in so much that the earle of Morton, the lord Ruthwen, and the lord Lindseie, secretly persuaded the king to state the parlement, and also to consent to the restoring of the erle of Murreie and his complices, making to him faithfull promise, that if he would follow their counsell, he should be made a crowned king of Scotland absolutelie, and the quene so to haue lesse to doe with the gouernement afterwards, where through he agreed to the m.

And so after the parlement was assembled, the lords of the articles being chosen the seventh day of March, they perceiuing the forsalture like to proceed, and iudgement thereof to be giuen, the eleuenth of March next following, the king with the assistance of the said earle of Morton, the lords Ruthwen, and Lindseie, entered into the quens priue chamber about eight of the clocke in the night, being Saturday, and the ninth of March, where being arrived in warlike manner, the lord Ruthwen declared unto the quene, that they would not suffer hir any longer to haue the gouernement of the realme, to abuse the same by the counsell of strangers, as she had done; and therefore pulled violentlie out of hir chamber David Ritchie an Italian, that was one of hir secretaries, crying pitiously, *Infinia, Infinia*: and in hir utter chamber they suddenlie slew him with great crueltie. The king himselfe was also present, and his dagger was likewise found sticking in the dead bodie.

The quene was shut by with in hir chamber, and certeine appointed to attend hir, and to keepe all the doores and gates about the palace. The earles of Huntly and Bothwell escaped by a backe window forth in their chamber, whereof the king and his compaignes were right sore. The erle of Atholl and others being with him, departed in the night season by a ferrie ouer the Forth, called the quenes ferrie, and went to S. Johns towne. On the morrow being sunday (the quene being secretlie kept) proclamation was made, that all the lords that had been in parlement

The king went a hawkking.

Fr. Thin.

Bucha. lib. 17.

A parlement.

The lords that were exiled are summoned.

The king receiued the order of saint Michaele.

1566.

They persuaded with the king.

The king came persuaded.

The king is entered into the quens priue chamber.

David Ritchie is slain.

The earle of Huntly is fled and the residue also.

The lord fled into England.

Their conuoyers got their pardon.

The quene returned againe into Edinburgh.
The quene sent into France for aid.

The lords sent to the quene of England.

The quene of England sent to the quene of Scots.

The king went a hawkking.

The king receiued the order of saint Michaele.

The king had col with the

The king was se

Huntly Bothwell

Proclamation

Baron craned obteine

The m

Spant

The king is

The king

The earle
of Argyll
came in
to Scotland.

most ship departed out of the towne of Edinburgh:
and after some time, the earle of Argyll
and Argyll, with other of their companies that
came forth from Pelicassell the same day before,
came to the abbey of Dunblane about six of
the cloche in the afternoon, where they were thanke-
fullie received by the king and his countie. They
spoke also with the quene, who had no great comfort
of their coming.

They made
their procla-
mation.

The quene
had conference
with the king.

The king
was some
persuaded.

Huntlie and
Bothwell.

Proclama-
tion made.

Pardon is
craved and
obtained.

The murthe-
rs are ex-
cepted.

Some par-
doned.

The quene
cometh to
Edinburgh.

The morrow following being Monday the earle
of Argyll, and the other that were summoned, pas-
sed to the tolbooth of Edinburgh, & made their pro-
clamation there, that they were ready to answer in
parliament, and none appeared to accuse them. After
this, it was concluded to hope the quene in Great
ward, but by hir politike demeanor, their purpose in
that behalfe was broken: for by secret conference
with the king, he persuaded him to think, that he
had joined himselfe with those that would be his de-
struction, if it happened with hir otherlike than well,
as was no lesse to be doubted, by reason of the high
displeasure that he had taken being quite with
child: through the which persuasion, and other mis-
king of things, he departed secretly with hir in the
night season, accompanied onlie with two men, and
first came unto Seilton, and after ward from thence
to Dunbar.

Whither the earles of Huntlie and Bothwell
hastilie repaired, by whose counsell and others then
with hir, she caused proclamation to be made in di-
verse parts of the realme, charging all manner of
men in feats of warre, to come unto hir to Dun-
bar, & to passe from thence unto Edinburgh within
fir daies after. She also sent letters to the same ef-
fect unto diverse noble men of the realme, who pre-
pared themselves with great diligence to meet hir.
The earle of Argyll, and the rest of the lords being
with him, hearing the preparation that was made
against them, and perceiving themselves not able
to resist, thought good euerie of them to take some
particular meane to obtaine remission at the quens
hands, which they obtained all of them, except the
earle of Argyll, the lords Ruthven, Lindsay, and
such other as were with them at the murder of Da-
vid Rithen. Whereupon they desparing of pardon,
fled into England; where the lord Ruthven died at
Pelicassell shortly after, as in place ye shall heare.

The earle of Lennox, being partaker with them,
came to Dunbar, and got pardon: the earle of Glen-
carne and the lord of Cunningham head came thi-
ther also, and were pardoned. Likewise the earle of
Roxburgh purchased his pardon at the same time. The
earles of Argyll and Argyll, and the lord Both-
well, sent to the quene for their pardon,
and obtained it, being commanded nevertheless to
passe into Argyle, and to remaine there during hir
graces pleasure, which commandement they obeyed.
The eighteenth of March, the quene went accom-
panied came to Haddington towards night: and on
the nineteenth day, the bishop of saint Andrews, and
the Haniltons met hir at Spinksburgh, and so like-
wise did the lords Levingston, Fleming, Home,
Bothwell, and manie other noble men, and con-
ueied hir unto Edinburgh.

She lodged in the bishop of Dunblane lodging,
and taried there a certeine space, having with hir the
erls of Huntlie, Atholl, Bothwell, Crawford, Mar-
shall, Spenserland, Calmes, the bishops of saint An-
drews and Ross, the lords Fleming, Fleming,
and diverse other noble men, by whose counsell order
was taken for redressing of the state of the realme;
whereby the same was shortly brought to great
quietnesse. After this, the quene perceiving hirselfe
to be nere the time of hir deliverance, went to

the castell of Edinburgh, there to remaine till she
was delivered of hir birth. In the moneth of Maie,
Thomas Seat Shirrte, deputie of Perth, & a priest
called sic George, servant to the lord Ruthven,
were apprehended for being doers in the slaughter
of David, and were hanged and quartered. Their
heads were set aloft, the one on the tower in the ab-
beie, and the other on the nether bow.

In the moneth of April this yere, the bishop of
Brechin president of the session, deceased, and in his
room succeeded to that bishopricke, a friend and cou-
sine to the earle of Argyle, called Campbell. In the
end of April, the quene, willing to have the earles
of Argyle and Argyll joined with the rest of the
counsell, sent for them to come to the castell of E-
dinburgh, where all griefs and controversies that
arose betwixt them on the one side, and the earles of
Huntlie, Atholl, & Bothwell on the other side, were
referred to the quene, who agreed them, and they all
remained with hir the residue of the summer. The
quene hearing that the earle of Argyll, the lord
Ruthven, and the other their assistants were re-
tained in England, and remained at Pelicassell, she
sent maister James A. Haynton chantor of Argyll,
with letters to the quene of England, and also to
the king of France, and other hir friends there; de-
claring by the tenor of the same letters the abuse
and presumptuous attempts of certeine hir subjects
against hir, desiring them not to receive them with
in their realmes or dominions.

Shortly after, the quene of England sent a gen-
tleman called Henrie Killigrew into Scotland,
with letters and message to the quene, promising
to cause them to depart forth of hir realme of
England: and withall sent unto them warning to
depart betwixt that present time, and midsummer
then next ensuing. But in the meane time the lord
Ruthven departed this life at Pelicassell, with
great repentance of his former life: giving God
thanks, for that he had lent him time to call to him
for mercie and forgiveness, whereof he did assure
himselfe. And from thenceforth the earle of Argyll,
and the maister of Ruthven, remained secretly
nere to Antioke, and other places of the borders, till
they obtained pardon, and were restored. About this
time there came from the king of France a wise a-
ged gentleman, named monsieur la Croche, as his
ambassador, and remained in Scotland all the win-
ter following.

In the moneth of June, the quene perceiving the
time of hir deliverance to approach, wrote unto all the
principall noble men of hir realme, to come and re-
maine within the towne of Edinburgh, during the
time of hir deliverance, where they assembled: and
the king hir husband, with the earles of Argyle, Ar-
gyll, Atholl, and Mar, remained with hir in the ca-
stell; and the earle of Huntlie, Bothwell, and the
remnant of the lords lodged in the towne. And upon
the nineteenth day of the same moneth of June, be-
twixt 10 and 11 of the cloche before none, hir grace
was delivered of a goodlie man-child, to the great
comfort of hir highnesse, and all hir subjects, whereof
the nobilitie did greatlie reioice. And incontinentlie
all the artillerie in the castell was shot off, and all
the lords and people came together in the church of
saint Giles, to give thanks to almightie God for his
great and beneficiall goodnes shewed to them, in gi-
ving to them a prince, and withall made their hum-
ble prayers unto his divine maiestie, to indue him
with the feare of God, with vertue and knowledge
to governe the realme and subjects thereof, when so-
ever the same should fall into his hands.

The same night at seven, there were great fires
for ioy made in the towne of Edinburgh, and in all the

Execution
came upon the
murderers.

The quene
agreed all the
lords.

The quene
made sure to
the quene of
England.

The quene of
England hir
answer.

The lord
Ruthven
repented.

An ambassage
from the king
of France.

A prince
borne.

the countie about, and likewise through all the whole realme, as by aduertisements were certified thereof. The queene remained still in the castell of Edinburgh all the moneth of Iulie following, till she had recovered hir health and strength. In the beginning of August she passed by the water of Forth to Alloa waie, where she remained certeine daies; the earles of Murreie and Mar being of compaignie with hir, and there the king hir husband came to visit hir. The same time monsieur Maluost came into Scotland from the king of France, bringing letters to the queene, who was conueied by the bishop of Ross to Alloa waie, where he was iustallie receiued, courteously intertained, and highly rewarded. The queene of England sent maister Henrie Williegrew to the queene with the like message, reioicing for hir safe and happie deliuerance, who likewise was receiued in most thankfull manner, and well rewarded.

The princes
godfathers &
godmothers.

Fr.Thin.
I.Stow pa.113
in quart.

Here is to be noted, that shortly after she was brought to bed, she sent one of hir gentlemen called monsieur Clarimont, with letters to the king of France, and to the duke of Savoy: desiring them to send ambassadores, which in their name (as godfathers) might receiue hir son at the baptisme. Moreover, she sent James Meluine to the queene of England with the like message, desiring hir maiestie to be godmother who by hir ambassadoz Francis earle of Bedford, sent a present to the queene of Scots, (as I. Stow hath noted) a fount of gold curiouslie wrought & enamelled, weighing 333 ounces, amounting in value to 1043 pounds 19 shillings of English monie. These princes were glad hereof, and promised to send ambassadores to that effect, as afterward they did. In the later end of August, the queene accompanied with the king hir husband, the earles of Huntley, Murreie, Bothwell, and diuerse other, went into Peggat land; there to passe the time in hunting, where they remained certeine daies: and returning to Edinburgh, caused the prince to be conueied vnto Striueling castell, where he was committed in keeping to the lord Erskin, after erle of Mar, and his ladie. And from thence the queene went on progresse into Glen Arkenie.

Fr.Thin.
Buchan.li. 17.

The king as a solitarie person goeth to Striueling, after which the queene determineth to go to Jedworth to assemble a parlement. About the beginning of October, Bothwell prepareth a iourne into Lidisdale; where he was hurt with a calxer by a base theefe. Whereupon with vncertaine life he was carried to the castell of Hermitage, to which the queene (hearing of his mishap) came, attended with a small traine from Bothwell, and from thence hauing scene Bothwell, did in short time after returne to Bothwell, whither she caused Bothwell to be brought: after whose comming thither, the queene fell so grievouslie sicke, that she was in danger of hir life, at what time the king came thither vnto hir.

1567.

The king
murdered.
1566.Stow.

In Januarie the king came to Glasgow, where he fell sicke, and removing from thence went to Edinburgh, and the queene accompanied him. She lodged at Holie rood house, but he was lodged at a house within the towne, nere to the Birke a field; within the which, on the tenth of the moneth of February in the night he was shamefullie murdered; together with one William Barre. He was cast into an orchard, and herewith the house was blowne up with gunpowder. [Some giue report of his death, but touch not the manner thereof, onelie saying that he was shamefullie murdered in a morning (a beaute breakfast) by his owne (but unnatural and rebellious) people, whose innocent blood crieth out for vengeance at the hands of God, who in iustice will (when he seeth due time) giue them their portion with malefactors agreeable to their merits.

The earle of Bothwell was then at the first generally supposed to be the principall offender in this most heinous and detestable murder. But the matter was so handled, that he was not onelie acquit by an allgins court, but also shortly after married the queene, who at that time the suspicion that men had already conceived, that she should be also priuite to the murder, was nothing diminished. But as I haue not to deale in that matter, so yet it is manifest, that some of the Scots nobilitie, fore repining and maligning at such the speedie advancement of Bothwell, who (as diuerse men perswaded himselfe, was the principall author of the murder) got them to armes in the ludden, before the queene of Bothwell was advertised of their meaning; they being then at Bothwell's castell, eight miles distant from Edinburgh.

The earle of
Bothwell
murdered
the king.

The lords
get them to
armes.

* Thus leaving the lords abills at Edinburgh, we will say somewhat out of Buchanan, of things done by Bothwell & the queene, before that he was taken by these noble men of the congregation, hauing at that time taken armes against hir. After the death of hir husband, whom she had caused to be buried out of harte from Perth. Kitcher hir secretarie, Matie (as was thought) by the meanes of the king of Scots (the queene I say) after that, and also after the clearing of Bothwell from the murder of hir husband, was forceable taken (as she was on hir iourne) by the earle Bothwell, and carried to his castell, where she remained not long, but yet honorable intertained. Which fact of his bred great dislike in the peoples minds, and brought him in danger of his life, had not the queene (of hir clemencie) pardoned him the same.

Fr. Thin.

Buchan. li. 17.

This done, there was a consultation had for a marriage to be solemnized betwene hir and the earle Bothwell, which (after a dispute had betwene this earle and his then wife Katharine Gordon, granted by the iudges spirituall & temporall; and after the solemn bands asked betwene the said earle James Hepburn, and the queene Marie Stewart) was with great solemnitie of the nobilitie (by their hands in writing consenting thereto) consummat at Edinburgh. Against which onelie the bishop of Arkenie was found to resist; and at which monsieur de Crocke the French ambassadoz then in Scotland would not be present: being a thing which did greatly occasion the Edinburghers to mislike of the queene.

Which marriage breeding some euill opinion of the said queene of Scots, not onelie in hir owne realme, but in the mouths of foereine nations, she wiselie consulteth with hir friends, how she might establish her power; and provide to saue hirselfe and hir kingdome from tumults and interfections. Whereupon, first she determineth to send an ambassadoz into France, to reconcile the minds of the king, and of the Guises, offended with this marriage. Which office of ambassage was laid vpon William bishop of Dunblane, with this charge (as saith Buchanan) almost word for word.

First, you shall excuse to the king, and to our vncles, that our marriage (to be consummate) came to their eares, before that we had opened our counsell touching that matter by ante messengers. This excuse (as it were to a foundation) doth leane to the true exposition of his whole life, and chieflie to the offices and duties of the duke of capteine of the Orkneys towards us, euen vnto that day in which it seemed good to me to take him to husband. For the opening of the historie whereof you shall take occasion to treat from the beginning of the last times of his adolescencie (youth, or yeeres of discretion, as we terme it) in this sort.

fares

“ fares (being from the death of his father one of the
 “ chiefe of the nobilitie) he did wholie dedicate himsele
 “ to the dutie and service of the princes and kings of
 “ Scotland, as one bozne of a famous familie for his
 “ ancient nobilitie, & of great revenues in this king-
 “ dome which he possessed by right of inheritance. At
 “ that time also he did especiallie and altogether con-
 “ secrate himselfe to our mother, whilste she had the
 “ gouernement of the realme.

“ In which dutie towards hir, he did so constantlie
 “ perseuere, that although the greater part of the no-
 “ bilitie, and almost all the towne were fallen from
 “ hir obedience (vnder the colour of religion) yet he
 “ would neuer decline from hir authoritie, as a per-
 “ son that could not be twone by anie promises or be-
 “ nefits, or feared with anie threats, or losse of his li-
 “ uings, to neglect his dutie in anie part vnto hir: but
 “ that he wold rather suffer his principall house, which
 “ was the head of his patrimonie, with his plentifull
 “ and pretious store of furniture thereof to be taken
 “ from him, and all his other lands to be left for spoile
 “ to the enimie, than violate his faith to our mother.
 “ Besides which, being destitute of helpe both of vs
 “ and our people (when the English host was brought
 “ by our domesticall enimies into the bowels of our
 “ kingdome, which directed their weapons to none o-
 “ ther marke, than that our now husband at that time
 “ earle Bothwell, should by force be enforced to flee) he
 “ fled into France, forsaking all his patrimonie, where
 “ he honored me with all dutie and seruice (that he
 “ might) untill my returne into Scotland.

“ Neither are those exploits to be omitted, which
 “ were done by him in the warres against the Eng-
 “ lish before my returne into mine owne countrie,
 “ where he shewed such parts of warlike valure and
 “ graue wisdom, that he was iudged (being then ve-
 “ rie young) meet to haue the gouernment of ancient
 “ persons, to be made chiefe capteine of the armie of
 “ the countrie, & also to be chosen or substitute depu-
 “ tie and chancelor: as in truth he was. In which of-
 “ fice he did not deceiue the hope and expectation which
 “ men conceiued of him. For (by his affaires valiant-
 “ lie atchieued) he left a singular praise and fame of
 “ him, as well amongst his owne people, as amongst
 “ the enimies.

“ After our returne into Scotland, he employed
 “ all his inbeuoz to the inlarging of our authoritie, and
 “ spared not to put himselfe in danger, in subduing
 “ those rebels which dwell about the borders of Eng-
 “ land. The dispatch wherof being shortly performed,
 “ and they brought to great quiet, he was appointed to
 “ doe the like in all the other parts of the kingdome.
 “ But as enuie doth alwaies accompanie vertue, so
 “ the Scots repining thereat, and desirous of innoua-
 “ tion, did laboz to diminish our fauour towards him
 “ (for his great labozs imploied in our behalfe) in mis-
 “ construing his good deeds.

“ By which in the end they wrought so much with
 “ me, that we committed him to prison; partly to sa-
 “ tisfie the minds of such as were emulous against
 “ him, and could not bzoake the increase of his follow-
 “ ing honor and greatnesse; and partly to appease such
 “ seditions as were likelie then to breake forth to the
 “ destruction of the whole kingdome. But he (escaping
 “ out of prison) got him into France, to giue place to
 “ the power of his enimies, where he remained almost
 “ two yeeres next following. At what time the authors
 “ of the former sedition, forgetting my clemencie to-
 “ wards them, and their dutie towards vs, did raise
 “ warre, and take weapons against their queene.

“ From thence was he called backe into Scotland,
 “ & being restored to his former honors & possessions,
 “ he was againe made generall of all the armie: by
 “ whose helpe our authoritie began afresh so to flourish,

“ that all the rebels (suddenly forsaking their coun-
 “ trie) were enforced to flee into England, untill part
 “ of them vpon humble submission were receiued as
 “ new into our fauour. But those traitors which were
 “ handled by the rest that were restored (and especiallie
 “ such, whose offences I had with beneuolence mispro-
 “ moted) our kinde is not ignorant, and therefore we
 “ will touch that no more.

“ Neither is it to be ouerpassed in silence, with what
 “ diligence he deliuered me from the hands of such as
 “ detained me prisoner, and with what speed (and singu-
 “ lar providence of his) I did both escape from prison,
 “ and recovered my former authoritie: after that I
 “ had dispersed the factions of the conspirators and se-
 “ ditious persons. In which result I am enforced to
 “ confesse, that his dutie and diligence at that time
 “ shewed towards me, was so acceptable vnto me,
 “ that I could neuer after forget it. These things al-
 “ though they be great of themselves, yet he hath hi-
 “ ther to increased them with such diligence and careful-
 “ nesse, that we cannot desire greater dutie, or with
 “ more assured trust in anie man, than we haue found
 “ in him; untill these last times which followed the de-
 “ ceasse of our husband.

“ But from that time, as his thoughts did seeme to
 “ tend higher, so his actions did after a sort seeme to be
 “ more insolent. And although the matter went so far,
 “ that we were to take all things in the best part: yet
 “ these things did then most grievously offend me; but
 “ especiallie his arrogancie, in that he thought that
 “ there were not other sufficient abilitie in vs, to re-
 “ compensate his desertings, vntil we gaue our selfe
 “ to him in marriage. Touching which, at the first he v-
 “ sed secret reasons and counsels: but in the end, when
 “ he saw them not to succeed after his mind, at length,
 “ shewing an open contempt of my authoritie, he fled
 “ to the benefit of violence, and used force (to the end
 “ his attempt might not want due effect) to bring me
 “ vnder his gouernement.

“ Wherefore all this course of his life maie be an
 “ example, to shew how craftilie they can contriue
 “ their drifts (in attempting great things) untill they
 “ haue obtained their purpose. For I did suppose, that
 “ all this his continuall dutie and carefulnesse in spee-
 “ die obsequie of my commandments, had not issued
 “ from anie other founteine, than of a vehement desire
 “ to shew his obedience and good will towards me:
 “ neither did I hope that a litle more fauourable coun-
 “ tenance (which we are accustomed to vse to the more
 “ worthy persons, to the end to win their minds to be
 “ more obedient to vs in dutie) should so haue raised
 “ his stomach (more than anie others) that he would
 “ promise to himselfe anie larger good will to proceed
 “ from me towards him, than he had before.

“ But he taking aduantage of all haps, & drawing
 “ all things (that chanced) to the furtherance of his
 “ purpose, and keeping all his counsels secret from me,
 “ did still shew his accustomed dutie, nourished my old
 “ fauour to him, & secretlie attempted a new thing by
 “ the helpe of the nobilitie. Which he brought to passe
 “ with such speedie diligence, that (vnto me) he
 “ obtained of the peeres of the realme (in the assem-
 “ blie of the parliament here) a writing with all their
 “ hands set therevnto, for the more credit of the same.
 “ In which writing was contained, that they did not
 “ onlie assent vnto the marriage; but that they also fur-
 “ ther promised to spend their life and goods (offered to
 “ all dangers) in the executing thereof, and that they
 “ would be vnto our enimies to all such as should laboz to
 “ hinder it. For the more easie obtaining of whose con-
 “ sents in this sort, he had perswaded the said nobilitie,
 “ that the same was not done against my mind and
 “ consent. At length, when he had purchased this writ-
 “ ting from them, he began by litle and litle (with ear-
 “ nest

“nest intreaties & flatteries) to obtaine our consent.
 “But when at the first our answers did not content
 “his desire, he began to laie before me almost all those
 “things, which are accustomed to happen in the at-
 “tempt of such matters.

“First, the outward tokens of our good favour to-
 “wards him, the reasons by which our friends or his en-
 “mities might hinder the same, & manie other things
 “which being objected, or willinglie happening, might
 “frustrate his hope, or change the minds of such as had
 “before subscribed. At length (fortune favouring him
 “therein) he determined to pursue the matter, & in one
 “instance to hazard his hope and life about the same.
 “Wherefore, when he had determined with himselfe,
 “with all importunitie to attempt the successe of his
 “determination, he foure daies after having conue-
 “nient time and place therefore in the high waie, set
 “upon me with a strong band, as I was comming
 “from seeing of my deere sonne, and with great speed
 “caried me to Dunbart.

“Which euill deed how greuouslie we toke (espe-
 “ciallie done by him, from whom all our subiects ne-
 “uer looked to haue such things to proceed) euerie bo-
 “die maie easilie consider. For there I did vpbraid
 “him, with what fauour I haue alwaies vsed him,
 “what honorable opinion I haue had of him, and of
 “his conditions in my speech vsed to others, and of his
 “vnthankfulnesse to me therefore; with all other
 “things that might deliuer me out of his hands. These
 “matters I laied against him with bitter words. But
 “his answers thereunto were more mild, and temper-
 “ed with gentler speeches, in this, that he would still
 “vse all honoz and dutie towards vs, and labor by all
 “means to haue our god will, whom he would not of-
 “fend.

“As touching this, that he had against our will car-
 “ied vs into one of our own castels, he humbly craued
 “pardon therefore (in that he was inforced thereunto)
 “although in the same he had forgotten that reue-
 “rence and dutie, which euerie subiect owght vnto vs.
 “Whereunto he added, that he did the same for our
 “safetie and defense. At which time also he began to re-
 “peat vnto me the whole course of his life, lamenting
 “his fortune, to haue them (whome he neuer hurt) so
 “greuouslie offended with him, that their malice had
 “not ouerpasseed anie occasions vniustlie to hurt him
 “withall.

“But especiallie in this, that their great enuie had
 “burdened him with the murder of the king, and that
 “his power was vnequall to resist the secret conspira-
 “cies of his enemies, whome he could not know; be-
 “cause they did in shew and speeches dissemble their
 “friendship: & not knowing them, there was no waie
 “for him to foresee and auoid their deceipts. Whose ex-
 “treme hatred was now growen to such height, that
 “he could not liue in safetie in anie place, or at anie
 “time, except he might be assured of the quenes vn-
 “changeable fauour towards him. Which certieintie of
 “hir fauor could not be shewed but by this one meane,
 “to persuaide hir selfe to receiue him into the marriage
 “bed. At what time he did most holilie sweare, that he
 “gaped not after anie extraordinarie gouernement,
 “or that he would leape to the highest step of supreme
 “rule thereby, but onlie to reape this fruit thereof, that
 “he might serue and obeie hir as long as he liued, in
 “such sort as he did before. Whereunto he added the de-
 “lights of such speeches as that matter required.

“But in the end, when he saw that we could not be
 “moued thereunto, either with praiers or promises,
 “he shewed vnto vs what he had done with the whole
 “nobilitie, and the chiefe of the parlement, and what
 “they againe had promised vnder their hands. Which
 “being suddenlie and vn hoped for laied against vs,
 “whether it did with iust cause greatlie astonish vs, we

leane to the consideration of the king, the quene, our
 “uncles, and the rest of our friends. Wherefore, when
 “I perceiued my selfe a prisoner vnder the power of
 “an other man, farre from the helpe of all those whose
 “counsel I did and should haue vsed; yea and that I
 “saw them before my face, in whose former faith and
 “wisdom I did repose my selfe; whose strength did
 “defend our authoritie, and without which our power
 “was but small or none: then (I say) I had some
 “all these to haue bowed themselves to serue his de-
 “sire, and that I was alone left a prey for him, I did
 “with my selfe in my mind consider manie things,
 “but could bring none of them to effect.

“Besides which, he gaue to vs but short time to take
 “anie aduise, but incontinentlie and importunatlie did
 “still vage the same vnto me. At length, when I saw
 “no waie to escape by flight, nor anie person of all our
 “kingdome which had anie care of our libertie (for we
 “well perceiued by their hands giuen, and by their
 “deepe silence at that time, that they were all drawn
 “to take his part) I was compelled (after that I a lit-
 “tle pacified mine anger & displeasure against him) to
 “refer my selfe to the discusse and consideration of his
 “demands, & to laie before my selfe his dutie in times
 “past, and the hope which we had of the following con-
 “tinuance of the same towards vs.

“And further, how greuouslie our people would
 “suffer a strange king, and heauilie receiue one vnac-
 “quainted, and not inbred with their lawes and cu-
 “stoms, that they would not suffer me long to liue vn-
 “married, and that the people (being by nature facti-
 “ous) could not be kept in obedience, except our au-
 “thoritie were supported and praicised by a man which
 “could equall them in bearing labor, and were able to
 “bridle the insolencie of rebels in the administration
 “of the common wealth: the weight of which charge,
 “our power (being weakened and almost brought to
 “nothing by continuall tumults and rebellions, since
 “our comming into Scotland) was not able anie
 “longer to susteine. For by reason of these seditions,
 “we were inforced to appoint foure or more deputies
 “in diuerse parts of our realmes, which after ward al-
 “so did (vnder the colour of the authoritie which they
 “were permitted to vse vnder vs) inforce our owne
 “subiects to take armes against vs.

“For all which causes, when we well perceiued that
 “if we labored to preferue the dignitie of kinglie ma-
 “iestie, that they would inforce me to marriage, that
 “our people could not abide a forren prince, and that a-
 “mongest our owne subiects, there was not anie
 “which for the nobilitie of his familie, for his wisdom
 “and valure, or for other vertues of bodie and mind,
 “might be preferred before or equalled vnto him,
 “I commanded my selfe to ioine with the whole con-
 “sent of the parlement, and assemble of the nobilitie
 “before mentioned. After that my former constant de-
 “termination was thus somewhat mollified by these
 “and other reasons, he did working from me partlie by
 “force, and partlie by intreatie, a promise to him of
 “marriage.

“Which done, we could not yet by anie meanes and
 “persuasion obtaine of him (fearing an alteration in
 “our mind) that the time wherein this marriage should
 “be performed, might be deferred so long, as that we
 “might participat the same with the king and quene
 “of France, and such other friends as we had remai-
 “ning in those parts. For he beginning with a bold at-
 “tempt (after that he had once thereby attained the
 “first step of his desire) did neuer after that cease to
 “ioine importunat praiers to his persuasions and ar-
 “guments of reason, vntill he did without violence
 “inforce vs to set end to the worke begun, and that at
 “such time, and after such order, as seemed most con-
 “uenient vnto him for the execution of his determi-
 “nation

" nation. In which matter I cannot dissimble, but
 " that I was otherwise intreated by him, than either
 " I would, or had deserved.

" For he was more careful to satissie them, by
 " whose consent (shewed at the beginning) he thought
 " himselfe to have obtained his purpose (though he did
 " both deceive them and mee) than to gratifie me, or
 " to wisie how meet it were for me, being brought up
 " in the precepts and rites of our religion; from which,
 " neither he nor any man living, whilst I did live, 10
 " could draw me awaie (aline) by any action. In which
 " thing trulie, though we doe acknowledge our error,
 " yet we willingly desire, that the king and quene
 " his mother, our uncle, or any friend of ours, do not
 " erposulat with him, nor any waie laie the fault on
 " to his charge.

" For sith things be now so ended, as that they
 " cannot be againe undone, we take all things in the
 " best part: & as he is in deed, so he is to be accounted
 " our husband, whose from henceforwards we have
 " determined both to love & reverence. Wherefore all
 " they which profess themselves to be our friends,
 " must also shew the like to him which is toined unto
 " us with an indissoluble knot. And although he hath
 " in many things behaved himselfe lesse diligentlie, &
 " almost over-rashlie, which we willingly impute to
 " his immoderat affection towards us; yet we desire
 " the king, the quene, our uncle, and the rest of our
 " friends, no lesse to love and favour him, than if all
 " things had till this day bene done after their advice
 " and determination; in the behalfe of which our hus- 30
 " band, we promise that he shall in all things (which
 " shalbe required of him hereafter) alwaies grati-
 " fie them in what he maye.

These remedies being found to defend the quens
 credit amongst forein princes, other remedies were
 to be sought for defense of hir owne person against
 hir owne subjects. Wherefore (after that the earle of
 Sparrre was appointed to remaine as banished be-
 yond the seas in France, whether he take his jour-
 nie through England) the quene (delivered of such a
 feare as he was to hir, & therefore better able to rule;
 or at least to make better shift, with such other as
 were confuted, to use Buchanans word, against hir)
 bled that diligence she might to gather forces, espe-
 ciallie in the spers and east Northian.]

And thinking that the enterprise of the lords had
 bene broken and disappointed, they marched from
 Dunbar on saturday the fourth of June, first to
 Haddington, & there resting till the even, set forward
 to Gladsmore, and taking there deliberation in the
 matter; they lodged that night at Setton, and in
 the morning marched in order of battell towards
 Carbarrie hill, and there chose forth a plot of ground
 of great advantage, appointing to fight on foot, be-
 cause the power of the lords in number of horse-
 men, was stronger than the quens, and of greater
 experience. There were with the quene and Both-
 well, the lords Setton, Pether, and Bothwellke; al-
 so the lords of Melanchton, Bas, Dumfries, Wile-
 derburne, Blackater, and Langton. They had with
 them also two hundred harquebussiers waged, and
 of great artillerie some few peeces: Their whole
 number was esteemed to be about 2000: but the
 more part of them were commons & countriemen.

The earles of Sparrre, Atholl, Mar, Glencarne,
 the lords of Hume, Lindseie, Ruthven, Semple,
 Sandquhar; the lords of Drumlanrig, Colibar-
 den, Grange, and young Setton; were assembled
 together at Edinburgh with a power like in num-
 ber to the quens, but for the more part consisting of
 gentlemen, although not furnished with any num-
 ber of harquebussiers, except a few of the townsmen
 of Edinburgh; that willingly toined with them in

that quarrell. Upon the fifteenth of June, they came
 forth of the towne, and approached their adversaries.
 But there was monsieur la Croque, the French
 kings ambassadour, who took great paine, in tra-
 velling betwixt the parties to reduce them to some
 agreement. * Who by his interpreter laid before them
 how carefulle he had studied for the commoditie &
 tranquillitie of the publike state of Scotland before
 this; and that now also he carried the same mind with
 him. Wherefore he did vehementlie desire (if it
 were possible) that the matter might be so taken up,
 for the commoditie of both parties; that it might be
 ended without force or bloodshed. For the compas-
 sing whereof, he would imploie all his travell, sith
 the quene also did not refuse to heare the counsell &
 persuasion of peace. For the more certaintie whereof,
 he did at that time promise them pardon and bett
 forgetfulness of all things passed before time; & did
 with great holinesse there pledge him selfe, that no
 hurt should fall unto any man there, for taking
 weapon against the highest governour.

After that the interpreter had delivered these
 things, the earle of Sparrre answered, that he did
 not take armes against the quene; but against him
 that had killed the king. Whome if the quene would
 deliver to punishment, or separat him from hir; the
 should well understand, that they & the rest of hir sub-
 jects held nothing more due unto them, than to con-
 tinue in their dutifull obedience: without which gran-
 ted to them, there could be no agreement made; be-
 cause they came not thither to craue pardon for any
 offense which they had committed (whereunto the
 earle of Glencarne added) but rather to give pardon
 to such as had offended.]

Wherefore the ambassadour Croque returned backe
 to Edinburgh, and the quens part began to de-
 crease, diverse speaking awaie from hir; so that af-
 ter it began to grow towards the evening, Both-
 well fled to the castell of Dunbar. But the quene
 desirous to talke with William Kirkcaldie the lord of
 Grange, went to him, accompanied onelie with one
 capteine, and after some talke with him, she passed
 to the lords, who took hir with them to Edinburgh,
 [the being in a short garment, bare, & tooke a com-
 ming a little beneath hir knees (as saith Buchanan)
 of which lords she requested that they would suffer
 hir to depart, & not to keepe hir in that fort.] The Ha-
 miltons were on the waite comming to assist the
 quene, with seven or eight hundred horsemen; but
 before they could reach to the place, the quene was
 in the hands of the lords, and so they returned.

The lord of Cragnmiller [then possessor of Eden-
 burgh] and sir James Balfoure also the capteine of
 the castell, were toined in this confederacie with the
 lords, as shortly after it appeared. The quene after
 this was conveyed over the Forth, and brought to
 Lachlenin, where she was appointed to remaine in
 ward under the safe keeping of William Douglas
 lord of that place. The earle Bothwell, escaping to
 Dunbar, found meanes to flee into Denmark, where
 he was slaine and committed to prison, where-
 in at length he died. Divers persons afterwards
 were apprehended as parties to the murder of the
 king, and thereupon condemned, were executed,
 confessing the said earle to be the principall executor
 of the same murder. * Leaving the quene therefore
 in this miserable plight, we will not yet forget (for
 the honor she once had) to set downe certaine verses
 made by Alexander Seton a Scot, in the commen-
 nation of hir ancestors; and of hir; who in the first
 yeares of hir government bled hir selfe to the good
 liking of all hir subjects. In which verses Seton
 doth further meanie, that Lesle should hereafter set
 forth hir government, as he hath done that of the
 said J.

Fr. Thin.
 Buchan. lib. 18.

The quene
 cometh to
 the lords.

Fr. Thin.

Fr. Thin.

The quene
 is sent to
 Lachlenin.

Fr. Thin.

The quene
 gathereth for-
 ces.

Carbarrie
 hill.

The number
 of the quens
 power.

The power of
 the lords.

Lessens be-
fore the pre-
face of his
eight booke.

other thing before hir. The verses be as followeth.

*Quar atavis, gentis antiquo de sanguine regum,
Nympha Caledonij gloria rara soli,
Maiores hic laudes, totos quos insula ab orbe
Diuisit, toto cernis ab orbe legi.
Hoc illis peperere decem, non gloria regni,
Non genus, aut diues gaza, fasque virum:
Sed pietas bonos, fidei constantia, morum
Integritas, belli gloria, pacis amor;
Quos tua maiores superet quum viuuda virtus:
Qua tamen meritis laus fuit aqua tuis?
Num hoc Lesleo superest, tua fortia facta
Scribere, consilij multa peracta suis.
Et mihi sunt verbis saltem tua facta canenda:
A proavis ne sim degener ipse meis.]*

James the
sixt.

The nineteenth of Julie, Charles James the young prince of Scotland, after a sermon made by John Inor, was crowned king of the Scots in Sterling church, where were read certeine letters of commission and procuration, with the queens priue seale at them for the establishing of the same coronation. The first, for his resignation of the crowne and gouernement of the young prince his sonne. The second, to authorize the earle of Murray to be regent during the kings minority. The third, to giue authority and power to seuen other joining with the said earle of Murray, in case he should refuse to exercise the same alone; that is to say, the duke of Chastelaunt, the earles of Lennox, Argyle, Atholl, Moray, Glencarne, and Mar. The tenors of which letters of commission and procuration doe here insue, as we find them imprinted at Edinburgh by Robert Lekprieue printer to the king of Scots, the sixt of Aprill 1568, among the acts of parlement begun and holden at Edinburgh, the fiftenth of December, in the yeare 1567, by James earle of Murray lord Abernethie, &c: regent vnto the said king.

The tenor of the commission, where-
by Marie the queene of Scots resigneth
the crowne to hir sonne, appointeth
his gardians, and maketh the earle of
Murray regent.

Marie be the grace of God queene of Scottis, to all and sundrie our iudges and ministers of law, liegis and subiectis, quhome it effectis to quhais kinlege thir our letteris sall come, greeting. For samekle as by lang trespone and tedious trauell takin by vs in the gouernament of this our realme and liegis thair of, we are sa verit and ierit, that our bodie, spirit, and sensis are altogether become inhabill langer to trauell in that roome: and thairfore we haue dimittit and renuncit the office of gouernament of this our realme and liegis thair of, in fauours of our anelie maist deir sonne, natie prince of this our realme. And because of his tender youth and inhabillite to vse the said gouernament in his atwin persoun, during his minority, we haue constitute our derrest brother James earle of Murray, lord Abernethie, &c: regent to our said sonne, realme and liegis forsaids.

And in respect that our said derrest brother is actually furth of our realme, and cannot instantlie be present to accept the said office of regentrie vpon him, and vse and exercise the samin during our saids derrest sons minority; we quhill his returning within our realme, or in case of his decess haue maid, constitute, namit, appointit, and by thir our letteris makis, constitutis, namis, appointis, and ordainis our traist consingis and counsalours,

James duke of Chastelaunt, earle of Arrane, lord Hamiltoun, Mather earle of Lennox, lord Dornie, &c: Archibald earle of Argyle, lord Campbell and Loche, &c: John earle of Atholl, James earle of Moray, Alexander earle of Glencarne, and John earle of Mar, regentis to our said derrest son, realme and liegis; & in case our said brother James earle of Murray cum within our realme, and refussis to accept the said office of regentrie vpon his singular persoun, we make, constitute, name, appoint, and ordene, our traist consingis and counsalours forsaids, and our said brother regentis of our said deir sonne, realme, and liegis.

Geuand, grantand, and committand to thame, or onie sue of thame coniunctlie full power for our said sonne, and in his name to ressaue resignatiounis of landis, make dispositiounis of wairdis, nonentres, releuis, mariageis, beneficis, eschetis, officis, and otheris casualitets and priuilegis, quhat sumeuer concerning the said office, signaturis thair vpon to make, subscribe, and cause be past through the seillis. And to vse and exercise the said office of regentrie in all thingis, priuilegis, and commo-ditets, siclike as frelie and with als greit libertie as onie regent or gouernor to vs or our predecessours vnto the samin in ony times bigan. Promittand to bald firme and stabill in the word and faith of a prince, to quhat sumeuer thingis our saids traist consingis dois in the premillis.

Charging heirfore to all and sundrie our iudges and ministers of law, liegis and subiectis forsaids, to answer and obeie to our saids traist consingis, regentis forsaids in all and sundrie thingis concerning the said office of regentrie, during our said derrest sons minority, and ay and quhill he be of the age of seuentene yris compleit. As he and like are of to will declair to our saids subiectis to our said maist deir son, your natie prince, and vnder all paine, charge, and offense that he and like are of to make commit and incur against his maiestie in that part. Subscript with our hand, and giuen vnder our priue seill, at Lochleuin, the fourte and twentieth day of Julij, and of our reigne the five and twentieth yir.

The commission, authorising certeine
noble men in the queens name, to re-
nounce the kingdome to hir sonne,
and authorising others to receiue
the same in hir sons name.



Marie be the grace of God queene of Scottis, to all and sundrie our iudges, and ministers of law, liegis, and subiectis, quhome it effectis, to quhais kinlege thir our letteris sall come, greeting. For samekle as sen our arruall, and returning within our realme, we willing the continuall commoditie, welth, profect, and quietnes thair of, liegis, and subiectis of the samin, haue employit our bodie, spirit, baill sensis, and foris, to gouerne the samin in sic sort, that our roiall and honzabill estate might stand and continue with vs, and our posteritie, and our lussing and kind liegis might insaie the quietnes of true subiectis. In trauellling quhairin, not anelie is our bodie, spirit, and sensis sa verit, broken, and bruiet, that langer we are not of habillite be onie meane to indure sa greit and tollerabill painis and traueillis, quhair with we are altogether ierit, bot als greit commotiounis and troublis be onie occasiounis in the meantime be onie baill, for our greit greit.

And being it has bene the plesur of the eternall
God,

God, of his kindlie lufe, mercie, and gudnes to grant unto vs, of our atwin persoun, ane sone, quha in cais be the hand of God we be possessit, will, and richt, and of equitie man, and aucht to succede to us and to the gouernement of our realme. And knawing that all creaturis ar subiect to that inuincibill decret of the eternal, aims to rander and gif by this life temporall (the hour and time quhair of is most vncertane) and in cais be decreit we be taken fra this life, during the time of his yuinozitie, it maie be dovit greittie, that resistance and trouill maie be maid to our said son, now native prince of this our realme, in his tender yeres (being swa destitute of us) to succede to that royaume and kingdome, quhill maist iustlie of all lawis, apperteneis to him. Dubill inconuenience be Godis helpe and gud providence we mene to prevent, in sitch maner, that it fall not lie in the pouer of onie pynaturall subiects to resist Godis ordinaunce in that behalfe. And vnderstanding that na thing, erdlie is maist solous and happie to vs, nor to se our said decret sone, in our atwin life time peccablie placit in that royaume, and honozabill estate quhairto he iustlie aucht and maist succede to: we of the motherlie affectioun we beir toward our said onlie sone, haue renuncit, and dimittit, and be thir our letteris frelie, of our atwin motiue will renuncit, & dimittit the gouernement, guiding and gouerning of this our realme of Scotland, liegis, and subiects thair of, and all intronissoun and dispositioun of onie casualteis, properties, benefices, and offices, and all thingis appertaining, or heirtofore is knawin, or heirefter fall happen to appertein thairto, in fauouris of our said decret sone. To that effect, that he maie be plantit, placit, & possedit thairin, be & exerce all thingis belang and thairto, as native king, and prince of the samis, & siclike as we or onie our predecessouris, kingis of Scottis, hes done in onie times bypast.

Attour, that this our dimissoun maie tak the maist solempne effect, and that name pretend ignorance thair of, we haue giuin, grantit, and committit, and be thir our letteris, geuis, grantis, & committis our commissioun full, fre, and plane pouer, generall, & spectall command, to our traist coussingis, Patrike lord Lindesae of the Birs, and William lord Ruthuen, and to ilk ane of thame coniunctlie and seuerallie, to compeir before sa monie of the nobilitie, clergie, burgessis, and ither pepill of our realme, as fall happen to be assemblit to that effect in our burgh of Strivelling, or anie ither place, or placis quhair it fall be thocht maist conuenient, at onie date or dais, and thair publiclie in thair presence, for vs, in our name, and vpon our behalf dimitt, and renunce the gouernement, guiding, & reuling of this our realme, liegis, and subiects thair of, all intronissoun with the proprietie, casualtie, or itheris thingis appertaining to us thairby, and all richt, and title that we had, hes, or maie haue be onie maner of way thairto, in fauouris of our said son, to that effect, that he maie be inaugurat, placit, and rowmit thairin, and the crowne rotall deliuerit to him, and be obeit in all thingis concerning the samin, as we, or our predecessouris hes bene in times bypast.

And in likewise be thir presents geuis, grantis, and committis our full, fre, and plane pouer, to our richt traist coussingis, James earle of Moroun, lord of Dalkeith, John earle of Atholl, &c: John earle of Mar, &c: Alexander earle of Glencarne, William earle of Penteth, John maister of Graham, Alexander lord Hume, Adam bishop of Dunkeld, the processis of Dundie, Montrois, or onie of thame, to ressaue the said renunsiatioun, and dimissoun in fauouris of our said son, and thair efter the ressaueing thair of, to plant, place, and inaugu-

raish in the kingdome, and to do all ceremonies requirit to put the crowne rotall vpon his heid; in signe and takin of the gubailking of him thairin, and in his name to maid, and gif to the said nobilitie, clergie, burgessis, and itheris our liegis, his prince and kinglie with desuillie, & laudhullie as effectis and to ressaue thair althits, for tuerne laudhull homage to be maid be thame to him, in all times coming, as becomis subiects to thair native king and prince: And generallie all and sundrie ither thingis to do, exerce, and do, that for sure performance and accomplishment heirtofore maie, or can be done, firme and stable hold, and for to hold all and quhairsum euer thingis in our name, in the premissis leidis to be done, in the word and faithfull ppointis of ane prince. And ordanis thir our letteris (gif neid be to) to be publiit at all places neidfull. Subscriuit with our hand, and giuin vnder our prentie seill, at London in the fourth and twentieth dais of Julij, and of our reigne the five and twentieth yere, 1567.

The commission, in which the earle of Murreie is alone appointed to be regent of the yoong king, and of his kingdome.



Maie be the grace of God, quene of Scots, to all & sundrie our iudgis, and ministeris of our lawis, liegis, and subiects, quhome it effectis, to quhais knalege thir our letteris fall cum, greting. Forsamuche as efter lang, greit, and intollerable painis, & labouris takin be us sen our arrivall within our realme, for gouernement thair of, and keeping of the liegis of the same in quietnes, we haue not anellie bene verit in our spirit, bodie, and sensis thairby, bot als at length at altogidder sa verit thair of, that our habilitie, and strength of bodie is not habill langer to indure the samin: thairfore, and because nathing erdlie can be maist confortabill and happie to us in this eird, nor in our life time, than to se our deir son, the native prince of this our realme, placit in the kingdome thair of, and the crowne rotall set on his heid, we of our owin fre will, an speciall motiue, haue dimittit, and renuncit the gouernement, guiding, and gouerning of this our realme of Scotland, liegis, and subiects thair of, in fauouris of our said son, to that effect: that in all times heirefter, he maie peccablie, and quietlie enioie the samin, without trouill, an be obeit as native king, and prince of the samin be the liegis thair of.

And vnderstanding that (be resoun of his tender youth) he is not of habilitie in his atwin persoun to administrate in his kinglie royaume and gouernement, as equitie requiris, quhill that heirefter he cum to the yeres of discretioun; and als knawing the proximite of blude standand betuixt us, our said sone, and our derrest brother James erle of Murray, lord Abirneith, &c: and hauand experiance of the naturall affectioun, and tenderlie lufe he hes in all times borne, and presentlie beires towardis us, the honour & estate of our said sone; of quhais lufe and fauour towardis him we can not bot assure our selfe: to quhome na greter honour, loy, nor selektie in eird can cum, nor to se our said sone inaugurat in his kingdome, seirit, reuerencit, and obeit be his liegis thair of. In respect quhair of, and of the certanetie, and notozitie, of the honestie, habilitie, qualification, and sufficiencie of our said derrest brother, to haue the cure and regiment of our said sone, realme, and liegis forsaids, during our said sonis yuinozitie: we haue maid, namit, appointit, comittit,

late, and ordaine, to be thir our legatoris names, pap-
pointis, thakis, constitutis, and ordanis, our said ver-
rest brother James erle of Murray, regentis and
said derrest sone, realme, and liegis, foirsaidis, dur-
ing his minority and less age; and ay and quhill he
be of the age of sentene yeres compleit. And our
said brother be callit, during the said space, re-
gent to our said sone, his realme, and liegis.

So was our said sone after the completing of the
yeres foirsaidis, in his abuin person may tak vpon
him the said government, and ple, and exerce all
and indyie privilegis, honours, and vtheris man-
nitis that appertenis to the office of ane king, als
weill in gouerning his realme and pepill, according
to the lawis, as in repressing the violence of sic as
wald inuaid, or insullie resist him or thame, or his
authoritie resist. With power to our said derrest bro-
ther James erle of Murray, in name, authoritie, and
behalfe of our said maist deir sone, to ressaue resigna-
tiounis of quhat summeuer landis baldin of him, or of
offices, castels, towris, fortalices, millis, fishings,
woodis, benefeits, or pertinencis quhat summeuer, the
samir againe in our said sonis name to gif, and de-
liuer signaturis thair vpon; and vpon the giftis of
wairdis, nonentrentis, and releuis of laidis, and ma-
riageis of atris falland, or that fall happin to fall in
our said sonis handis as superiour thair of.

And als vpon presentatioun of lairdis, benefeits,
eschettis of gunds monabill and vnmouabill, dettis
and takkis, respittis, remissounis, superceduris,
and vpon the dispositioun of offices vacand, or quhen
they fall happin to baik, to subertie, and can be
past the seillis the said office of regentrie, to be and
exerce in all thingis, p'suilegis, and commoditeis,
sichlike as frelie, and with als greit libertie, as ony
regent, or gouernour to be, or our predecessouris
hist in ony times bigane, and sichlike as gif euer
heid, priuilege and artiele concerning the said office
luer at leny effreidit and amplitit in thir our let-
teris. Promissand to bald firme and stabill in the
word and faith of ane prince, to quhat summeuer
thingis our said derrest brother in the premissis hap-
pinis to do. Chargeting heirfor zow all, and indyie
our iudgis, and ministeris of law, liegis, and subier-
tis foirsaidis, to answer and obey to our said derrest
brother, in all and indyie thingis concerning the
said office of regentrie, as ze and ilke ane of zow
will declair zow lussing subiectis, to our said maist
deir sone, and vnder all paine, charge, and offense
that ze and ilke ane of zow may commit, and thir
againis his maiestie in that past. Subscriuit with
our hand, and gentin vnder our prente seill, at Loch-
leuin the 14 day of Julij. And of our reigne, the
twentie five yetir.

These commissions being read, the bishop of Ar-
gyle, with two superintendents, proceeded to the co-
ronation: the earle of Morton, and the lord Home
toke the oth for the king, that he should rule in the
faith, feare, and loue of God, and to mainteine the
religion then preached and exercised in Scotland,
and to persecute all aduersaries to the same. The
whole ceremonie was done in the Scots English
tong, the quene mother to the king remaining at
that time prisoner in Lochleuin. * But before we
enter into the augmentation of the historie of this
kings time, I thinke it not vnmeet to deliuer one
thing, which I haue with some wonder obserued in
all the kings of Scotland descended of the Ste-
wards: that neuer ante one of them except the first
and second king of that name was of the age of man,
or of one and twentie yeres when they put on the
kinglie ornaments. A rare thing, and not vnmeet to
be considered of, although we can not enter into the

seuerall iudgements of God. The proofe of which mat-
ter, being after this sort, I haue set downe in a ca-
lendar of the orderlie descent of those kings. In the
conspectioun of the yeres of those age, and first
comming to the crowne, I haue followed Lesleus.

Robert Stewart the first king of that surname,
was 27 yeres old when he began his reigne, in the
yere of our redemption 1370. John Stewart son
of the said Robert began his reigne 1390. These two
aloud were of full age, when the title of the king-
dome descended vnto them. James Stewart, the
first of the name of James, the third of the name
of Stewards, was within age at the death of his
father, when the title and crowne descended vnto
him: who although he received not the crowne at
Scotland (because he was about eightene yeres ho-
norable kept as a prisoner in England) untill he
was of mans age: yet being king in right, and the
crowne inuessed in him when he was within age,
I doubt not to make him king from the death of his
father, him to within age to haue obtained the king-
dome; though not the kinglie use thereof, begin-
ning his reigne in the yeres of our redemption
1424.

James the second, and the fourth of the Ste-
wards, was six yeres old when he was crowned, in
the yere of Christ 1436. James the third, and sixt
of the Stewards, being seven yeres old, was crow-
ned king of Scotland in the yere that the word be-
came flesh 1460. James the fourth, and first of the
Stewards, being sixteen yeres of age, was ado-
ned with the ensignes of the kingdome, in the yere
of our saluation 1488. James the fifth, and the se-
uenth of the Stewards, being one yere, five mo-
neths, and ten daies old, was crowned king of Scot-
land, in the yere from the birth of Christ 1513. Ma-
rie the eight of the name of Stewards, being but
seven daies old, was crowned quene of Scots, in
the yere of Christ 1542. Henrie Stewart, sonne
to the thirde earle of Lennox, and husband to the said
Marie Stewart, was not one and twentie yeres
old, when he came to be king in the right of his wife
Marie: for he was not past one and twentie when he
was slaine, as before in the yere 1567. Charles
James Stewart, the first of the name of James, and
the ninth of the surname of Stewards, sonne of the
said Henrie Stewart and Marie Stewart, being
about a yere old, began his reigne in the yere that
God became man 1567. To whome Andrew Mel-
vine (this yere 1585 in England) did whilist he
was in Scotland dedicate these verses following:

*Dum tu, magne puer patribus das iura vocatu,
Et populi pensas crimina lance pari,
Iura tibi, cum ille Solon, cum ille Lycurgus,
Qua recti et puri fontibus hausta dedit,
Nobilium regum exemplis obsecrat auris,
Hic, ubi quid fugias, quidue sequarum habes.
Felix si fugias fugienda, sequenda sequarum!
Felix cum populo ius patris, tuo.*

There was order taken by the magistrates of
the reformed churches, assembled for that purpose,
touching the discipline of excommunication, and the
ercommunication, diuided into these heads: that is
to say, what crimes be worthy of that seuer cen-
sure of the church by excommunication: how the
minister shall behaue himselfe in publike audience
of the people: of confession of the penitent: of the
offenses which merit publike repentance: of the or-
der to proceed therein: the forme and the order
of publike repentance: an admonition to the church:
a thanksgiving for the conuersion and repentance
of the censured: the forme of the ercommunication:
the prayer for the obstinate that will not repent af-
ter that censure: the prayer before the ercommuni-
cation:

Out of the
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cation: the matter to invocate the name of Jesus, with the sentence of excommunication: the order to receive the excommunicate againe into the church: the forme of the absolution: and lastlie the praier for the church. Which booke containing the discourse of these matters at large, with authoritie of scriptures and reasons, was set forth by John Inor minister, and commanded to be printed by the generall assemblee, in the yere of Christ 1569, beinge scene and allowed by those which follow, appointed to that function by the said assemblee: whose names were John Willike, maister John Crage, Robert Pont, John Row, David Lindcote, William Christison, James Greg, &c.

Parlement holden at Edinburgh.

On the fifteenth of December a parlement begun, beinge holden at Edinburgh before the earle of Murraye lord regent, in the which divers acts and statutes were devised, made, and ratified: as first concerning the quenes demission of hir crowne, and resignation thereof made to hir sonne king James the first. And likewise concerning the instituting of the earle of Murraye in the regencie of the realme, which he toke upon him the two and twentieth day of August last past, according to hir letters of commission and procuracion aboue specified. Also there was an act made for the abolishing of the pope, and his usurped authoritie. And an other act for the annulling of former acts made in parlement for maintenance of superstition and idolatrie. And hereto was annexed a confession of the faith and doctrine received by the protestants of the realme of Scotland, authorized in the same parlement. There was also an act made for the indemnitie of those that had lenied warre, and apprehended the quene at Carbarrie hill, the fifteenth of Julie last past, and concerning the detaining of hir in Lochleuin.

An act for the abolishing of the popes authority in Scotland.

The castell of Dunbar and the lostrelle of Insketh to be rased.

Fr. Thin, Buchanan, lib. 19.

Moreover, it was ordeined by an act passed in this parlement, that the castell of Dunbar, and the lostrelle of Insketh, should be demolished and rased downe to the earth. To be briefe, there were one and forty acts of statutes made and stablished in this parlement, as by the register thereof it maye appere. * In the first beginning of the spring, the gouernour determined to make a progresse ouer the realme, with the iudges that were appointed to administer law: which he ment to doe, to the end that he might amend and establishe such things as were indamaged by the tumults of the yere before. Which matter working diuerse opinions in those of the quenes faction, did cause that Metellane and John Balfurie sought meanes to deliuer the quene out of prison. Touching which matter also the Hamiltons labored who (being next to the crowne, if the yong king were gone, and the quene made astate, both which perhaps was no great matter to procure) did some with the quenes faction and fauourers. Whose part in like manner the earles of Atholl and Huntly refused not to take, because the mother of the one, and the wife of the other, were of the familie of the Hamiltons.

William Murraye of Tillbartine, for his contrarie opinion in the controuersies of religion, and for priuat quarrels, being estranged and grieved from and with the gouernour, did not onelie now depart from the kings faction (although before he shewed great diligence in taking the quene) but did also drave with him a great companie of his friends intified thereunto with no small hope of benefit to rise vnto them thereby. And as these were heads and chiefe of such as sought the quenes deliuerance: so there were a great manie other, whom priuat necessity, secret grudge, desire of reuenge, hope of advancement, and neerenesse of alliaunce to those which are before named, procured to follow, and to further

the cause of the quenes libertie. In the meane time, whilst the regent was at Glasgowe to minister law to such as required it (and that he had there heard of these things) his determination of setting the quene at libertie was put in execution, the manner whereof was in this sort. There was in the castell of Lochleuin, wherein the quene was kept as prisoner, the mother of the regent, and three of his brethren by an other father, with a great troupe of women: but none were admitted to see the quene, save such as were well knowne or sent thither by the regent.

Of all this household companie, there was none that seemed so meet to the quene to execute anie matter, as was George Douglas the yongest brother of the regent, being a man of a pleasant wit, and easilie to be overtaken with the faire speeches of women. This man had accesse vnto the quene to playe at cards, and to vse hir with other courtlie pastimes: who determining to set hir at libertie, did with promises and gifts win the seruants of the castell to fauour him and his enterprises. Whereupon this Douglasse (not unwitting as was thought to his mother) omitted nothing that might seme to serue for the quenes libertie: the which although manie there did perceiue & toke not in verie good part, giuing intelligence therof to the regent; yet he gaue such credit to his owne people there, that he changed (as hath Buchanan) none of the keepers in that place, but onelie commanded his brother George to depart out of the Iland. This said George, when he passed into the next countrie adioining to the lake, in which the castell stood, did more liberallie than before (by corrupting the keepers with monie) consult with the quene of all hir affaires.

Wherefore not onelie the Scots (whome the present state of things did mislike) being draven into that faction; but also the Frenchmen by James Hamilton (which had bene regent not manie yeres before) and James archbishop of Glasgowe solicited thereunto; the Scots promised their bodilie force, and the French promised their helping purse. Now about the end of Aprill, an ambassador came out of France requiring in the name of his king, that he might haue leaue to go to the quene: which if he were denied, he made shew that he would presentlie depart. Whereunto the gouernour answered, that it was not in his power to grant it: that the quene was not committed to prison by him, and that he could not determine anie thing herein without the knowledge which first restrained hir of libertie, and after by decree confirmed that deed: but he would not cease in pleasing his sister, and such a friend as the king (his maister) was, to doe all that he might: and further, that he would take order for an assemblee of the nobilitie the twentieth daie of the next moneth. Untill which time the ambassador seemed somewhat appeased, and the regent applied the administration of the lawes.

On the daie the second of Maie, in the yere 1568, at supper time, the quene escaped out of Lochleuin, by the meanes and helpe of George Douglas brother to the lord of Lochleuin. The lord Seton, the lord of Rcarton, and James Hamilton of Dalrymple, were readie to receiue hir, and conueyed hir ouer the quenes ferrie, first to publie the lord Seton his house, and from thence to Hamilton castell, where she remained till the thirteenth daie of Maie being thursdaie, gathering in the meane time such forces as she might from all places. The earle of Murraye lord regent was in Glasgowe, at what time the quene escaped out of Lochleuin; and upon knowledge had thereof, ment at the first to haue withdrawen himselfe to Sterling: but suddenly changing his purpose in that behalfe, he determined to continue at Glasgowe,

1568. The quene escaped out of Lochleuin.

The quene gathereth a power.

The regents determination to stae at Glasgou.

Fr.Thin. Buchan.lib. 19.

colo, which is not past eight miles from Hamilton, because he was perswaded, that if he should thinke backe neuer so little, he should encourage his aduersaries, and discourage his friends, and so consequentlie weaken his part greatlie. * Which they also supposed was the more weakened, by the departure of Robert Woid (vnto the quenes part) hauing untill that time wone a great opinion of his constancie towards the regent.

This man, being of a famous familie, was now in the decate of his house meanelie and sparinglie brought by vnder his father, a valiant gentleman, and one that followed the frugalitie of the Scots, who (willing to prepare a waie to the readuance of his house, as manie of his other kinned did) was now content to seeke meanes therefore: for which cause both he and his father did first follow the Hamiltons then ruling all things. But after that their gouernement was possted ouer from them to the quene mother the regent; and that contention was moued about religion: he ioined himselfe to the lords of the congregation, from whome his father was most estranged: in which this Robert Woid firmelie continued untill the quenes retorne out of France. By meanes whereof, there was a great opinion of his valure & wisdom, on whose counsell Coline Campbell earle of Atholl did almost wholie depend. But when by chance certeine of the nobilitie had conuined or conspired (to vse Buchanans word) for no euill act, but for the defense of the king, he subscribed to the same league.

But after, with like lightnesse both he and the earle of Argile (which hong vpon his aduise) wrote vnto the quene euerie thing that was done in the same assemblie, from which time this Woid was partaker of all the quenes secrets against his old friends, who with the quene did yet obtaine no greater opinion of constancie, than he did amongst others of lightnesse and inconstancie. But after that the quene was imprisoned, and the earle of Purrie made regent, he went then to the part of the gouernor: with whom he shewed such pwise of his wit and industrie, that he was admitted into the priue counsels of the regent, contrarie to the opinion of others. But after when the matter should be tried by fight betwene the regent & the quene (after hir escape from Lochleuin) he fled againe to the quene.] All which notwithstanding, the thirtieth daie of Maie afore mentioned, the quene with hir power marched from Hamilton, by the south side of Clepe toward Dunbarton; and out of Glasgou on the other part marched the lord regent with his forces: so as at length both the armies met at a place called the Langside, nere to the house of Cathcart within two miles of Glasgou.

The armies met at La. 19 side.

Lords on the quenes part.

Lords on the regents part.

They ioine in battell.

There were on the quenes part the earles of Argile, Caillies, Eglinton, and Rosses, Claud Hamilton sonne to the duke of Chatelerault, the lords Seton, Sumnerhill, Wesser, Worthwike, Levingston, Herries, Haywell, Sauquhar, Woid and Rolfe, lards and knights, Lochinwar, Was, Mauchton, Dalhousie, Rolien the thirde of Aire, sir James Hamilton, and manie others. On the regents part were these accounted as principall, the earles of Dorset, War, Glencarne, Denteith, the maister of Crahan, the lords Hume, Lindlie, Ruthwen, Semple, Ogiltree and Cathcart, of lairds and knights, Bargarwy, Blacquhan, Drumlanrig, Selsford, Lus, Buchanan, Tullibardin, Detour, Grange, Lochleuin, Leithington, and sir James Balfour. At the first ioining there was a verie sharpe encounter: for after they had bestowed their shot of harquebuzes and arrows, they fell to it with speares and swords. But at length, after thre quarters of an houres fight, the

quenes part was put to flight.

The victorie remained with the regent, who suffered none to be slaine but those that were killed in the fight, before they turned their backs; among the which were foureteene of the surname of the Hamiltons killed. There were taken prisoners about thre hundred, of which number the principall were these: the lords Seton and Rolfe, sir James Hamilton, and manie other of that surname. Of the regents part, the lord Hume was hurt in the leg and face, and the lord Ogiltree in the necke, by the lord Herries: the lord Lindlie, and the lards of Drumlanrig, and of Grange, bare themselves verie valiantlie that day, falling not in anie point that belonged to the dutie of hardie capteins. The quenes part was thought to be nere at the point of six thousand men, and the regents was reckoned to be foure thousand: so that there were ten thousand men in the field that daie, what vpon the one side and the other.

The quenes part discomfited.

Foureteene of the Hamiltons slaine, prisoners taken.

The earle of Huntlye was coming forwarde to haue assisted the quenes part, but the battell was striken, and hir people discomfited (as ye haue heard) yer he could come, and so he returned. In this battell the valiance of an Hieland gentleman named Macferlane, stood the regents part in great stead. For in the hottest bzunt of the fight, he came in with two hundred of his friends and countiermen, and so manfullie gaue in vpon the flanke of the quenes people, that he was a great cause of the disordering of them. This Macferlane had bene latelie before (as I haue heard) condemned to die for some outrage by him committed: and obtaining pardon (through sute of the countesse of Purrie) he recompented that clemencie by this peece of seruice now at this battell, [which was (as saith Buchanan) fought the thirde daie of Maie, and the eleuenth after the quene had escaped out of prison.]

The earle of Huntlye coming forwarde to aid the quene.

Fr.Thin.

The quene perceiuing the ouerthrom of hir people, fled from the place where she stood to behold the battell, and withdrew to Crawford towne, and so by the Sauquhar to Dundrenan in Gallowate: and after she had taried there two or thre daies, she took ship and passed to Worthington in England, where she was staied & conueied to Caerleill, and from thence to Bolton castell, belonging to the lord Scrope, who with sir Rafe Sadler (being sent downe for that purpose) had the custodie of hir, till at length she was committed vnto the earle of Shrewsburie. * The French ambassador, which looked for the good successe of this battell, and did promise to himselfe assured victorie on the quenes part, vnderstanding the contrarie, and being deceiued of his former hope, changed his copie, and with horse and guides halled all he could into England, without bidding the regent farewell. In which iourne he was robbed by thieves: but James Dologlasse, capteine of the marches of Drumlanrig, did this honor to the ambassador, that he had all his goods restored vnto him.]

The quene of Scots fleth into England.

Fr.Thin. Buchan.lib. 19.

But now to the dwings in Scotland. The regent sent to summon Hamilton castell, but the answer was respited till the next daie: and then he that had the charge came to Glasgou, and offered the keyes to the regent. The castell of Draxan was also yelded at the same time to the regent. The eighteenth of Maie, the regent made proclamation, that the inhabitants of the shires of Perns, Angus, Fife, Mers, Louthian, Kile, and Carricke, should prouide themselves of vittels for sixtene daies, and to meet him at Beggart the tenth of Iune, to ride with him into the south-west parts of Scotland, to chastise certeine theues, and other disobedient persons. Wherevpon, the eleuenth of Iune, the regent marched south of Edinburgh, and came that night to Beggart. There at nine being assembled, contained foure or five thousand

The regents iourne into the south-west parts of Scotland.

land hoymen verie well appointed, beside a thousand footmen, gunners and halberdiers: of boies and young men that went with the carriage, there were about foure thousand.

The castell of Boghall, pertaining to the lord Fleming, was surrendred to them. The twelfth of June Skirling castell was rased (a faire house) to the end that other understanding therof, might be put in greater feare. That night they came to Crawford, where the castell was to them surrendred; it belonged unto sir James Hamilton, whom they had in their hands. The thirteenth of June they marched to Saucher, a castell, the which being rentred they spared, because the lord Cheichton the owner thereof, promised at a certeine daie to come to the regent to Edinburgh. The fourteenth of June they came to Barbacast, where they late that night, and the lord Mederborne was sent to speake with the lord of Louchinware. Wednesday the fifteenth of June, they marched to a place called saint John Scilaghan, skaiing there in trust of the lord of Louchinwares comming unto them, but he came not: whereupon, the next daie being the sixteenth of June, they rased the house of Benmure, and an other house also, for that the owners were friends to the said Louchinware.

The seventeenth of June they came to a gentlemans house, standing by the water of Mr., where diuerse gentlemen came in, and were receiued. The eighteenth of June they marched to Dunfreis, and remained there all the next daie. A strong house standing in that towne, & appertaining to the lord Sparwell, was offered unto them. Diuerse of the Sparwells, Johnstons, Wretwines, Grahams, and Wels, came unto the regent, and offering themselves to be obedient, were receiued. Two daies before this, the lord Sparwell, the lords of Johnstons, Colvhill, and Louchinwar, had bene at Dunfreis with a thousand men, and spent all the vittels. It was thought that the lord Sparwell would haue come in, if the other had not counsellid him to the contrarie. The twentieth of June they marched to Hoddum, a place belonging to the lord Herries: a thousand of the broken men were assembled and offered skirmish; two or thre were taken, they late within a mile of the regent that night.

The one and twentieth the house was yeilded, and the custodie thereof committed to the lord of Dymilarig that was appointed warden of those marches. It was thought verie strong, so that the defendants might haue kept it longer if they had bene disposed. Great hunger began to pinch the armie, a pint of wine was sold at seven shillings Scottish, and no bread to be had for anie monie. The regent sent forth the earle of Morton, and the lord Hunt with a thousand men, to trie if they might haue taken the broken men to a chase: but it would not be, for they went their waies, and would not carrie it. The two and twentieth of June the campe late still; but the regent with a thousand men went to Anisand, and had it deliuered unto him. Where he met with the lord Scrope, and after returned to the campe. The thre and twentieth of June they went to Lochmaben and receiued the castell, the which the regent deliuered to Dymilarig: but some of the Sparwells being close by hid within an orchard of the house, after the regent was gone, brake out and seized the house againe into their hands.

The same daie two houses belonging to the lord of Johnstons, the one named Lochwood, and the other of Loughboffe, were taken, but not burnt: because the lord Johnstons had put in sweette to come in by a day unto the regent. The same daie they take great store of cattell; and that night with a shot of the great artillerie, they shot two thrones among thre steeple

thers that came and approached verie nere to the armie, as the maner of the pickers is. The armie late that night at Millton holms. The foure and twentieth of June they came to Bæples, and the next day to Edinburgh, so ending that iourne, in the which they had passed through the countreies of Clidessdale, Gallowaie, Piddessdale, Annandale, & Tweedale. Such a doo and great trouble arose within Scotland, by reason that the Hamiltons and their adherents made parts against the regent, and those other lords that gouerned under the king; whereof as I haue no certeine notes, so I must passe the same with silence.

* Whilest these things were thus in doing, letters came to the regent from the queene of England: for she was perswaded by such as were fled with the queene of Scots into England, that there was great iniurie done unto the queene of Scots, being burdened with high matters, through the enuie of hir euill subiects, in which chieflie the kingly authoritie was reniled, and the regiment of sacred maiestie defaced. A thing which did not alone pertaine to the priuat person of the queene of Scots, but to the example of all other princes. Which euill of expelling kings, was speedie and soundlie to be prevented, least it might craepe ante further. By which and other persuasions, the queene of England required of the regent to send sufficient men, that should declare to hir the order of all things as they were done, and that should answer all such reproches as were laied against him.

Touching which matter, although it appeared grieuous and heauie in it selfe, to call things in question which before were by parlement established; and to bring in by a new kind of iudgement of their causes before forein iudges and kings who were their enemies, and first perswaded against the regent by such as maliced him and his faction; and that after a sort the same seemed dangerours and full of shame: yet on the other side there were manie things that inforced him to accept that request of the queene of England, although it were vniust. Wherefore when he had determined to send ambassadors, and that they could not agree who they should be, sith the chieftest, and those of the nobilitie refused it: at length the regent professed that he would take that iourne by on him. For the performance whereof he chose certeine persons to accompanie him into England, contrarie to the mind of William Petekian, which onelie denied and stood against it. Wherefore he caried the said Petekian with him (fauoring the queene) not doubting in the end by one meanes or other to win him to his part.

The rest that went willinglie with him, were James Douglas, Patrike Lindseie, being of the nobilitie; the bishop of Dornie, & the abbat of Fernilindon, churchmen; James Macgill, and Henrie Balnane, lawyers of the college of iudges. To whom as the ninth was ioined George Buchanan author of the Scottish historie: with whom the regent accompanied to the number of 1000 hoiles; took his iourne into England, and came the fourth nones of October to Poerke, to the assemble appointed there by the queene of England. On which day, and almost at the same houre, Thomas Howard duke of Northfolke came thither also; to which duke were associat in commission, to heare the controuersie of the Scots, the earle of Suiler, and sir Rafe Sadler knight. After a few daies, came thither such as were sent by the queene of Scots, which did comaine of hir vnkind subiects, and required helpe to restore hir to his kingdome. These men being heard (sundered from the regent and the earls) did (after they had protested that they came not unto them as iudges, hauing aye right to make lawes to him

Great trouble in Scotland.

Fr. Thin. Buchan. lib. 19.

The castell of Boghall, Skirling castell, Crawford.

Saucher.

Barbacast.

Saint John Scilaghan.

Benmure.

The water of Mr. Dunfreis.

Hoddum pertaining to the regent.

The lord of Dymilarig.

Anisand deliuered to the governor. Lochmaben.

Two houses of Johnstons taken by the regent.

bind them) with manie words open the injuries which the Scottish subjects had done unto their quene, and required of the quene of England, that either they would persuade hir unkind people to receiue their prince againe; or if they refused the same, that she would giue them an armie, with which they might compell them thereto.

In fewe hours after this, the regent (calling the matter to the deciding of law, before equall arbiters) did contend (sith nothing was done but by right, by law, by the ancient custome of their countrie, by the determination of the assemble of parliament, and by the subscription of manie such as were there present to accuse them) that he alone by his authoritie could not vnderstand the same: but when the English commissioners had denied that they could be satisfied with those things done at home, & here pronounced by the Scots, except some cause were shewed that enforced them to senerelie to pronounce against their quene; the regent answered that he did chieslie see that matter, least he should be dynen to accuse his quene and sister. Which he denied to do, not willing to late abroad to forren nations his wicked deeds, as Buchanan fearmeth them. To the contrarie thereof he would not be enforced, vntlesse the quene of England would promise to defend the cause of the now king, and to take him into hir protection: if he did manifestlie proue, that the quene of Scots had murdered the king of Scots hir husband. Whereunto the English answered, that they had authoritie onelie to heare both parts, and to declare their whole request unto their quene.

By reason whereof, in the end they wrote to the quene of England all the state of their doings; who did write backe, that the earle of Murreie should send one or moze to the English court, fullie to informe hir thereof, sith she would do all therein that belonged unto hir. Which letters receiued, the earle of Murreie sent Metellan (a man before suspected, and that did after soine in conference with John Lesle bishop of Rosse) to the court of England, associated with James Macgill. Not long after these men were come to the quene at London, it was thought most conuenient by hir and hir counsell, that the regent himselfe should be present, when all matters of controuersie were intreated vpon. For which cause, sending part of his companie backe into Scotland, the regent came with a small traine to London: where the same difficultie was objected against him which was done at Forke: to which he answered as before. Whilste these things were doing at London, the quene of Scots did by James Balfoure moue warres in Scotland. For the furtherance whereof, she wrote letters to his and Bothwells friends, and made manie deputies to execute hir authoritie in Scotland.

When the regent saw himselfe thus beset on euerie side, he determined to returne with all speed into Scotland as well as he might, without dispatch of that for which he came. Wherefore the English still instantlie vrging him to tell the cause (which being untold, they could not determine anie thing therein) that moued them to do those things in Scotland: the regent (loth to offend the quene of England) made a long protestation how unwilling he was to accuse the quene, and his sister; and therefore requested one thing, that they which were the occasion to lead him into this battell might be present thereat, for because he would be their witness in the weightiest matters. Which for manie great reasons being denied by the English, the quene of England required, that the quene of Scots (by force and armes expelled) might be restored home: & theretofore gining the regent a day, to shew cause whye the re-

uengers of the kings death had taken armes against the quene; although the erle of Murreie were none of them: for he was in France at the time of the deed done. Wherefore the regent shewing all he could against the quene of Scots for the defense of hir aduersaries; in the end, the quene of England deferring the same to another day, permitted the regent to depart home to appease the troubles there, and that he should leaue some one of his behind him, to answere all such euils as should be objected against him.

But the regent desired them whilst he was there, that his accusers might be brought out. Whereupon the accusers being present, and saing that they had not then anie thing to saie; but that they would further shew their accusation where it pleased the quene: the matter with much controuersie ended on both parts, & the counsell brake vp without anie finall sentence therein. But whilst the regent remained thus in England (as is a little before touched) there were manie things without successe attempted by the quene of Scots followers. For James Hamilton (who a little before had bene gouernor) being grieved with the mishap of things at home, falling out contrarie unto his mind, did therefore depart into France, where (remoued from all companie, and onelie attended vpon with a man or two) he did secretlie liue to himselfe.

But when the quene of Scots was escaped the prison of Lochlenin, and that she was after subdued in battell, being within a fewe daies after compelled to land in England; the Frenchmen that could not draw the earle of Murreie (now by his friends called home into his countrie) into their faction, thought it best for manie reasons (sith they might not for the troubles in France send him succor or monie) to raise by the said Hamilton against the earle of Murreie, and especiallie at that time whilst the regent was in England. Wherefore he committing out of his den abroad into the world, enriched by the French with a fewe golden crownes, and overcharged with manie faire promises, was importuned by his friends and kindred, whilst he hastened from England into Scotland, that the quene of England with the authoritie of the quene of Scots, would induce the earle of Murreie to deliuer by his regentship of Scotland unto him; sith that place was of right due unto him: (by the manners and lawes of all nations, but chieslie by the custome of his countrie) as next rest in blood; and next in succession.

For the proue whereof, it is not necessarie to reckon by the memorie of histories from the first times, considering it is knowne to all men, that gouernors haue bene giuen to those of yong yeares (not able to rule the kingdome) of such as haue bene nereest of blood. For so, after the death of James the third, Robert his uncle had the gouernement in the absence of James the first; and Murbac the son of the same Robert succeeded him therein. And of late time in our remembrance, John duke of Albanie did gouerne the yong yeares of James the fifth; and Hamilton himselfe, in the minority of Marie the quene, that now is, being as then neither fit for a husband or a kingdome, did a fewe yeares rule all the affaires of Scotland. Who now by certaine behs, was through vniuersall voices, eregded there of with force and violence, and that (which is worthy) a ballard is advanced thereto in contempt of lawfull blood and honor, if it were restored unto him, he would shortly appeale all those cruill behs, and restore the quene of Scots unto hir kingdome, without anie force or tumult of armes. Whereunto the king of Scots legats did answer, that Hamilton did not onelie demand a thing quite contrarie

contrarie to the lawes and old customs of Scotland; but also a thing most vniust, if no authoritie of law were against it. For our ancestors (by reason of many murders committed by those of the kings blood) almost a thousand three hundred yeares past, did change the order in creating of their kings. For whereas before, they which were of the familie of Fergusius, the first king of that name, were in the life of the king chosen after to reigne, not as nearest of blood; but as persons most worthy to weild a kingdome: Kenneth the third (to the end to take awaie from the court all treacherie towards the kings familie, and cruell murders of kinreds amongst themselves) did establish that order which is now obserued in creating of our kings; which was, that the next in blood should be advanced to the place of the deceased king.

But afterwards, when men were taught by the successe of things, that it could scarce be chosen; but that in such inconstancie of fortune, the right of the chiefest magistrat must sometime light vpon children and vpon heires also vnfit for gouernement, they did ordeine, that he should be chosen to the administration of the publike wealth; which did excell others in wealth and wisdom. Which course our ancestors haue kept almost these six hundred yeares, leauing the kingdome whole & sound to posteritie. According to the which, when Robert Bruce was dead, there were gouernors chosen by voices: which were Thomas Randolph earle of Murrie, 20 Donald earle of Mar, Andrew Murrie, John Randolph, & Robert Stewart. For sometime, as manie were chosen gouernors together; so when James the second was a child, Alexander Levingston, being no kin to the king, no not so much as of the nobilitie, but onelie a knight, was appointed gouernor to the yong king.

Which may not be excused, in saying that the same was then so done, because there wanted men of the kings blood to supplie those places. For at that time were living John Kennedie head of the familie, the kings kinsman by the sister of James the first; and the vncle by his fathers side: James Kennedie also, bishop of saint Andrews, a man of most account in the kingdome for all kinds of vertue, being borne of the kings aunt; and Douglas also, earle of Angus, with Archibald earle of Douglas, both of the kings blood; whereof the last was in riches and power almost equall to the king, but far beyond the wealth and power of all others; of whome, none did euer complaine to the parlement, when they were put besides the gouernement, and others not so nere of blood appointed therevnto. Not long after, foure tutors were appointed to James the third, which were not made in respect of blood; but chosen by the voices of the nobilitie.

And although of late, John duke of Albanie was by the nobilitie called out of France to the gouernment of Scotland, during the tender yeares of James the fifth, and confirmed in the same by publike decre of parlement; yet was it not giuen vnto him in respect of nearnesse of blood. For he had Alexander his elder brother in life, who although perhaps he was inferior to the duke; yet he was farre aboue James Hamilton (in all kind of vertue) which did sometimes reach after that place. But in the absence of James the first, Robert his vncle ruled the kingdome. But by what right? Was he admitted therevnto for nearnesse of blood? No fruit.

What then? Was he chosen of the people? No. How then was he made? Marie then king Robert the third was not sufficient to rule the kingdome, either for strength of bodie or mind, he did substitute Robert his brother as his deputie, & commended his

children to his gouernment; who in the end famished David the eldest, and also threatened death vnto the yonger sonne James, which he did auoid by fleeing Scotland. Which Robert being in the possession of authoritie by tyrannie (and his brother killed with thought) did leaue the same to Murdac his sonne. So that it cannot be doubted what the mind of the last king Robert was to his brother, for he would neuer (if he had liued and bene in health) haue made him tutor of his children, whom at the houre of his death he cursed as the butcher of his children.

That time also, in which this Hamilton gouerned, doth remember vnto vs manie things (though what sooner was then done, is no proofe that it was well done) which are to be considered of. For when the cardinall Beaton did labor by subtiltie to inuade the chiefe gouernement, this Hamilton rather leaning to the hatred which good men did beare towards Beaton, than trusting to the fauor of the people towards himselfe, did leape into the empty place of a gouernor; in which he ruled with much crueltie and couetousnesse, and in few yeares after, both sold the gouernment (obtained by force) and the queene, whom he had vnder his authoritie. At what time was shewed the fauor which the people bare vnto him; when they preferred the gouernement of a strange woman, before the bondage which they had vnder him.

You see now (I hope) the request of the Hamiltons to be against our countrie lawes, and decrees of our ancestors, and that so contrarie vnto them, that wanting other sufficient arguments, he is constrained to confirme the same onelie with lies. But if there were anie such custome, I suppose there is none but doth see how vniust it were. For what can be more vnrighfull, than to commit yong, weak, and faultlesse yeares to his faith, which doth daile either looke or wish for the death of the pupil? Whole familie hath alwaies bene at daile and deadly warre with the house of the king that now is? 40 What defense can be here by nearnesse of blood against old malice, vnmeasurable couetousnesse, and the headie violence of (alreadie tasted) tyrannie? Laodice the queene of Cappadocia is supposed to haue killed hir owne children, as they came to yeares of discretion; and to haue bought the small continuance of hir gouernement with the blood of hir sonnes.

Wherefore, if the mother spated not hir owne flesh, for the gaine of short authoritie; what will old enemies do, inflamed to crueltie with the byands of couetousnesse (nay rather what is to be thought that they will not do) against a child, which desperately expect of their hope of gouernement? If this example seeme ouer old or obscure to anie man, or to be ouer farre set, I will lay downe some nearer home, and those most notable. Who is so ignorant of this late lie done, that he knoweth not that Caleas Sfortia (growne to discretion, a husband, and sonne in law to a most mightie king) was slaine by his vncle Lodowike? Or to whom are the calamities vnknowne, which followed so cruell a parricide and kin-slaier? For the most beautifull countrie of Italie was almost brought thereby to bitter destruction: the familie of the Sforties, the mother of manie a valiant person cleane destroyed, and the barbarous people (from whose crueltie and couetousnesse nothing was safe) brought into the pleasant places about Padua. Who is he that is borne in Britaine, that hath not heard of the crueltie of Richard (the third king of that name in England) against the children of his brother? But with what bloodshed was that in the end purged?

Now, list these did not feare to do such evils to their

their nearest blood, by the onelie enforcing desire to gouerne, being otherwise tworthie persons: what shall we loke for from him, whose inconstancie of mind all the Scots doe knowe: whose vnskillfull gouernement they haue tried with manie slaughters: And (which is moze) whose familie not content with the murder of this kings great grandfather, did go about to intrap his grandfather by the mothers side, whilst he was in life; and when he could not kill the grandfather by the fathers side, he thrust the poore father out of the kingdome, brought forth the mother to be slaine as a sacrifice, & sold hir kingdome (when they could not inioy it) to strangers: out of which bondage she (by the prouidence of God) being deliuered, they haue throwne themselves into these troubles in which they now are. Whereby we may easilie vnderstand, what the iudgement of the common people was touching that matter, in that those men doe now seeme to be deliuered out of a prison of miserable bondage, and to behold the sweet light of libertie, when they (which knew not how to order it) did sell their gouernment to a strange woman.

These things being thus heard on both sides before the councell of England, the queene thereof by hir said councell declared to Hamilton, that he required an vnusuall thing, and that he should not hope for arie asd from hir; and that she hath promised the kings ambassadoe, that Hamilton should not depart England, before that the said ambassadoe had leaue likewise to go home. After that these things were done, and that the regent somewhat indifferentlie dispatched his affairs in England, he obtained leaue to depart, and was honozable conducted home with the English, who sufficientlie garded him: but especially the nobilitie and companie of the north parts; sith it was great honoz for hir maiestie safetie to returne him home, who (vpon hir letters had) was come out of his owne countrie. Which regent comming to Edinburgh the next day after the kalends of Februarie, hee was there receiued with great pompe.

Few daies after this, those of the kings faction assembled at Striueling, where the regent declared vnto them what he had done in England; which being well liked, was in the end confirmed by all the nobilitie. Much about that time, James Hamilton chiefe of that familie came out of England, being by the queene of Scots authorized with a new and arrogant letter: in that she called him hir father, and made him hir vicar and deputie of the kingdome. This man at his first comming made proclamation, that no man should obieie arie other than such as were substituted by him. Wherevpon those of the kings part (bestowing summes of monie vpon souldiers, to make them readie, if need required, to the vttermost confid) met on a day appointed at Glasgow.

But when there was a great assemblee of the common people at Hamilton, moze than they looked for, a meanes of agreement was attempted, with this condition: that Hamilton, comming to Glasgow, should acknowledge the king for chiefeest gouernor: which if he did, all other things should easilie be agreed; but if he denied that, he should come in vaine: all which he promised to doe, and the kings armie was dismissed. When he came to Glasgow, they obtained their former goods and honozs the same day, in which he and his friends professed themselves subiects to the king: but yet so, that in the meane time they should remaine in prison, or else giue pledges of their next kin; with further notice, that if arie of the said part would so doe, they should also be receiued on the same covenants, wherevnto the earle of Argile and the earle Huntlee refused to subscribe.

Hamilton comming at the day appointed to Edinburgh, did deferre the performance of his promises, deuising manie delaies; vntill the other principall of the factions were come, whereby the covenants might be established by all their consents, for which he prayed day till the tenth of Maie: and that in the meane time he might vnderstand the mind of the imprisoned queene of Scots: all which in the end was denied vnto him. Wherevpon Hamilton (confessing the truth) said, that he consented to those conditions by compulsion; and that (if he were free) hee would not allow of arie of them. For which answer, Hamilton & Harwell were committed prisoners to the castell of Edinburgh. The earle of Argile was suffered to be quiet at home, but the earle Huntlee was moze hardlie dealt withall, because that in the absence of the gouernor he had taken mante, and had made deputies about Crawford and Ogilvie.

Wherevpon there was day giuen vnto them both to meet at the assemblee at saint Andrews, whither the earle of Argile first came: with whom there was no extreme dealing, because he ceased to trouble the realme arie moze, was of kintred to the gouernor, and they two were of great friendship together euen from their yong yers. But when the cause of Huntlee (long before his comming) was well debated, the gouernor pronounced, that he would pardon all priuate faults done to him, or to the king: but that he neither could nor would pardon arie injuries done to any other. And if Huntlee, or his friends that followed his faction, could passe away with those spoils, he would willinglie labor that arbitratoes chosen by both parts, should temper the value of the damage. At that time also there grew a further mischief, whether all they which took part with Huntlee should also be pardoned; but in the end, vpon deliberation, all things seemed indifferentlie well pacified.

During these things, the queene of England sent letters into Scotland in the behalfe of the imprisoned queene, either that she might wholie be restored, or iointlie rule with hir sonne; or admitted to liue priuatlie in hir owne countrie. All which being denied to be granted, the Scots sent Robert Wethercarne, a man of great wisdom and fidelitie, to deliuer their answer vnto the queene of England. Whilst these things were in doing, the gouernor fearing the power of the imprisoned queene, which now waxed great, did call William Pettelan before him, from Perth to Striueling; who requested the earle of Argile to go with him for his better suertie. Afterwards, this William sitting in the councell, was accused by Thomas Crawford of the kings death, wherevpon he was commanded prisoner to a chamber in the castell, and others were sent to apprehend James Balfourie.

But in the end, the gouernors mildnesse suffered no great hurt to fall vpon them; for Balfourie by his friends some obtained pardon; and Pettelan being led to Edinburgh, was left in a house there not farre from the castell: to whome certaine horsemen were appointed keepers, vnder the charge of Alexander Hume a noble yong man, appointed chiefe over them. But William Bircadie, capteine of the castell of Edinburgh, about ten of the clocke at night, did counterfeit letters signed with the hand of the earle of Harreie, and brought them to Alexander, willing him to deliuer William Pettelan, which he did accordinglie. Wherevpon Pettelan was caried by Bircadie into the castell, to the great dislike of the nobilitie, being almost vncertaine whether they should impute the deed to Bircadie, or to the gouernor, not being vnacquainted with the boldnesse of Bircadie: in such sort, that the same was like to grow to a commotion, if the innocencie of

Buchanan.
lib. 19.

Buchanan,
lib. 19.

1569.
direction in
the north of
England, by
the earles of
Northumb
land & West
merland.

Proclamat
made at W
like by Sir
Jo. Foster

The castell
Newike
warrewor
fornish by
Jo. Foster

Sir John
Foster ke
peth New
ell against
the rebels.

Sir Henry
Berlie aga
his brother
the earle of
Northumb
land.

of the gouernour had not before bene sufficientlie knowne.

1569.
Location in
the north of
England, by
the earles of
Northumber-
land & west-
merland.

In the yere 1569, the earles of Northumber-
land and Westmerland raised a rebellion against
the quene's maiestie of England; but by the good di-
ligence and prompt remedie of the earle of
Suffolke, then lieutenant of the north parts, and by
his direction as was giuen by his maiestie and his
councell, for the leuering of an armie vnder the lea-
ding of the earle of Westmerland, and the lord admirall
Clinton, the said two earles were kept so in feare,
that they durst not aduance farre forward in their
wicked begun enterprise, but were constrained to
retire backe towards Durham. Whereupon the earle
of Suffolke, supposing that their meaning was for
their last refuge and safegard to take the castles of
Alnwick and Warkeworth, he wrote vnto sir John
Forster lord warden of the middle marches, either
by force, policie, or some other means, to get into his
hands the possession of those two castles, and the
same to fortifie with such number and garisons of
men, as to his discretion should be thought conueni-
ent, for the safe custodie and gard thereof.

Sir John Forster, being at his house nere to
Alnwick, when he receiued these letters, accompa-
nied with his seruants, friends, and tenants, & some
soldiers that were come to him from Berwicke,
marched vnto the castell on foot, where finding the
house garded with a great number of the earle of
Northumberlands seruants, retainers, and tenants,
he made proclamation before the castell gate, that e-
uerie of them within the castell should come forth,
and withdraw to their owne houses, vpon paine to
be reputed rebels to the quene's maiestie: and that
which of them sooner did refuse to obeie this procla-
mation, staying either in the castell or elsewhere in a-
nie vniuersall assemblee, it should be lawfull for eu-
eris man to spoile his goods, and him to kill if he
made resistance.

This proclamation notwithstanding, they with-
in the castell, at the first refused to yeld it vp. And
thereupon sir John Forster marched through the
towne into the market place, and there made the like
proclamation in behalfe of all the inhabitants that
were the earle of Northumberlands tenants, for
their repairing home to their houses. And coming
here with backe towards the castell, they within per-
ceiving themselves destitute of succor, and sir John
Forster to increase in power, did vpon better ad-
uise yeld themselves vnto him, who saved all their
liues. After the same manner he got also the castell of
Warkeworth, and fortified them both with suffici-
ent number of men. This done, he assembled such
forces as he was able to make, so that he got toge-
ther to the number of eleuen hundred horsemen, and
tooke order to forsaie and stop the passages, so as the
earles friends and tenants in Northumberland
should not go vnto him.

After this, hauing in his companie the lord W-
gle, and Thomas Forster his brother, and other gen-
tlemen, he went to Berwicke, where with Thomas
Gower esquire, that had the principall rule thereof at
that time, he toke order for the defense of that towne
against the rebels. Hither came to him sir Henrie
Perrie, offering his seruice against his brother, and
other the rebels, to the uttermost of his power. Here-
upon diuerse excursions were made south of Berw-
icke into the bishopricke, where the two earles
were incamped, and sundrie skirmishes chanced be-
twixt the two parties, though no great hurt followed
thereof. The earles yet on a day came from Durham,
and with their armie marched towards Berwicke.
Sir John Forster, and sir Henrie Perrie, hauing
intelligence thereof, fled south of Berwicke with

all their forces, and certeine peces of great ordi-
nance. They had also with them certeine bands of
the soldiers of Berwicke, meaning thereto to haue
joined battell with the earles: sir Henrie Perrie
the which he thought as willing and forward thereto
as any other in all the companies.

At Chester deane, midwaie betwixt Durham and
Berwicke, the armies approached the one other to
the other, a small brooke running in a hollow dis-
tinging them asunder, so that there was no passage for
them to conuene their ordinance ouer, the banks on
either side being so deepe and cambered. Where-
upon the earles, perceiving that they were disappoint-
ed of their purpose, after some skirmishes betwixt
the horsemen, they returned vnto Durham: and
from thence the next day they went to Berwicke, and
after being in vtter despair, fled into Scotland:
where the erle of Westmerland lighted among those
that shifted him alwaie so from place to place, that he
escaped out of that realme, when he could no longer
remaine there in libertie. But the earle of Northum-
berland fell into their hands, which deliuered him vnto
the regent, who thought he could do no lesse than
put him in safe keeping, considering the amitie
that was betwixt the two princes, the quene's mai-
estie of England, and the king of Scots.

But shortly after, the regent (as he was riding
through Alnwick) was wickedly shot in with an
arquebuse, by one James Hamilton, and so wound-
ed, that the next day he died of the hurt [as saith
Buchanan out of a wood gallerie, in which were clo-
thes hanged as it were to an other use.] * But the
night before the slaughter of the regent, Walter
Scot, and Thomas Bar also of Strathgill entered
into England to spoile the borders, which they did
more cruellie than euer was done before, rather for
desire of reuenge of some iniurie, than for the gaine
of anie booties. Besides which, the captiue of the ca-
stell where Perrellian was prisoner, was now com-
manded to set the same Perrellian at libertie: who
vpon oath before the nobilitie (which allowed and con-
firmed the same) did purge himselfe of the death of
the king, and of the ciuill warres moued in Eng-
land (where with he was charged) adding that he
would proue the same at anie time when day should
be appointed to him therfore. After which, there was
an assemblee made for the election of a new gouer-
nour.

At that time Thomas Randolph, being sent thi-
ther ambassador for the quene of England in the life
of the regent, had audience granted vnto him; whose
message was, to demand the deliuerie of such re-
bels of England as had fled thither: which ambassa-
dor the deceased gouernour had before refused to
heare at Strathgill. Whereupon, with all things
were then in a turmoile by his death, they departed.
But now, when there was a parlement for the cho-
sing of a new regent, Randolph which had bene in
Scotland some yeres before, because he learned best
to know the men and their conditions of Scotland,
and because he had before dispatched some other am-
bassadors for the benefit of the realme, was held
deere and well esteemed of the nobilitie, and therefore
was brought into the councell.

Who, after that he had declared that the mind of
his prince had bene vnto the Scots, he shewed that
he would not now abbate the same vnto them in
these troublesome times, no more than he had be-
fore done. After which he certaintized the inuasions
made into England, with the slaughters, spoiles, and
burnings committed a little before: all which he well
knew was not done by the counsell or labor of the
publike state: and therefore his quene's favor was
not diminished to them, but that the same good will

Chester deane.

The earles of
Northumber-
land & west-
merland fled
into Scot-
land.

1571. Buch.
1570.
The earle of
Murreis lord
regent of Scot-
land.
Fr. Thin.

Buchan, lib. 10.

Proclamation
made at Aln-
wick by sir
Jo. Forster.

Buchanan,
b. 19.

The castell of
Alnwick and
Warkeworth
fortified by sir
Jo. Forster.

Sir John
Forster kee-
peth Berwicke
still against
the rebels.

Sir Henrie
Perrie against
his brother
the earle of
Northumber-
land.

did remaine to them now, as ample as ever it was. And there she was grievously offended (and that without hir desert) yet she was not now determined (although by right the iustlie might) to demand publicke restitution and recompense for such enuill; nor to exact punishment of the whole nation for the widow-
ing of a few.

For she was not ignorant what tumults and troubles of all things was of late raised amongst them. Notwithstanding this euill, she did not yet arise with doubt of the fauor of the good and vertuous men vnto hir: and that she would not onlie for their cause separate the offense from the publicke consent: but also (if they themselves for the domesticall seditions could not inforce the disturbers of the quiet to make restitution of such spoiles) that she would ioine hir power with them, to the end by common counsell they might take iust punishment vpon the truce-breakers. Which if they could not then do by that means, that yet she would prosecute those iniuries with hir owne people, whose armie should without any damage to them passe through such places as would be quiet, and take no reuenge vpon any that were not guiltie of that iniurie. The rest of the parts of his ambassage did containe admonitions alwaies profitable in all lawfull assemblies, but most necessarie for the present state of Scotland.

Whereof the first aduise was for the defense of religion, with an especiall care of diligence therein: sith the same alone doth teach vs the forme of our dutie, and peace towards God, our prince, our equal, & christian neighbors. For no common-wealth diuided in it selfe can long continue: for which cause they must chieflie labor with all their power, with might and maine, with saile and oars, that peace and quiet maie be holie and vertuouse nourished at home amongst their people. For sith God the creator of all things, hath imparted a kinglie gouernment ouer this nation, it is iust and meet that they obeye their princes; and in dutifull sort bestow all honor, reuerence, and obedience vpon them; sith peace, concord, amitie, and loue, with all men (as much as in vs lieth to vse) is most acceptable to God, and doth take awaie (or at the least hinder) the thirst and shedding of mens blood, a fault which God of all others doth most hate.

Which vnitie increasing the wealth of euerie one, maketh all nations more fearefull to their enemies, and is the preseruer of iustice: whose chiefe part consisteth in punishing the euill, is especiallie to be embraced: when contrarie dissention and treason is a thing most detestable to all lawfull gouernement: sith such kind of people are to be pursued with all extremite, and not be succored with any fauor, with any mercie, or with any pardon, into that countrie sooner they flee for refuge of their hated wickednesse. All these things did Randolph both godlie and wiselie admonish vs of, and iustlie and modestlie require from vs.

But because there was no regent chosen for the supreme gouernement, there could no certaine answer be giuen thereto: for which cause he was for that time put backe to the kalends of Maie. At last, William and James Dowieglas, brothers of the same regent by one mother, were heard in this parlement, who required that the vntoward death of their brother might be reuenged, sith the same was taken awaie not for any priuat grudge, but for the common-wealths cause. Upon the opening whereof men were of diuerse opinions about his death, though they all agreed that the offenders should be punished: for some would haue a day giuen to such as were suspected of the murder: for the names of manie persons were there shewed to answer the

same. But it better pleased other not to wait for anie appointed day of law to be giuen to them, who had already taken armes with violence to defend that deed which they had already done; & that they should not onelie raise their weapons against them, but also against all such as were condemned in that assembly of the nobilitie.

To which opinion all the knights and souldiers did some agree, who yet could not hold their determination, especiallie sith the earle of Atholl and Morton did dissuade them from it: whereof the first would haue them tarrie, untill there were a greater assembly of the nobilitie: and the other supposed that it would come to passe; that if they ioined manie faults in one, that the reuenge of the regent would perish and come to nothing, and the matter would burst out to ciuill wars, thereby all they that feared peace, would flee to the part of such as were guiltie of the murder. Wherefore their faults were to be diuided, and (if it were possible) to treat of them by law, and that nothing should be done or changed untill the kalends of Maie, on which there was an assembly or parliament appointed.

Upon which persuation the companie was dissolved, though the greatest part of the nobilitie did condemn this delate, as moued thereto: because that the other would saie that all things were done at the becke of the kings enemies, who had thus protracted the time, to the end that the malice of the death of this regent might by little and little vanish in the meane time, and the aduerser faction gather greater power together. Which opinion of the common people was confirmed by manie things that went before, and manie things which followed. For presentlie (before the death of the regent was fullie spread abroad) James Hamilton (mortgaging his lands to John Summervill of Canineham) borrowed monie thereof: with which, and with other monie taken vp of the rest of his friends, he sent to his fauorers (to hire souldiers) being warned before, that they should alwaies be ready at all times, and for all causes which should happen by the taking awaie of their deadlie enemy, the earle of Arrerrie: neither after that time did the quenes factions cease from meeting in diuerse distant places.

On the fifteenth kalends of March, there did assemble the chiefe of the rebellious faction (for by that name and epitheton doth Buchanan alwaies terme those that took the quenes part) to deuise of their affaires. At what time the earle of Argile, and the lord Boyd did write vnto earle Morton, that they would willingly (sith they did not yet know who killed the regent, and who were consenting thereto) consult with the other nobilitie about the same matter, both to search out and to punish the same: and that they would not come to Edinburgh about that matter. But if the kings faction would be so perswaded, they would willingly come to Lifford, to Falkirk, or to Striueling, there to meet with them. Whereupon, the earle of Morton, consulting with Metellan about the same (for so it was desired in the letters) in the end it came to no effect. At the same time, Thomas Bar wrote to Lincolne (to vse Buchanans word) to the gardian of the castell, to see if he could obtaine of the quene of England to fraie hir armie: which if he brought to passe, that then he would take such order, that he would easilie pacifie the borders without any further trouble, and that they should remaine in that dutie which they were wont: but if he did refuse this condition, he would continue in his attempt, not doubting but the good subjects would shew their obedience towards their imprisoned quene, & would ioine themselves together, because aid would shortly come out of France vnto them.

On the first nones of March, the Hamiltons, the earle of Argyle, and Boid came to Lithquo; but the murder of one hired souldior did trouble all their de-
uise by a sudden tumult that was raised thereupon. Wherefore the next day after the archbishop of saint
Andrewes did bring the Hamiltons home, the rest of
the quenes faction, especiallie the earles of Hunt-
leie, Atholl, Crawford, and the lords Ogilvie, Hume,
Seton, and Metellan, met at Edinburgh: in which
the earle Porton was accompanied with a small
traine, untill the earles of Glencarne and Spar were
come with their retinue. The fourth nones of March
the chiefe of the factions met togither to consult of
the estate of things: but the same did proceed verie
slowlie, by reason of the absence of the earle of Ar-
gile, whose power and authoritie was then verie
great.

This man did Huntleie seeke to perswade to ioine
with the rest of the faction, but he returned without
doing anie thing (as it was supposed by most men)
through the subtiltie of Metellan, which would haue
things long deferred, that more conuenient meane
might be had in that troublesome state of the king-
dome, for the innouation of things. The grea-
test thing done in this assembling, was the argu-
ment for the chosse of a new gouernor, which (as it se-
meth) came to no effect. Now when all these assem-
blyes tended to little purpose, those of the quenes fa-
ction returned to soke sedition by procuring Eng-
lish warres, thereby to draw the common-people to
assist their part. Wherefore they send the capteine
(that before had done the like) afresh at this time to
execute the same, who left nothing vndone that
might tend to extreme crueltie.

During which, the heads of the faction do reproch
the quene of England, and slander the nobilitie of
Scotland, as though they were the clients and fol-
lowers of the English; further threatening abroad in
euerie place, that they would vse the aid of the
French and Spanissh, if the lord of the congregation
prayed in aid of the English. Much about that time,
(as it were by chance) landed (out of France) at
Dunbryeton, Meriacke, one of the chamber to the
French king, which aduanced the mindes of the
quenes faction, with manie large promises: by
meanes whereof the Hamiltons appointed an assem-
blye of their people at Lithquo the first ides of Aprill.

At which day, when a great assembly was made
of the quenes faction, they began there openlie to
treat of those things which before were whispered
in secret: which was, that the death of the king and
regent might be either forgotten, or at least war cold
in the publike tumult of the realme, by making
warre vpon the English. After which consultation,
they determined to go to Edinburgh the third ides
of Aprill, there (besides manie other commodities
which might grow to them by that place) to ioine vn-
to them the citizens, by whom there was great helpe
of good successe to be receiued. Which they thought
they might easilie bring about, by reason that Wil-
liam Kirkcaldie was gouernor both of the castell and
towne, against which deuise the citizens did yet con-
tend. But in the end, with hard conditions, the
quenes part was admitted into the towne. After
which, not thus contented, they perswaded the citizens
to deliuer by the keyes of their towne, which they
most wiselie refused.

All this while there was a great resort to Metel-
lan then lieng of the govt, for which cause his house
was commonlie called the scholehouse, and himselte
the scholemaister. In which meane time, the earle of
Atholl did not spare to trauell hither and thither, to
draw those of the other faction to that assembly at
Edinburgh. But they would not come thither at all,

untill the kalends of Maie (which was a day appoint-
ed for the parlement) vnlesse they knew some iust
necessitie which might preuent that day: and then if
there happened anie thing of moment, which might
not suffer anie delaie, they would communicate the
same to the earle Porton, whose house was but foure
mile from thence, & he should giue other knowledges
thereof. In the end, a day was appointed by the earle
of Atholl, in which a few of both factions should meet
at the towne of the earle Porton, called Dalkeith,
which place did not like the quenes faction, whose
strength was much holpen by such prisoners as Kir-
caldie had set at libertie out of the castell of Eden-
burgh.

But all the deuises and helps of the quenes faction
were quailed, by the rumoz of the English armie
comming to Berwik. Whereupon, Alexander
Hume, and John Partwell latelie deliuered out of
prison, without anie publike authoritie, or leaue to
set them free, went home to defend their owne pos-
sessions; and a portion of that monie, which they had
gathered to hire souldiers, was giuen to the said lord
Hume, to strengthen his castell of Hume. Thomas
Bar, and Walter Scot (who were iudged to haue
made some roads into England by the persuation of
the bishop of saint Andrews, whereby wars should
rise in England) being forsaken of those which inha-
bited nere these places, & fearing their owne estate,
sent vnto the chiefe of the faction, requesting helpe
of them: or if they would not do so, that at least they
should come to Lowther the next towne; and from
thence shew or make warre vpon England. Which
when they could not obtaine (nor anie of the publike
monie) they forthwith departed to their owne lands
in great anger.

After this, whildest manie other things passed, as
that the quenes faction sent an ambassado; to the
earle of Suffex, to staie his tourne into Scotland;
that they also sent letters to the quene of England
concerning their cause; and that a seruant of mon-
sieur Lausac in France, had brought letters to the
quenes factions (with thanks for their fidelitie) di-
rected also vnto other that were indifferent, to ioine
with the imprisoned quene; and that he promised
them aid out of France; and that the quenes people
were assured, that the kings part would come to
Edinburgh at the kalends of Maie: after all these
things (I say) they of the quenes side departed to Lith-
quo, supposing that place most commodious to as-
semble their confederats. Whither when the Hamil-
tons and their clients were come, they beset all the
way to Edinburgh: for when they vnderstood that
John Areskin earle of Spar was comming thither,
they laid ambushes vnder the next hills to intrap
him.

But he knowing the insurie of the place, passed
the riuer two miles aboue, and came to Edinburgh
the third day of Maie about euening. Shortly after,
the kings part remaining at Edinburgh, and the
quens at Lithquo, the three earls, Arran, Argile,
and Huntleie appoint a parlement at Lithquo, the
three nones of August. The other faction sent Ro-
bert Betscarne ambassado; to the quene of Eng-
land, to intreat with hir about the suppression of the
common enemie; and further to let hir vnderstand,
that such were the good minds of the Scots vnto hir,
that they would chosse a regent by hir appointment.

Besides which, the said lords of the kings part with
generall consent wrote letters vnto the erle of Len-
nox, then remaining in England, to repaire home
with all conuenient sped into Scotland. & We make
read in the historie of England, in what sort the erle
of Suffex lord lieutenant of the north parts, entring
into Lincolne the seuen & twentieth of Aprill, burnt the
Do. ff. the

the Holve tower, the towne of Cratwling, the castell of Fernherst, the towne of Hovvike, and the castell of Baurton, that belonged to the laird of Buckelwgh, with diuerse other castels, piles, towne, villages, and hamlets belonging to the lairds of Fernherst, Buckelwgh, and others in those parts: also how the lord Scrope invaded the west borders of Scotland at the same time: and likewise how the said earle of Dunbar won the castell of Hume, with diuerse other matters which here I passe over, referring you to the said historie.

But now about the same time, the earle of Lennor, having got licence of the queene of England to make his returne into Scotland, was set forward, and came to Berwike towards the latter end of Aprill, where being visited with sicknesse, he remained by the space of fourtene daies or more. In the meane time the duke of Chatelerault, the earles of Huntley, and Cassils, the lord Fleming, and sundrie others of that faction, seeing the time served well for their purpose, now that the regent was sicke and dispatched out of the waite, gathered a power, to the number of thre thousand men, and came downe to Edinburgh. But after that they had knowledge that the erle of Lennor was coming out of England with a power of Englishmen, by the queens maiesties appointment; aswell for the safeguard of the yong king, as also for the safe conduct of the earle of Lennor home into Scotland: the duke and earles aforesaid retired themselves from Edinburgh to Glascow, where they besieged the castell by the space of five or six daies, untill the earle of Lennor approached thitherwards. For ye have to understand, that after the earle of Lennor was recovered of his sicknesse, there was appointed a power of horsemen and footmen, to go with him into Scotland, vnder the leading of sir William Durié; as in the English storie ye may read more at large.

There were diuerse valiant capteins and gentlemen that went with him in that tourne, aswell such as had charge, as those that went with him of their owne god wils, to see the order of things, and to helpe to aduance their princes seruice. With charge there were these; sir George Carie capteine of an hundred lances, Henrie Austell capteine of fiftie lances, William Curleie capteine of fiftie lances, maister Henrie Carie capteine of two hundred light horsemen, capteine Case lieutenant of the generals band of light horsemen, being also two hundred: sir Robert Constable sergeant maior of the footbands, sir Thomas Haners, capteine Birkwell, capteine Caruill, capteine Game, capteine Lambard, capteine Crington, John Constable, and Humfreie Berwike leaders of the footmen. Capteins Crington was also lieutenant to sir George Caries companie of lances. Other gentlemen that went of their owne god wils, there were diuers; as maister George Denercur, sir Jerome Bowes, maister William Knolles, maister Robert Knolles, maister Michaell Carie, maister Gawdie, maister William Durié of Suffolke cousin to the generall, maister Grenill, brother to sir Fulke Grenill, maister Conweie, brother to sir John Conweie, maister Edmund Nerneie, and manie others, whose names I could not learne.

The footmen laie the first night at Coldingham. The next day the earle of Lennor himselfe with sir William Durié and the horsemen overtook the footmen, and lodged that night at Dunbar. The next day they made such speed in their march, that they came through to Edinburgh, where they found the earles of Morison, Durreie, Glenearne, the lords Ruthwen, Lindsete, Sempill, Glamis, Methuen, Ogiltrie, and Cathcart, with diuerse gentlemen of

the kings side; who received the said earle of Lennor, and the Englishmen verie courteously. From Edinburgh they passed to Lithquho, as in the English historie it maie appeare: and from thence the footmen passed to Fankirke, and there lodged. But the earle of Lennor, and the Scottish lords, with sir William Durié and the horsemen rode to Sterling, where the king laie, then being in the custodie of the earle of Mar. From thence they went to Glascow, where the duke had besieged the castell, which was valiantlie defended by the lord of Spinto and his brethren, with their seruants, being not past eightene persons in all; and yet they kept it five or six daies against the duke and his whole power, staling (as hath bene reported) about fortie or fiftie of his men; but in the end they were in great danger to haue bene taken, if they had not bene the more speedilie relieved. But the duke and his adherents, vnderstanding of the coming forward of the erle of Lennor with the English forces, brake vp his siege and fled awate, with losse and dishonor, as in the English historie we haue likewise noted.

After that the earle of Lennor and his friends were thus come vnto Glascow, finding the siege raised, he remained there by the space of five or six daies. During which time, there came to him of his kinned and friends, which owght him their seruice, according to the vse of the countrie, the number of foure thousand men, verie well appointed after their maner; the more part out of the countries of Lennor and Darneleie, which mustered before the said earle, and sir William Durié, generall of the English there. This done, the earle of Lennor, accompanied with the earles and lords before mentioned, & likewise with the Englishmen, marched to Hamilton, where they entred into the palace belonging to the duke, and lodged therein that night.

The next day they besieged the castell, whereof Andrew Hamilton of Perinton was capteine, having vnder him fiftie souldiers to defend it; and would not therefore deliuer it, till that two peces of great ordinance being brought from Sterling, were planned in batterie. For then perceiving themselves in danger to be taken by force, the capteine offered to yeld the house to the Englishmen; but not to the lords of Scotland, with condition, to haue the liues of all them within saued. Which was granted, vpon promise, that they should neuer after beare arms against their king, and to depart the realme within a certaine terme, and herevnto they were sworn. But they kept not long their oth, for the night next ensuing, they did beset the lord Sempill that was lodged at that present in a house not far off, and not able to keepe it till rescue came, yelded it and himselfe prisoner, so that he was kept by the Hamiltons in safe custodie by the space of twelue moneths after. The castell of Hamilton being yelded (as ye haue heard) was blowen vp with powder. Diuers other houses there in the countrie about were burnt also, as Kiplocke, the abbat of Kilwinnings house, with diuerse other of the Hamiltons houses in Clid-desdale.

After the castell of Hamilton was thus toone and ouerthrowen, the lords returned to the palace, and lodged there againe that night; and on the morrow, they set fire both vpon the same palace, and also vpon the towne of Hamilton: and therewith the Englishmen taking leaue of the lords in Scotland, departed homewards; as in the English historie ye may reade more at large. The erle of Morison went with them; but the earle of Lennor and the other earles and lords with their companies toke their way towards Glascow, and from thence euerie of the

The earle of Lennor sent forward to returne into Scotland.

The duke of Chatelerault gathereth a power.

The duke retireth to Glascow.

Capteins and gentlemen that went with the earle of Lennor into Scotland.

The earle of Lennor with the Englishmen come to Edinburgh.

Fankirke.

The earle of Lennor and sir William Durié ride to Strirling.

The castell of Glascow besieged by the duke of Chatelerault.

He breaketh vp his siege.

A muster of foure thousand Scots.

See more hereof in England.

The castell of Hamilton besieged.

It is deliuered to the Englishmen.

The lord Sempill taken.

The castell of Hamilton blowne vp and razed.

The towne and palace of Hamilton burnt.

A corner of the loz
The earle
Lennor
regent.

The ear
Huntley

A part
proclam
both the
tions at
day and

The ear
Huntley
meth no
rer than
chime.

The ear
Huntley
path.

Execu

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Down
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Comm
ners of
Engle

the noble men departed home to their houses. Shortly after, there was a convention of the lords at Striueling, where the earle of Lennox was made lord lieutenant of Scotland: and afterwards in August following, there was an other convention at Edinburgh, where, by the consent of the three estates of the realme, the said earle was made regent of Scotland.

And about the same time, the earle of Huntlie took upon him to be lieutenant of Scotland for the queene of Scots that remained still in England, and thereupon in his name summoned a parlement to be holden at Litchburgh the one and twentieth of September then next following. Unto the which parlement, aswell the earle of Lennox then regent, as all the residue of the lords of both parties were summoned. Whereof the regent being advertised, caused a parlement to be summoned in the kings name to be kept at Litchburgh, at the selfe same day which was appointed by the earle Huntlie. At which day there appeared the lords of the kings partie, & also sundrie great lards, knights, and gentlemen, to the number of eight thousand, verie well furnished, looking for the earle of Huntlies comming, according to his appointed order; but he came no nêrer than Brechine.

Whereupon it was decreed by the regent and nobilitie there, to pursue him: and to that end, James Douglas earle of Morton was sent before with a thousand horsemen to have taken him upon the sudden in the towne of Brechine, before he should have any warning of their comming, the regent following after with an armie. But Huntlie having warning of their approach, escaped their hands, although verie narrowlie; in somuch that some of his followers were so put to their shifts, that they were driven for their refuge (being so beset on the sudden) to take the castell of Brechine: the earle of Huntlie promising before he went from them, to succour them within eight daies; but they being freilie besieged, and the earle not keeping promise with them, after those eight daies were expired, they yielded themselves and the castell unto the regents mercie.

They were in all about three hundred, of which number one and thirtie of the chiefest were executed. Some of them had borne arms against the king before that time, and had bene pardoned, and therefore were now thought by the regent and his friends the more worthy to die. After this, the regent returned to Striueling, and from thence passed to the castell of Downe, and besieged it; being kept by the servants of the lord of saint Colmes Inch, who yielded it to the regent after three daies siege. During the time of the regents being there, he sent one of his servants called John Dhone, with letters into England, directed to the queene of Englands counsell: who (for his secret practising and conference had with such as were enemies to the king and regent before his departure out of Scotland, and for receiving of their letters to be conveyed also, and hereunto with discovering sundrie secrets to them, the which were committed unto his credit and trust) was apprehended, and the same letters which he had secretly received being found upon him, and the matters aforesaid proved against him, he was by law executed.

About the same time the earle of Morton, the abbat of Dunfermeling, and James Macgill, cleark of the register, were sent into England commissioners upon the kings partie; the bishop of Ross, the abbat of Kilwinning, & the lord Levingston, appointed for the queene then being in England. In January following, the regent then being at Edinburgh, Claud Hamilton, one of the duke of Cha-

teleraunts sonnes, entered the house of Dasselie, then being kept by the servants of the lord Darnley: and seizing upon all things which they found as good with his pleasure, he fortified the house with munition, and vittels, such as he could get either in the towne of Dasselie, or nere thereabouts. The regent advertised thereof, repaired thither with a power in all speedie wise, and laid siege to the house. They within sued for a truce, which was granted to them for the space of six daies, the better to advise of their owne estate: which terme being expired, proclamation was made by the regent, that if they would yield the house, so manie of them as had not borne arms before that time against the king and regent, should have their lives saved, the rest to remaine at the regents pleasure.

Whereupon contention rose among them within the house: for whereas the more part of them having not served in any iournie or exploit against the king before that time, would needs yield; the other, being the lesse number, were not able to defend it of themselves. Whereupon they were readie to draw their weapons one against another; but yet in the end they agreed to surrender the house, and yielded themselves, upon such condition as the regent had prescribed: whereupon five of them were executed, & all the rest were pardoned of their lives. The capitaine John Hamilton, lard of Coughnall, and his two brethren excepted, who were sent to the castell of Glasgow, there to remaine in prison, and shortly after the said John Hamilton was executed.

In March following, the regent returned to Glasgowe, and for that Gilbert Kennedy with the erles of Cassilis & Eglinton refused to shew themselves obedient to the king, and would not come to the regent, who had sent for them by letters at sundrie times, the regent gathered his power at Glasgowe, and with the same marched towards Arbrin and Air, and so forward to the earle of Cassilis countrie, who hearing of the regents comming, sent forth his brother to offer his submission. Whereupon it was concluded, that the messenger should remaine with the regent as pledge for his brother, by the space of thentie daies; and then the said earle to make his appearance before the regent at Striueling, to answer such matters as should be laid to his charge.

The same time also Hugh Montgomerie earle of Eglinton, and Robert Boyd leuied their bands also to appeare and answer in like sort: and as well the one as the other (according to their assurance given) appeared at the day appointed; but yet not agreeing to such articles as were required of them, they were both committed to prison, the one in the castell of Dunbarton, & the other in the castell of Downe. Afterwards there was a truce taken betwene the regent, the Hamiltons, and their adherents for thentie daies, to wit, untill the last of March. Which truce once ended, the regent determined with himselfe to give an attempt to the castell of Dunbarton, which had bene long kept by the lord Fleming against the king, and the earle of Murray late regent, who had besieged it for the space of halfe a yere or more, but could not by any meanes compasse to win it.

But now on the first of Aprill, the truce being then expired, the regent going forward with his purpose, caused all the passages round about the countrie to be stopped, as well by land as by water; and the same night sent thitherward capitaine Thomas Crawford, and capitaine Hume, with an hundred souldiers, chosen out for the purpose: who the second of Aprill, about foure of the clocke in the morning, came to the castell, where the souldiers with ladders, ropes, and other devices, found meanes to cline by the rocke,

Dasselie taken and kept by Claud Hamilton.

The regent besiegeth Dasselie.

Dasselie is surrendered to the regent.

1571.

The regent goeth against the earle of Cassilis.

The earles of Cassilis and Eglinton committed to ward.

A truce for thentie daies.

which

A convention of the lords. The earle of Lennox made regent.

The earle of Huntlie.

A parlement proclaimed by both the factions at one day and place.

The earle of Huntlie commeth no nêrer than Brechine.

The earle of Huntlie escaped.

Execution.

The castell of Downe yielded.

Commissioners sent into England.

The castell of
Dunbryeton
taken by a
pollicie.

Captaine
Crawford &
captaine
Hume.

The lord
Fleming es-
capeth.

John Hall.

The strong
situation of
the castell of
Dunbryeton.

The ladie
Fleming ho-
norable in-
treated.

which is of an exceeding great heighth, and so with great paine, and moze danger, at length got vp to the wall of the castell, standing vpon the heighth of the rocke, to the which wall they reared vp a ladder, by the which entered first one Alexander Hamlie, ensigne-bearer to capteine Crawford, & leaping ouer the wall, was streightwaies assailed by thre of the watchmen, of the which he slue one: and a souldier named Wederborne that followed him, being the second that entered, slue another of them: the third of those watchmen was also slaine, as he was about to flee from them.

Herewith captaine Crawford & captaine Hume got ouer the wall, and entering the castell with the rest of their souldiers, stroke vp the drum, & cried: A Derneleie, being their watchword; and seizing vpon the ordinance, manned the same. The lord Fleming captaine of the castell, hearing that sudden fright and tumult within the house, fled out by the posterne gate at the neither baile, and so escaping, got a fishers boat, and passed into Argyle. The souldiers of the castell, perceiving their captein fled, and the castell possessed by the enemies, yielded themselves, and were pardoned. There were taken within the castell John Hamilton, the archbishop of saint Andrews, monsieur de Meriacke a Frenchman, sent thither by the French king, also the ladie Fleming, wife to the lord Fleming, and John Fleming lord of Boghall, Alexander the sonne of William Leuingston, and John Hall an Englishman, being partener of a new intended conspiracie, as was after proued against him, for the which he was arreigned, condemned, and executed at London; as in the English historie appeareth.

The third of Aprill, being the morrow after that Dunbryeton was thus strangely toone, the regent came thither, and entered the same, where he calling the captains and souldiers together, caused them with him to kneele downe vpon their knees, and to giue God humble thanks for their good successe in that enterprize, brought to passe rather by the providence of God than otherwise, sith the castell seemed to all those that knew it, impossible in manner to be toone, by reason of the great heighth of the rocke, and the strange situation, being incircled almost round about with the water of Clide on the one side, and the water of Leuin on the other. The report of the winning of this castell was sofull to the townes and countries about, which before had bene a continuall scourge to them, by reason that the souldiers that kept it, would issue out at sundrie times, robbing, spoiling, and carieng alwaie the commodities of the inhabitants thereabouts, as well by land as by water.

The regent dealt verie honorable with the ladie Fleming, suffering hir to depart alway with all such plate and iewels, as appertained either to hir or hir husband. He granted also a safe conduct to monsieur de Meriacke, to passe homewards through the countrie, but the archbishop of saint Andrews was sent prisoner to Striueling. The spoile of the goods found in the castell was giuen to the souldiers that ventured so dangerouslie to atchieue so high an enterprize, bringing it to the wished effect by pollicie with so little bloodshed as deserueth perpetuall remembrance. The day next insuing, being the fourth of Aprill, the regent appointed John Cunningham lord of Dunmehall, a man of good seruice, and seruant to the regent, to be captaine of that castell, and leaning him therein, departed to Striueling, where he caused the archbishop of saint Andrews to be examined vpon certeine articles, as well touching the murder of the late king Henrie, as also for the death of the earle of Murreie the late re-

gent.

At that time there came in a priest without compulsion of anie (as hath bene said) and before the regent declared, that one John Hamilton, being in extreme sicknesse, vnder confession told him, that the bishop did send him with thre others to the murder of the king. And as touching the murder of the erle of Murreie, the bishops flat answer was, he might haue letted it if he would. Therewith the people that heard him, cried, Awaie with him, hang him. And so for these and other offenses, for the which he had bene forsalted afore that time, he was now executed on a gibet, set vp in the market place of Striueling towne. After this, the regent summoned a parlement, to begin at Edinburgh the fourteenth of Maie next insuing, and passed from Striueling to Lithqno.

Here the earle of Morison (with the rest of the commissioners for the kings part, being returned out of England, with other of the nobilitie) met the regent, and then they passed toward Edinburgh, where they thought to haue bene receiued, and so to haue kept the parlement there. But they were not suffered to enter that towne, nor yet the castell, the same being defended against them by the lord of Grange, who after the death of the earle of Murreie, was revolted from the kings part to the Hamiltons side, and had fortified both the towne and castell: so that the regent and nobilitie being kept out there, held their parlement in the Cannogate street, within the suburbs of the towne, where sundrie of the quenes part were forsalted. This being done, and sundrie skirmishes had with them that issued forth of the towne against them without, the regent returned to Striueling, there to remaine for a season.

In the meane time the earle of Morison, hauing certeine stiffe come forth of England by sea, and brought to land at Leith, sent the lord of Carmichell with his household seruants, & two hundred shot, to fetch the same from thence vnto Dalkeith, being five miles distant from Leith. At their returne with the stiffe, they were set vpon by the earle of Huntleie, and the lord Hume, who issued out of Edinburgh with their powder: so that betwixt them was a verie hot skirmish. But in the end the earle of Huntleie, & the lord Hume were constrained to flee, and were pursued by Carmichell and his companie euen vnto the gates of Edinburgh, some of their men being slaine, and others taken prisoners. For reuenge of which ouerthrow, shortly after the earle of Huntleie, and Claud Hamilton, with their forces marched from Edinburgh, to Dalkeith, purposing to haue spoiled the towne.

But the earle of Morison, hauing knowledge of their intention and coming, sallied forth of Dalkeith with the power which he had there with him, although not comparable in number to his aduersaries; & meeting them in the field, there was a sharpe skirmish betwixt them, and manie hurt on both parties: but in the end the earle of Morison was put to the worse, fourtie or moze of his men taken prisoners. And the cause was, for that his footmen were too forward, wanting helpe of their horsemen that should haue succoured them. About the five & twen-tith day of Maie following, captaine Cullen issued forth of Edinburgh with two hundred shot, meaning to intercept certeine harquebusers, which were appointed to come out of Fife ouer the riuer of the Forth, vnto the earle of Morison, who kept still at Dalkeith.

Wherevpon the said earle, hauing knowledge of Cullens enterprize, advertised the regent thereof, who being then at Striueling, the next day came downe to Dunfermling in Fife. But before his coming thither,

The archb.
shop of saint
Andrews
executed.

A parlement
summoned.

The castell of
Edinburgh
kept by the
lord of Grange
against the
regent.

The lord of
Carmichell.

The earle of
Huntleie and
lord Hume
put to flight.

The earle of
Morison put
to the worse.

A skirmish

The abbas
Bilwinmu
slaine.
The lord
Hume and
captaine C
len taken.

Fr. Thin.
Leith fort-
ed.

A proclama-
on.

The chal-
lenge of the
lord of
Grange.

The lord of
Garsch.

John the
holme.

thither, Cullen had met with a bote upon the water, wherein were aboard five and twenty shot, whome he took prisoners, and led them awaie with him to Edinburgh. The next day the earle of Morton came to Leith, where he met with sir William Dornie, and there they lodged that night. The next morning sir William Dornie passing forth of Leith towards Edinburgh, accompanied with sundrie captives, and other gentlemen for his comraie thither, they within Edinburgh perceiving them coming, imagined that they were come forth to offer a skirmish, whereupon they issued out of the towne and called to encounter them.

So that being ready on either side to begin the skirmish, sir William Dornie, being come to talke with the parties for some accord to be had, took in hand with great diligence to appease them: and at length procured them to agree upon a truce to endure till eight of the clocke at night. But yet then both parts staid in the fields for the space of an houre, because they could not agree whether captives should first retire from the field, they fell at length in skirmish (notwithstanding the truce) and fought verie sharpe for the time, till in the end they of the towne and castell had the overthrow: the abbatt of Kilwinning being slaine, with diuerse other, and there were taken about an hundred prisoners: amongst the which the lord Hume, and capteine Cullen were accounted principall. Those that escaped were chased, & constrained for their safetie to flee into the towne of Edinburgh, & capteine Cullen was afterwards beheaded.

The regent immediately after this skirmish came with all speed to Leith, as well to fortifie the towne, as to make some further attempt against his adversaries within the towne and castell of Edinburgh. Whereupon was Leith (whose capteine was Patrick Lindseie) intrenched round about, being esteemed a place of great importance, standing both in the face of the enemies, and so ready to annoy them, and also serving well to prevent them of such succour as they looked for daillie out of France. In this meane time, the lord of Grange, then capteine of the castell, and prouost of the towne of Edinburgh, caused proclamation to be made, that all those inhabitants which were not willing to take part with him in his doings, should depart out of the towne. Whereupon, manie of them departed thence, together with their wiues and children, and took with them also such goods as they could secretly conueie: and coming to Leith, offered their service vnto the regent, who thankfullie accepted their offer: and so they remained at Leith, serving against the contrarie faction vpon their owne expences.

After this, the lord of Grange, vnderstanding that report had bene made by some of the kings part, that he was a traitor to the king, and an enemy to his countrie, offered the combat to anie that would fight the same. Which being advertised to them within Leith, diuerse gentlemen were desirous to undertake the challenge: but the regent granted it to the lord of Carlisch, being a Steward, & his kinsman, who had earnestlie requested it. Whereupon, after diuerse messages by heralds sent to and fro betwixt them, the time and place was appointed; but the matter went not forward, excuse being made on the behalfe of the lord of Grange, that by reason of the charge which was committed to him, it was not thought convenient that he should hazard the whole cause vpon his owne person.

Shortly after, there came out of France one John Cheselholme, who was sent with monie to the lord of Grange for the payment of his souldiours: he brought with him also a certeine quantitie of powder, and

some hundred caluises. Upon his entering into the towne of Strueling, and coming by the same, he learned how the regent was in Leith: whereupon he landed at Besset Island, and after wards for feare his himselfe betwixt two cliffs of a roche, not farre from the quaines ferrie: but at length he was found out by the abbatt of saint Colmes Inch, and deliuered to the regent at Leith, in which towne the said regent was about two moneths, being sundrie meanes, as well by pacifick and policie, as by force to haue taken the towne of Edinburgh. In the meane time sundrie skirmishes chanced betwixt them, and diuerse prisoners were taken on either part.

At length, the regent caused a parliament to be summoned, appointing the same to be holden at Strueling the two & twentieth of August next ensuing. And when that day approached, he left the lord Lindseie at Leith in charge, as his lieutenant to gouerne the towne, and all the men of warre appointed to remaine in gard thereof; and repaired himselfe to Strueling, where at the prefixed date was assemble the earles of Morton, Mar, Crawford, Sutherland, Spontrosse, Glenton, Glencarne, the lords Hume, Wemyss, Glamis, Methuen, Semple, Ogilvie, and Cathcart, with manie lords and gentlemen. The first day of this parliament the king was conueied thither, the crowne, scepter, and sword being borne before him.

When he had taken his place, he uttered a certeine speech as had bene taught him, touching the assembling of that parliament, which matter the regent more at large declared vnto the whole house: and this done, they proceeded further to other affaires, concerning the state of the common-wealth. Whereafter in this parliament, the duke of Chateaufort with his two sonnes, the abbatt of Arbroth, and Claud Hamilton, the earle of Hunslet, the lord of Grange and sundrie others were forsailed. This parliament continued by the space of seven daies: at the end wherof, to wit, vpon the second of September, Claud Hamilton, the lord of Bouclugh, the lord of Dumfries, and diuerse others, to the number of three hundred horsemen, verie earlie in the morning entered the towne of Strueling, and suddenly beset not onely the regent, but also the rest of the nobilitie within their lodgings.

The regent hearing a great uprore raised within the towne (in which George Keith was slaine) and not vnderstanding the cause, nor who were the authors thereof, after he perceived how the house wherein he lodged was beset on eche side, he defended the same against the enemies for a good space: but at length despairing of succours, and doubting least the house had bene underlaide with some barrells of powder, and that it would be blowne vp if he yielded not as some told him: and the enemy to increase that doubt, crying still, Blow vp the house, what should he stand longer about him: at length he was contented to yield to the lord of Dumfries, but not before he saw that some of his stoutest captiues had yielded themselves before his face. He yielded, with condition to haue his life saved: but promise in that behalfe was not long kept. For those that had thus taken him, when they perceived rescue coming downe from the castell, so that they should not be able to carrie him awaie, capteine Cander with a pistolet shot him into the bodie, before he could be recovered out of their hands.

The rest of the nobilitie, to wit, the earles of Morton, Glenton, and Glencarne, and diuerse other being taken prisoners, were presently rescued by those that issued out of the castell. The earle of Morton being in the hands of the lord of Bouclugh, took the same lord prisoner, he yielding himselfe vnto him: and

A parliament summoned.

The duke of Chateaufort forsailed.

Fr. Thin.

The earle of Lennox taken in his lodging

The earle of Lennox wounded.

A skirmish.

The abbatt of Kilwinning slaine. The lord Hume and capteine Cullen taken.

Fr. Thin. Leith fortified.

A proclamation.

The challenge of the lord of Grange.

The lord of Carlisch.

John Cheselholme.

and likewise the earle of Glencaine took his proper prisoner, and so did sundrie others take their authors: but Claude Hamilton, with others their companies, having first gotten all the horses that were found in the towne into their hands, when they heard that the rescue was coming, shifted for themselves, and fled away. The regent, being mortallie wounded, but yet delivered from his enemies, rid by to the castell, and calling there unto him the whole nobilitie, when he perceiued his end to approach, he used these words (or the like in substance) as followeth.

The earle of Lennor his words before his death.

My lords, it is not unknowne unto you all, that my coming hither to take this regiment vpon me, was not of mine owne seeking, but at the request of you all. And that which chiefly moued me hereunto, was for the defense of the kings person, being yet (as you see) an infant; of whom by nature and dutie I was bounden to haue carefull consideration, and that in his minoritye, the good and quiet gouernement of this common-wealth might be aduanced, and iustice executed vpon those that most cruelly did murder the late king, my sonne the kings father, and his uncle the good earle of Murray, late regent: whose mischeuous and diuelish deuises if in time you do not prevent by your wisdoms and discretions, they will procure the small overthrow and destruction of you all. In this action (as you see) I haue spent my blood, and haue played the last part of my tragedie, and now I seele death to draw nere at hand.

Wherefore I require you all, for the due regard that you haue of your duties, first to almighty God, and next to the king your most lawfull and naturall prince now in these his tender yeeres, wholly to imploye your seruice in his defense, with care to mainteine the state of this common-wealth, whereby you shall not onely accomplish your duties towards God, but shall be assured to find in your king in time to come (God lending him life) all that good which you can lawfully require. And I shall further commit to your friendly protection, my poore seruants, who

for their good seruice haue well deserved, and yet remaine unrecompensed, desiring you all to be good to them. And lastly, I desire you to commend me vnto charitable prayer for my deere wife, now being in England: vnto whom I beseech God to be a comfort. And now sith my spirits begin to faile, and that my life draweth nere to an end, I take my leave of you all, desiring you to pray to God for me: These words being ended, he called to God for mercie, and continuing in prayer vnto the end, with in a while after he departed this life, and was buried in the kings chappell in the castell of Striueling.

The earle of Lennor departed this life.

Thus haue I hitherto continued this historie of Scotland; not so largelie nor perfectlie as I could haue wished, but skambled forward with it in such sort as you maie see; hauing deliuered nothing vnto you to impaire the credit of the Scottish nation, or otherwise than I haue found in authoers, or learned by credible report (as I take it) hauing put off the parciall affection, which I beare of dutie to mine owne countrie, in this respect, that I should not seeme to twist the words of writers, either to the aduantage of the English people, or disadvantage of the Scots, speciallie in politike gouernement, warlike exploits, ciuill demeanour, and other vertuous exercises: which as I haue found them either in arie one person particularlie, or in the multitude in generall; so haue I reported the same, not sparing the truth herein, as I haue found it recorded, either for loue or hatred, dread, fauor, or enuie: but yet in no wise presuming (as else where I haue said) to vse mine owne censure, but rather leauing the iudgement of other mens reports vnto the readers discretion. To whom I wish such vnderstanding and knowledge in the truth, as maie satisfie himselfe, and rebound to the publike commoditie of his countrie, and pleasure of the almighty; in whose hands are the hearts of kings & gouernours, guiding the states of realms and common wealths, as to his diuine wisdom seemeth most expedient. To whom be glorie, honor, and praise for evermore, Amen.

Thus farre the painefull industrie of *Raphaell Hollinshead*, and others.

The sequelle, concerning the continuation of this Scottish historie, is a new addition before this time neuer in English published.



THE ANNALES OF

Scotland in some part continued

from the time in which Holinshed left,

being the yeare of our Lord 1571, untill the yeare of our
redemption 1586, by Francis Boteuile, commonlie
called *Thin*.



Socrates (good reader) being demanded how a man might speake that which should be best and acceptable to all men, most wiselie (as one in all his life wholie giuen to serch and saie the truth in euerie thing) answered: That we then speake best & most to be allowed, when we speake nothing but that which we best and perfectlie know. For we know nothing excellentlie well, but such things as are often heard by vs from others, manie times repeated by our selues; and that which is commonlie receiued, imbraced, approoted, and vsed by all men. Now those things are most vsed which concern publicke affaires, and such publicke affaires are most knowne when they end in publicke action; & publicke action, so farre forth as it concerneth the thing doone, must needs be true that the same was so doone in that order, as it was openlie seene to be doone. Whereby might be concluded, that in chonicling and treating of publicke affaires, we should speake that which is best, which is most acceptable, & most true: because we report things doone in the eies of all men. But how trulie that is performed in some new writers, it is well knowne to all men of iudgement.

For such is the affection of our age, that some of malice, and some for flatterie, and euerie one to feed their owne disposition, doo so glose things publiklie doone, as with a certeine witcherie of words, they like Circes transforme the things doone in publicke shew to be of other shapes than they were indeed. Whereby Socrates maie now seeme to be confuted, in saing, that they speake best that speake things receiued of all men, and that be common to the world: for so shall misreporting and flatterie, a thing commonlie knowne and vsed of all men, be the best speech; which in truth neither is nor can be. Now what I haue seene and knowne in that, as well of things at home as of things abroad, I forbore to write; and for that cause also might most iustlie restraine my pen (writing vpon the report of others) both now and hereafter from treating of such publicke affaires, to the end my selfe should not run into the danger of a like falsifier or misreporter. But then on the contrarie part, when I fall to an other exposition of the same saleng of Socrates, that he speaketh best, that speaketh that which he best knoweth, and that we best know the things which are commonlie receiued, and that we receiue those for soundest which time trieth to be most true, and those things which be most true are such as are knowne to be publikelie doone; I suppose I shall speake best and most acceptable in writing publicke affaires; considering that I am not sworne to anie faction, nor carried with hate or loue, nor bewitthed with promise of gaine or honour, nor inforced to turne to the right or left hand, but onelie left at libertie to make truth the daughter of time to be the common end, knowledge, and report of publicke things; sith the end of labor, of contemplation of studie, & fruit of writing (as appeareth 2. Met. 4.) is the attaining of truth, and not that perpetuallie or memorie of a famous name or report, a thing alwaies sought by me to be auoided, being onlie content in secrecie to relie my selfe vpon the recording of truth, which of all things (in my mind) is most pleasant, because the same is alwaie a conqueror. For as saith Nehemias, Truth is great and dooth mightilie preuaile. Wherefore, as I said, sith those things be most true & best knowne which are publikelie doone, and that they are publikelie doone that sort to anie action in the common-wealth: we then conclude that we write best and most acceptable, when we trulie set downe a common truth of common occurrents doone in the common-wealth; because that such things trulie reported, doo conclude with Socrates that we speake and write best in declaring a deed trulie doone, in that order (without ambages, gloses, or parcialities) as the same was most trulie performed touching the truth of that outward act.

Accept therefore (good reader) that which I doo suppose I haue best spoken (by this my argument grounded vpon Socrates) in this my continuance of the Annales of Scotland vnwillinglie attempted, but by inforcement of others, whose commanding friendship it had bene sacrilege for me to haue gainesaid. And therefore rather carelessse to hazard the hard opinion of others, descending vpon my sudden leaping into the printers shop (especially at the first in a matter of such importance) than the losse of the long and assured friendship of those which laied this heauie charge vpon my weake shoulders, I haue like blind baiard boldlie run into this matter, vnder the hope of thy fauourable acceptance. And though herein I shall not in euerie respect satisfie all mens minds and iudgements, that for fauour of persons, times, & actions, will like Proteus at their owne pleasure make black seeme white, alter euerie matter into euerie shape, & curiously carping at my barrennes in writing, because I omit manie things in this my continuance of the Annales of Scotland. Be haie reported things in other formes than some mens humors would haue had me to doo. I must desire thee to consider for the first that the Scots themselves, besides manie others of our owne nation are the cause thereof, who either for feare durst not, or for pretended aduile and consultation in the matter would not, or for the restraint of others might not, impart to me such things as should both concerne the honour of the Scottish nation, and the substance of their owne cause. For the other matter, if I should bind my stile to the affections of some, I should breake the rule of Socrates, and not speake the best, sith I should then speake publicke and common things, publikelie knowne to all men, contrarie to that order, in which they were commonlie and publikelie seene to be doone of all men; and so by that meanes fall into the reproch of a disdeined reporter.

Now, if thou which art the reader, thinke that I (vnacquainted with matters of state, especiallie in an other countrie, better knowne to all men than to my selfe) am far vnable to breake the dangerous ice of such matters, and so more vnmeet to enter into the bosome of princes (whose hart as Salomon saith are vnsearchable) should for my vnadvisednesse seeme worthie the punishment of Prometheus, that stole the fier from Iupiter, and caried it abrode into the world, because the affaires of princes are not to be made common, to be submitted to the censure of their subiects, nor to be written vntill the ashes of all those whome the things concerne were vtterlie consumed: thou must yet remember that men haue escaped punishment in dealing with higher matters than with things of chronicles, or of such like which onelie touch the life of the bodie. And therefore in punishing thereof vpon Prometheus, Iupiter went beyond himselfe. For if the greater, that is for matters touching the soule, went not onelie free from punishment, but receiued eternall reward, as after shall appeare, how much more should Prometheus haue bene spared, that but onelie medled with the bodie? Now it is manifest that in diuinitie and matters of the soule (a thing that so far exceedeth the bodie as the sunne dooth the moone, as angels doo inferior creatures, and as light dooth darkenesse) there be manie which haue leapt into heauen, and by contemplation placed their pen amongst the founnes of God in writing, and laing abrode to the world (as much as in them laie) the vnsearchable works of the Almighty, whereof we cannot comprehend the least cause, order or perfection, and haue therefore not onelie not receiued punishment, but eternall reward both in bodie and soule; as Enoch was translated to paradise; Elias taken vp in a fierie chariot; Paule rapt vp into the third heauen, with manie others: For which cause I saie, if they which lepped into matters farre beyond the reach of men, to expresse in the meanest degree of perfection, were not punished for meddling therein, and writing thereof; much lesse ought I to be punished with Prometheus in meddling with the discourse of matters vpon the earth, and such as concerne the actions of mortall creatures, as battels, mutations of kingdoms, death of princes, and such other earthly accidents. Into which yet I would not haue so rashlie descended, or taken so hard a prouince in hand, had not (as before I said) the commandement of such as I durst not gainsaie, interponed it selfe as a shield to receiue and beat backe the sharpe darts of enuious tongues. For which cause sith I was bound to him by desert, and that he had better opinion of me than there was cause whie; I feared not (though I deemed it the part of him which doubted the iudgement and reproch of the wiser sort, not to haue hazarded his credit) to enter into this dangerous sea, being not so much furnished with hope to performe it well, as desirous to discharge the request of him, and to shew the hope I conceiued at the well acceptance thereof by thee. In which discourse I had rather good reader thou shouldst complaine, of want of sufficiencie in me to performe so hard a thing: than that he should mislike of my goodwill in answering his desire. And should I feare to enter heereinto, being a thing meet onelie for great counsellors and men priuie of matters of estate; as though there were no place for Greeke poets but onelie to Homer and Sophocles; and for Latine poets, but to Virgill, Ouid, and Horace? Did the singularity and amplex of Platos knowledge in philosophie feare Aristotle to write in the like argument? Or hath Aristotle staied the pen of others? Shall no man be painters but Appelles or Zeukis, or caruers or grauers but Phidias and Lysias? Shall no man be orators but Cicero, Quintilian, and Demosthenes? Shall none write histories but Cæsar, Liuius, Sabellicus, Paulus Iouius, Comineus, Guicciardine, or such like? Or shall none deliuer their traueu to the world because they cannot write in English as did sir Thomas Moore, sir Iohn Checke, Roger Askam, Gefferie Fenton, or Iohn Lillie? Yes trulie, for when they haue doone their best, and written what they can, a man may yet imagine a far more excellent thing, euen of and in that wherein they haue best trauelled, written, painted, or graued, and that euen by the selfe same thing which they haue doonet. And more good reader thou canst not doo either vpon the basenes of my stile, the disorder of the matter, or the barrenesse of supplieng of things requisit for the furnishing and maiestie of an historie, than to suppose and saie that a better forme and method of writing, a more ample discourse for the matter, and a sweeter stile for the manner might haue bene had for the historie of Scotland, than that which I haue set downe. Wherefore if the best writers be subiect to these faults, that when they haue spent all their wit, eloquence, and art, there is yet somewhat to be desired in them, as well as in me the meanest writer, I am content to beare all speedies, and desire thee to thinke what I would doo, and not what I should doo; to excuse me by others, and not to condemne me with others; to accept this in that sort as I haue meant it, and rather with mildnesse to pardon my imperfections, than with malice to barke at my well meaning. Besides which, if thou shalt deeme this worke and continuation of mine for Scotland, ought to haue been consecrated to the fauourable acceptance, and honourable protection of him to whom the first volume was dedicated; I answer (besides that I am to him an estranger, and not to beg vnderferued fauour of anie person, and that the first patrone of this Scottish historie is now in the low countries beyond the seas) this is a thing by me so slenderlie doone, that it meriteth not his honourable iudgement, or the learned view or patronage of anie other of the nobilitie. For if it had, I would then haue bestowed the same vpon those to whom I haue already consecrated my selfe, whatsoeuer I am, hauing long before this covenanted with my bodie, onelie to tie it vnto their good commandement. For hauing but one heart, I cannot dilate it to serue and offer it selfe to manie persons, considering that where is but one heart, there must needs be but one waie: and he that will bestowe one heart vpon manie persons, must diuide the same into manie portions, and so dismember it, that in the end it will be no heart at all; or els he must go to the shambles to provide manie sheepes hearts, to bestow vpon those manie to whom he will bind his manie seruices: for which causes I may neither chouse a new patrone, nor dedicate this to the old, but onelie to thee the fauourable reader. Now before I knit vp this exordium (which may seeme to thee in respect of the following historie, to be like the towne, the gates and entrance whereinto being verie great, occasioned Diogenes to will the inhabitants to shut those great gates, least that little towne did run out thereat) I am to admonish thee good reader, that in all my former additions to the historie of Scotland, I haue neither word for word, nor sentence for sentence, set downe the writings of Lesleus or Buchanan, but haue chosen out the matter as I thought best and apt to my desire. After which sort I haue likewise in this my continuation of the annales of that countrie, not set downe or deliuered things to the world in that sort and stile as I haue receiued intelligence thereof, but onelie culled forth such matter as both the time wherein we liue, the matter whereof I intreat, and the method required therefore, may well beare and challenge. Thus hauing laid before thee, that he writeth best that trulie writeth publike affaires, that I was commanded by my deere freends to enter into this fand: that I cannot discourse of this historie as I willingly would: that I ought not to forbear to write because I cannot in stile and matter equall the best: that they are to be pardoned that attempt high things: that I haue purposed in generall dedicated this labour to the common reader, and not in particular to anie honourable person: and hoping that thou wilt pardon all imperfections, I sparinglie enter into the continuation of the annales of Scotland (being such as thou maist be content to read, and I am contented to write) in this sort as heere followeth, making my first entrance therein with the death of the earle of Lennox, with whome Holinshed finished his chronicle, and so to the matter, after this long and tedious deteining of thee from the same.

Francis Thin.



THE CONTINVANCE of the annales of Scotland, from

the death of the regent Matthew earle of Leneaux.



The earle
of Leneaux
and his
armie
were
at Stear-
linge (as
the state of
that same
troublesome
time wold
so permit)
the noble-
men which
were there
present of

that faction, taking part with the king, assembled themselves for the creating of a new regent, to which function they named three, and those first by oath compelled to yield to the voices of the nobilitie. The three appointed by them were Gilspie Campbell earle of Argyle, James Douglas earle of Morton, and John Arskine earle of War. But in the end, upon consultation which of these for most causes (both beneficial and honorable to the realme and king) were mightiest to wold so troublesome and dangerous an office; in the end it was laid upon the shoulders of the last of the three, to whom (they whole inclining) gave full authoritie to execute the office of a regent. At the first entrance into which place, this Arskine, having nothing more desired or desired to him, than the besiegging and recoverye of the castell and town of Edenborough (out of the hands of the quenes faction) to the use of his master and pupil (wherby to the last calendes of October he was appointed, with a sufficient armie by the last decessed regent his predecessor) he was now hindered thereof by sudden (and untolken for) tumults of the estates of the realme. Whereupon for that instant, the same was proroged to the ides of the said moneth of October. Which delaye was after occasion of great impediment for the recoverye the reof, because it ministered time, power, substance, and succor to the citizens and captains, to more and strengthen the castell and towne. When the sharpe winter, the long nights, the lacke of carriage for the wars preparation, and the want of sufficient furniture therefore (at the same time with the said tumults) occasioned departure from thence, without dispatch of that for which he came.

Certaine moneths after that the regent was gone from thence, there were some few small excursions and skirmishes used amongst them; the victorie inclining to neither part. For the first fight

the part of the cuntry) so wrought, that the quenes faction should neither come to handstrokes, nor yet (being surprised) should be intrapped with the deceits of their enemies: because by a pite to her (given out of the highest towre of the castell) they were easily warned to recolle and draw homeward in convenient time. At which notwithstanding, they once felt the smart of the enemy, when all the horse and footmen were come out of the towne to intercept a part of the kings armie. For the kings faction (having first laid an ambush in the vallie) did forth the rest come before the castell, in hope to traine the towne garrison upon them out of the walls of their defense, which their expectation was not deceived. For the said Edensburghers made hast out of the towne, to pursue the last part of the kings armie, which seemed a feble flight, to draw the other part further from defense of the castell. By means wherof, they of the towne did so eagerly pursue them so fast, that in the end they went to far after their enemies, that they drew nere the ensignes of the other ambush, not shewing themselves out of the battie to rescue their fellows put to this feined flight. Which thing being well perceived by the watch of the castell of Edensburgh, forthwith it gave the appointed signe, whereby those on the quenes part (before that they came nere to the place in which they were laid for) began fearfullie to recolle for their better safetie; whose flight was the more troublesome to them, because they knew they were in danger, and could not suspect from whence or how their hurt should come, although they were before warned thereof by the said watch of the towne. In which recolle of the quenes part, the few horsemen which had before seemed the flight (to draw on the other) returned, and made such hast on the backe of the footmen, that the footmen were enforced (with all the speed that might be) to flee unto the citie, the next waye that euerie man could find for his best defense: at what time yet manye of them were wounded, and manye taken prisoner, as well captains and gentlemen of armes, as others.

Whilst these things were thus dolefully performed, in that the towne of Edensburgh was with no more heat sought to be recovered, a miserable misfortune happened in another part of Scotland: for a great slaughter was in the north end of the realme occasioned by this means. There were in that countie two families of great power and authoritie, both hallant and wise, both harboring deadlie foe of lach roted betwene them. These two were of the surnames of Gordon, and of Forboise, wherof the first

skirmishes
about Eden-
borough.

An ambush
laid by the
kings faction

The quenes
part warned
by the watch
of Edens-
burgh castell

They which
late in ambush
pursue those
that came
forth to set
by the kings
part.

A conflict be-
twene the
Gordons and
the Forboises

The Forboises
disagree
among them-
selues.

Arthur For-
boise.

Adam Gor-
don disap-
pointeth the
union of the
Forboises.

Arthur For-
boise slaine.

The For-
boises put to
fight.

The house,
great bellied
wife, and chil-
dren of Alex-
ander For-
boise burnt.

The For-
boises receive
aid from the
king.

selues, and by the kings sufferance had manie years
gouverned the people adioining vnto them, whereby
they purchased both strength amongst themselves,
and the helpe, of other men towards them: when
contrarie, the Forboises were at wars one with an-
other, dallie impaired their owne strength by their
owne slaughters, and in the end wrought their owne
confusion, for euerie diuided kingdome cannot long
continue. But yet though this secret rancor did still
remaine amongst these families, they did not in ma-
nie yeares before attempt any open warres the one
against the other, rather liuing in secret emulation,
than open enite, because they had (in waite of some
shew of reconciliation) by marriage intermingled
both their families together. Among these Forboises
there was one called Arthur (a man of singular wit,
and of no lesse ready hand to performe his deuitie)
who had alwaies followed the kings part to his ut-
termost, from the first time of these discords. This
man therefore supposing this to be the time (now or
never) wherein he must honor himselfe and his name,
increase the substance of that part which followed
him, & suppress the rage of the Gordons, first labou-
red to bring his familie to unitie and mutuall love,
for all vertue gathered into it selfe is greatest
strength. The which if he might compass (as by any
possible means he would leaue no stone vnturned
that might further it) he was then in so good safetie
as he desired. For then was there not any faction
or familie in those parts whatsoever, whose wealth or
strength he doubted, and whose state or authoritie he
did feare.

For furtherance of which design, when date and
place was appointed to assemble the Forboises to-
gether, Adam Gordon, the brother of the earle of Hunt-
leie (devising by all policie he might to hinder the
saime, and hauing priuie intelligence thereof by his
kin, fauourers, and followers) came with a great
power of armed men vnto the same place (at the
time appointed for the assemble of the Forboises)
to breake off their union. And although there were
two troopes of the Forboises, which presentlie ap-
peared in their fight, yet before they could come to
strength, Adam Gordon speedilie set vpon the one
armie (not ready to be succoured by the other) and in
the middle thereof did kill this Arthur Forboise, who
being the hope of all that race and now slaine, his
death did so amaze the other, that forthwith the rest
were sone ouerthrowne, scattered, and fled each one
as he might best shift for himselfe. In which unhappie
conflict some persons of name were presentlie kil-
led, and manie others taken and reserved for ran-
some. Whereupon the residue (feearing more crueltie
should be vsed vpon the prisoners, loath to haue any
more of their race to be cut awaie, and giuing place
to the time present) withdrew themselves from the
fight, and neuer attempted any thing afterward in
the reuenge of their ouerthrow. Which feare and
wise suppression of reuenge grew not without iust
cause, supposing that their aduersaries (if they were
further urged) would shew no more mercie to such
as they had prisoners, than they did to the house of
Alexander Forboise before time, which they burnt
with his great bellied wife and the other of his chil-
dren.

The eldest brother of Arthur (who was the chiefe
of that familie) hauing his house so spoiled, and him-
selfe hardlie escaping from his enemies hands, hast-
ned to the court, from whence (though the matter
was in great extremitie) he was by the king to be
released. For which cause there were appointed two
hundred footmen to such of the nobilitie as fauoured
and followed that faction, with letters to the adui-
sing nobilitie to associat themselves to the part of

the Forboises. These thus considerat and come to-
gether to the rest of the Forboises, with certain other
families of their affinitie & neighbours, so acquired
the spirit of this Alexander, that he now thought
himselfe sufficientlie senled against all the forces of
his aduersaries. But as their number increased, so
there wanted amongst them one person sufficient to
injoy the place of a capitaine, whome the rest might
follow. With all the principals and heads of the fami-
lies were almost young men, and scarce one better
than others in degree of calling. Wherefore the of-
fensible being drawn into diuerse companies (for
they were enforced to follow severall leaders) John
Beth with five hundred horsemen departed to his
house not far from thence. Alexander Forboise with
his residue and two hundred footmen went to Aber-
den, to expell Adam Gordon from thence, and to re-
pare his armie in the iournie.

Adam Gordon (not sleeping his affaires, know-
ing the preparation of the Forboises, and under-
standing the approach of his enimie to nere with so
small companies) assembled his people, led them out
of the towne, and compelled the citizens to follow, to
make the number of his armie to seme the grea-
ter. Shottlie after, in a field next adioining to the
towne, the two companies met, and a sharpe con-
flict was committed betwene them. In which the
kings souldiers (appointed to the Forboises) desirous
(more hartlie than wisely) to fight, and aduenturing
farther in following of the Gordons (than their shot
of powder would continue) they went so far, that in
the end (being out of the reach of defense or helpe of
their company) they were put to fearfull flight by the
hoyment of the Gordons, who pursued them egerlie,
and continued the battell untill night. At what time
there were not manie of the vanquished slaine, but
mostlie taken and reserved as prisoners, amongst
which was the said Alexander Forboise taken, after
that he had long and valiantlie defended himselfe a-
gainst his enemies in the same conflict, to the perpe-
tull glorie of that house.

After the suppression of the Forboises in the north
parts, the quenes fauourers were sightlie incoura-
ged to attempt greater matters. Wherefore assem-
bling their power out of diuerse parts of the king-
dome, they bend their minds to the suppressing of
Fetworth, a towne which after the manner of the
countie is unvallied and vnensured, but onelie with
the strength of the inhabitants: which towne (cer-
teine yeares past had stronglie resisted the force of
the quenes faction. Nere vnto this towne were
neighbours Thomas Cat of Fernthorpe, and Wal-
ter Scot, both which besides their owne residue had
ioined vnto them the people of the next countie,
being Lincolne, Eastan, and Eskine, alwaies trou-
bled with robberie and giuen to spoile, who at that
time by the libertie of war freelie without restraint,
did wander into further countries, to preie, spoile
and catch what they could. Besides whom there were
also in Westan (aswell by the infection of these coun-
tries, as by the custome of spoiling in the wars, for
these things were by vse made an other nature and
priuilege, as it were from the note and paine of sin)
great families defamed with such theft and rapines,
and not these alone (with this poison had crept al-
most ouer all the land) but certeine of the next Eng-
lish pale (being allured with hope of preie, and sup-
posing all things lawfull in ciuill warres) ioined to-
gether, and (to make their number the greater, and
their power the stronger) called from Chenborough
one hundred and twentie harquebushers, chosen out
of the chiefe souldiers, to be assistant vnto them.

The inhabitants of Fetworth (not ignorant of
their intent, and considering wherevnto all this pre-
paration

The For-
boises follow
seuerall lea-
ders.

John Beth
departed.
Alexander
Forboise go-
eth to Aber-
den.

The For-
boises ouer-
throwne be-
tween Aber-
den.

Fetworth
defended
from assault.

Thomas
Cat.
Walter Scot.

Buchan, li. 22.

Walter C.
sent to det.
Fetworth.

William
Rathwin
with a po-
comming
Dybarge.

Walter C.
toinech to
William
Rathwin.

The q.
faction is
waile.

Rathwin
with his
me con-
to Han.

The q.
faction
throu
triper
Haw.

paration tended) with speeie & fearefull messengers
signifie vnto John Areskine earle of Spar & regent,
the present danger wherein they stood, craving some
succor of light furnished souldiers to be sent to them,
which forthwith was granted accordingly. Where-
upon Walter Ear of Stefford, being called before
the regent for that cause, had the charge of such aid
granted vnto him, as a person who both for balure &
experience was of sufficiencie to discharge anie such
matter laied vpon him. Besides which, a conuenient
number of sufficient souldiers, gathered out of the
counties adioining, for that season assembled them-
selues in defense of the towne, & ioined their armie
with them at Jedworth. At what time also to strike
more feare in the one part & to aduance the courage
of the other part, it was noised amongst both armies
that William Ruthwine with a hundred shot and
certeine hoisemen (wherof he brought part with him,
and part he gathered out of the marches adioining)
were at the same time coming to Durburge with
the said Ruthwine. All which notwithstanding, the
queenes faction trusting to their owne strength con-
sisting in multitude (for they were in number thre
thousand men) did earlie in the morning draw to-
wards the towne, to prevent the coming of such
succours as both were promised, looked for, and then
almost at hand. Which being by Ruthwines partlie
before suspected, he hastened the people with more
speed to follow them at the heeles, and by continuall
shot worted the taile of his aduersaries with often
assaults and skirmishes.

Walter Ear also ioining vnto him and to his
complices the towne men (readie to defend their
files, their goods, their wives, and their children) toke
the direct waie towards his enemies, to the end the
better to suppress them and their vnited force. Which
when the aduerser part perceived, forthwith they reti-
red to places of more defense, lest they shuld incoun-
ter their enemies with doubtfull battell; and least be-
ing set vpon before and behind, they might be sub-
denlie inclosed, before they could be able to turne
themselves, either to escape, or to prevent the approach-
ing enemy. At what time such as sought after spoile,
and were allured to that warre with hope of gaine,
being now by that means defrauded of their preie,
when they saw the towne manfullie defended, and
the kings part readie and stronglie come forth to
battell, left the field, and departed euerie man to his
owne house, as it was nearest to the place where they
then remained. Whose sudden flight, without any oc-
casion of danger, being vnderstood of the chiefe of the
rest of such as were of the queenes faction (supposing
at the first nothing lesse than that the enemy would
make vpon them) they also followed after the others,
railed their campe, and departed to Hawike with
the rest of their followers and companie of footmen,
hoping thereby to escape all danger, by reason of the
sharpenesse of the winter and late fall of the snow,
which would stae the following of the enemy.

But Ruthwine, iudging it best to vse the opportu-
nity of time, did before date so speedilie lead his ar-
mie to Hawike; that he was within a mile of his
enemies, before they could by anie means be certi-
fied of his coming. Whose speedie and vnlooked for
approch did strike such extreame feare into the hearts
of those which possessed Hawike, that there was no
place left for anie consultation; but presentlie that eu-
erie one shoud shift for himselfe as well as he
might. Wherevpon suddenlie bringing forth their
hoisles and footmen, and following the course of the
next river, they attempted to withdraw into places
of more safetie for themselves, and further from
their enemies. But the hoisemen of Ruthwine spee-
dilie following at their heeles, so prevented their de-

uise, that forsaking their footmen, they fled ouer all
the countie to the places betwixt Andwine vnto them.

Upon which the footmen being thus left to the
spoile and preie of their enemies, did (for their more
safegard) hide themselves in a little wood adioining
to the said river. In which, being on euerie side beset
with the force of their aduersaries (sallie determined
to preie vpon them) they did in the end wholie yield
themselves with submission to their courtiers. Where-
vpon (sith they were not able like prisoners, for their
number was ouer great to be caried about from
place to place in that sharpe winter) they were (vpon
their oth to returne and become true prisoners) suf-
fered harmlesse of bodie, and losselesse of furniture
to depart, some few being still retained in that place
as pledges for the others departed companie. But
when the time of their returne approached, Ruthwine
die, deceiuing their faith with his light promises, for
had them to returne at their daie appointed, and
made them incur the note of perurie. The rest of
the winter, and all the next spring was passed forth
with light skirmishes on both parties of the kings
and queenes factions, in which few lost their liues,
and of that few more on the queens than kings part.
For the queenes fauourers, remaining in the moun-
teins next adioining to the citie, whilste they would
take occasion and aduantage to performe anie thing
well, would (scarce entring into the danger of the
conflict) for the most part retire and flie into the citie
for more defense.

In the meane time, while these things were thus
ordered, there came manie ambassadores out of Eng-
land, to pacifie these discords growne to these great
extremities, betwene the king and the imprisoned
queenes factions. But the same ambassage so well
meant by the queene of England, and reieced by the
seditions of Scotland, sorted not to that end which
was meant, nor as the state of Scotland required.
Wherefore these ambassadores returned home with-
out anie such dispatch as might answer their tra-
uels, their mistresses care and loue, and the vnitie of
that quarelsome people: by reason that the French
men fauouring the cause of the banished queene, did
not onelie hinder the peace and quiet of the Scots,
for the benefit of the realme; but also sought warres
for the destruction of the naturall subiects, and to
bring in their owne gouernement; who for the furthe-
rance thereof, did with great promises intertaine the
apt minds of the quarrelling faction, to kindle and
mainteine the fire of continuall warre, vntill such
time as by force they had gotten the vpper hand, and
brought the kings fauourers to destruction. For the
better support wherof, the French king sent some
portion of monie, which being of it selfe not great; or
such as their necessitie required, seemed rather suffi-
cient to nourish an hope of abilitie to mainteine the
warres, than fullie to dispatch or desraie the charges
of the affaires therein; and that the rather, because
some part of that monie was euer deuoured by such
as had the cartage thereof.

Amongst these things there still continued, for a
few moneths, certeine light skirmishes to little pur-
pose betwene the aduerser parties. But the greater
companie, who could not satifis their eagles minds
with litle flies, abstained not from robbing and bur-
ning the countie. For Adam Gordon, entring into
Angus, besieged the house of William Dowglas
of Glenbernie; but after that long bessege, percei-
uing that the man whom he sought for, was not to
be found there, he cruellie destroyed all whatsoeuer
there was left, consuming it with fire and sword.
Which tyrannie did strike such fearfull impression in-
to the hearts of those of Dundee, that they despairing
of their owne abilitie to resist them, called their

Ruthwine
causeth the
prisoners not
to returne at
their daie ap-
pointed.

Ambassadors
out of Eng-
land.

The French
king sendeth
monie into
Scotland.

Adam G-
don entred
Angus, and
besiegeth the
house of Wil-
liam Dow-
glas.

They of Dun-
dee craue
aid out of
France.

neighbours of fife unto their aid, with they were next adjoining unto them, unto whom also Gordon was a persecuting enemy continually in all that possible he might, because they constantlie and subiect like did in all dutie support the kings part.

Blackenelle
betraied.

At which time Blackenelle being betraied to the Hamiltons by the keeper of that castell, did greatly hinder the traffike and passage betwene Leith and Sterling. For which cause the regent as a person that heedfullie looked into the dangers of that time, and with wise foresight sought to prevent following evils, brake downe all the mills about Edinburgh, furnished all the noble mens houses and places of defense with garrisons nere unto the towne, and closed vp all passage to and from the citie. For now there was fresh skirmishing, and manie on both parts, as well of the king as of the deposed quene were taken prisoners, put to their ransome, compelled to abjure their faction, kept in continuall prison, or else presentlie slaine.

Edinburgh
mills broken.

Prisoners
taken both on
the king and
quens part.

These things thus depending, and the king and the deposed quenes faction contending still to support their parts, the matter did daillie more and more grow to great slaughters: which being well perceived by foreine nations (pitieing the present calamities, and seeking to provide to staie the following dissension of that countrie which was like to be at hand upon these ciuill and unnaturall warres, if better order were not taken therefore) the quene of England as the kings next and louing neighbour, and the French king also the confederat of Scotland, sent their ambassadoys into the realme, to see what qualification might be had in these troublesome and dangerous times of the kings minority: hoping either to set a finall end to these inconueniences, or at least to mitigate and staie that furie, that it should not at that present, or during the kings minority passe any further. For the accomplishment whereof, sir William Duriie knight, and Thomas Randolph esquier, were sent from the quene of England: and monsieur de Croque, who had also bene ambassadoy out of France into Scotland before that time, was now againe sent thither from the French king.

The quene
of England &
the French
king send am-
bassadoys into
Scotland.

These much about one time arriving in Scotland, and joining together concerning the execution of their ambassage, dealt so effectually therein, that in the end they concluded an abstinence of warre to be had betwene the parties of the king and quenes faction, from that time which was about the first of August, to continue untill the first of December following: and so brought both the parties in conclusion to relie and abide the full determination of all quarrels to be set downe by the quene of England, and the French king. Which being done the ambassadoys returned home, monsieur Croque into France, and sir William Duriie and maister Randolph into England.

An abstinence
of warre for
a time.

Sir William
Duriie and
maister Ran-
dolph go into
Scotland.

The death of
the earle of
Marre.

In October following died the earle of Marre, regent of Scotland, of a lingering sicknesse (as some affirme) but Lesleus saith lib. 10. pag. vltima, that *morte repentina concidit* being buried in Allowaie a place of his owne, situate foure miles from Sterling, to whom in the erleldome succeeded John erle of Marre, who after fled into England, as in this following discourse shall appeare. Which John Arskine earle of Marre the regent did marrie Annable Purrie daughter to the lard of Tullebarton, by whom he had issue this John, which succeeded him in the erleldome of Marre (as is before said) and one daughter which was married to Archibald Dowglas now earle of Angus: but she died without issue. Of which deceased Arskine earle of Marre, Buchanan composed these verses commendatorie, expressing the nature, vertues, qualities, and valour

of the said earle in this foyme and maner following:

*Si quis Ariskinum memoret per bella ferocem,
Pace grauem nulli, tempore utroque pium:
Si quis opes sine fastu, animum sine fraude carentem,
Rebus in ambiguis suspitione fidem,
Siquis ob has dotes, sanis iactata procellis,
Figit in illius patris fusa pedem:
Vera quidem memoret, sed non & propria: laudes
Qui pariter petet has vnus & alter erit!
Istud & proprium est, longe quod in ordine vita
Nil odium aut linor, quod reprehendit, habet.*

10

Upon the death of which earle Marre the regent, there happened long consultation for the election of a new regent to succeed in his place, that might in all respects defend the kings person and the realme, as he had done before. Wherefore the noble men, assembling for that cause, did in the moneth of December, one moneth and more after the death of that last regent, elect by one consent the earle Morton to that office, a man no lesse wise than prouident, and such a person, as both for the nobilitie of his birth, good seruice to the realme and to the king, did well merit the charge. After whose election, the two princes, the English quene, and the French king, minding to make a full conclusion of peace and amitie, and to settle the kingdome of Scotland in due obedience and vnitie, did in the meane time that the abstinence of warre before named continued, send their ambassadoys to the regent and states of Scotland: which ambassadoys were maister Henrie Killigrew esquire for England, and monsieur de Weracke for France. But as monsieur de Weracke was dislodged from the coasts of France, and upon the sea in his tourneie to Scotland; he was apprehended and taken, before he could attaine to the shore of Scotland: whereby he neuer came on land amongst the Scots to performe his ambassage. Which being knowne to the Scots, and they finding that their most aid & surest friendship would come forth of England from that prince, whom religion, blood, affinity, and neighborhood had moued to like and follow, did in the end resolve themselves, that both the affection, as well of the yong king, and of the imprisoned quene, should referre themselves to the quene of England, to make a finall conclusion of all controuersies and troubles which were then amongst them.

Earle Mor-
ton made re-
gent.

Maister Hen-
rie Killigrew
sent into
Scotland.

40

Whereupon the said Henrie Killigrew made a quiet end and pacification of all matters & debates betwene all the lordes of Scotland after this maner. In februarye following the new creation of this regent Morton, there assembled at Perth, or saint Johns towne (by especiall edict therefore) the greatest part of the nobilitie of Scotland, as the regent, the earles of Huntleie, Argile, Atholl, and others: who pitieing the miserie of their countrie, condescended that the quene of England should by hir ambassadoy, set a quiet end and order amongst them. Which the said Henrie Killigrew did in all points accordingly, extending the same vnto all the nobilitie of Scotland, except such as were in the castell of Edinburgh: which were the lord Hume, the lord of Orange, secretaire Livingston, the lord Raskallrege, and others: who rather desirous of warre than peace, as persons mettelie well inured therewithall, would not consent to any peace, other than such as might stand with their owne liking, and support of the imprisoned quenes faction, which they earnestlie followed, as after shall more appeare.


An assemble
at saint
Johns towne.

But before this finall agreement, as I haue bene crediblie informed, there was a parlement called at Edinburgh to begin the fifteenth of Ianuarie, in which were assembled the earle Morton regent, the earles of Angus, Argile, Glencarne, Calsels,

1573
A parlement
at Edin-
burgh.

sels, Eglinton, Mountroffe, and young Sparthall, for the earle Sparthall his father: the lords of Ruthwen, Lindseie, Clames, Simple, Boid, Sparthall, Hennis, Craie, Disphant, Sincleir, Fozbois, Ca-chart, Dhilltra, Somerwell, and others: with the commissioners of the borowis of Edenborough, Strueling, Perth, Dundie, saint Andrews, Glasgow, Lethgo, and Couper. Out of which number of this assemble were chosen for to be lords and iudges, to determine the articles propounded in that parlement, the earles of Argyle, Glenearne, and Mountroffe, the lords Ruthwen, Lindseie, Boid, Simple, and Hennis, with the bishops of saint Andrews & Dkenele, the abbats of Aberboith, Dunfermling, Canbuskineth, and Newbottle, besides the prior of saint Marie ile and Portinake, which were also adioined unto them: all which persons so passed, named, and appointed, determined, ratified, & passed these articles following.

The articles and acts of the parlement holden at Edenborough the 25 of Januarie.

- 1  The approbation and ratification of the regiment.
- 2 Annent the true and holie kirke, and deteing of the true ministers & members thereof.
- 3 That name of the aduersaries and enemies of Gods truth shall inioie the patrimonie of the kirke.
- 4 That like of the disobedients as shall be receiued to mercie and pardon, profess the true religion, and sweare to resist the decrees and execution of the counsell of Trent.
- 5 The establishing of the regiment, in case that charge yet baile during the kings minozitie.
- 6 Annent recovering of the tewels, householdstufte, munition, and moueables, such as sometime were the quhenes the kings mother, to his highnesse vse and behoefe.
- 7 A declaration, that all things done in the kings name and authoritie is lawfull, and of the inualiditie of all things attemptid in anie name, and vnder color of quhatsoener other authoritie, since his highnesse coronation.
- 8 Touching motion to be made for a league with the quhenes maiestie of England, for the defense of forein inuasion, for the cause of religion; and that others professing the true religion, may be drayne into the same.
- 9 The declaration and interpretation of the act annent masse and gleibis.
- 10 Annent the interpretation of the popes and other counterfet bulls or prouision to benefices with antedats.
- 11 Approbation with some addition to the act of priuie counsell, made in the reigne of the quhenes the kings mother, annent the disposition of benefices to ministers of the kirke.
- 12 Annent execution against persons excommunicat.
- 13 Annent the reparation of parish kirks.
- 14 Annent proceeding in cause of priuozle.
- 15 Annent the reparation of the destructions, biggings, and other damneges within the towne of Edenborough during the late trouble.
- 16 A confirmation of the infesment of certeine rents to the pedagog or college of Glasgow. All which acts thus fullie passed in this parlement, there was the same aduise giuen to the regent, touching the receiving to pardon of persons guiltie to the slaughter of the earle of Lennox late regent, & touching suspension and delaing of pursue of the murder of the

kings father. Whereof much being spoken, and thought god to be followed; yet there was nothing enacted that might establish the same.

During the time of which session of his parlement, manie occurrents deseruing remembrance happened after the said sixteenth of Januarie. For ^{Strimishes about Ederborough.} Edenborough castell being somewhat distressed, the castilians were put from fallieng out of the castell gate, where capteine Craisford, and capteine Hume laie with their hands to keepe them in. Notwith- standing all which, they within repaired vnto a pornerne in the northside of the castell besides saint Cutberts church, and saint Margarets well, where they issued and set water at their pleasure: which being espied by their enemies, capteine Michaele and his band came from Wondiske to stop their passage thereto. Who within thre daies after such his ap- proch, destroyed their well, and enforced them to keepe within the walls of the castell: at that time the re- gent advanced his trenches made against the ca- stell, from the bulworke or spurre of that castell to the well part: and from thence, to saint Cutberts kirke: so that with the water lieng on the south- westside, and the regents power on the other side, the castell was wholie inuironed. During which siege, the sixteenth of the same moneth, the castilians, to feare such as were assembled in the forenamed parlement kept within the towne of Edenborough, bestowed fourtescore and seven great shot vpon the towne, which harmed not anie one creature, but a poze dog that was slaine before the doze of the regents house: although men, women, and children did ballie frequent and passe the streets of the towne. Which was a rare matter, but yet not moze strange than this: that there was not slaine on the regents part (from the first of the moneth of Januarie vntill this time, either by great or small shot in the towne or trenches, ^{Strimishes or other- wise}) aboue six persons, and within the castell but thre, with as manie hurt betwene the tolbooth and the spurre of the castell, the cause whereof grew by reason of thre traueses made ouerthwart the streets to saue the people, besides the other trenches made against the castell: at that time also the tolbooth and the church was fenced with a rampier forced of turfes, sagots, and other stufte fit for that purpose. Whereby the lords of the parlement did as safelie assemble and sit in the tolbooth, and the people went as quietlie and safelie to the church to heare di- uine seruice, as they at anie time did before the warres began, and before that the castell was be- sieged.

During which doings in the castell & the towne, there was an abstinence granted at the sute of the ambassadoys of England for the duke and his ad- herents, vntill the foure and twentieth of Februarie: in which meane time, certeine lords were appointed to conferre with the said ambassadoys for an accord to be had betwene the king and imprisoned quenes faction. Wherevpon sir James Walsford came to the regents grace, obtained pardon for his offense, and earnestlie laboured to further this agreement. The earle of Argyle was aduanced to the honour of the chancelorship. And Alexander Arskine mas- ter of Sparre was appointed to haue the keeping of the kings person vpon certeine conditions, for the performance whereof he was to find foure sur- ties, lords of the parlement, to be bound for him bo- die and lands, hauing fiftene daies appointed vnto him to consider thescof, whether he would enter in- to so great a charge or no. And if in case he should refuse to accept the same, it was further resolved and concluded, that the erles of Glenearne and Bur- gaban,

An abstinence of war granted.

Sir James Walsford sub- mitteth him- selfe to the regent. Officers cre- ated.

James Mar-
cardie en-
treth Eden-
borough cas-
tell.

I 573

The taking
of Edenbo-
rough castell
by the Eng-
lish and the
regent of
Scotland.

quhan, the lord Glanes, and master Marshall should have the keeping of the king quarterlie one after another. And if anye of the four should happen, during the time of his quarterlie gouernement, to be sicke, or not able to execute that function; that then the lord Lindseie should be assistant to him in that gouernement, during that time. Which being thus on all parts concluded, James Marcardie arrived in the Blackenelle in a small pinnesle, and entred the castell of Edenborough, with such shonite as he had provided to bring thither. Which occasioned the castell of Edenborough to be reassaged and inuironed both by sea and land, and was the cause that capteine Wyse fallieng forth with other of his companie to forage the countrie, and to provide vittels, were taken by the regents companie. Notwithstanding all which, yet the others within the castell continued their purpose, and defended the same against the regent and his companie, farre otherwise than was supposed that either they could or would do.

Whereupon the regent of Scotland solicited the quene of England, in the behalfe, and for the succor of the yong king of Scots his cousine, thus grieuouly molested with the warres of his owne people. So that the quene of England sent a power of fiftene hundred Englishmen to the siege of Edenborough castell, ouer whome sir William Durie knight and marshall of Berwicke was made general, with such captiues as follow; which were sir Francis Russell knight, third sonne to Francis erle of Bedford with other captiues, as Read, Parleie, Wood, Bickwell, Pikeman, Gam, Case, Carre, Errington prouost marshall, Aston, Sterleie capteine of the pioners, and capteine Barton. To whom also to serue at their owne free will these gentlemen of name, sir George Carle, sir Henrie Leie knights, Thomas Cicill eldest son of the lord tresuroz of England, William Banolles, Sutton, Cotton, Belwaite, Pier, Cilneie, William Billegreue, a manie other gentlemen of good estimation did associat themselves with conuenient number to attend vpon them. These with their generall passed from Berwicke to Lesh, where they met with maister Henrie Billegreue the quene of Englands ambassador, whose care, trauell, & furtherance at that time deserued no small commendation; and with the Scottish nobilitie, & such as they had assembled to ioin with the English in the behalfe of the yong king against such as tooke part with the deposed quene. Which Scottish nobilitie and gentlemen of Scotland were the earle Morton regent, and such other earles and gentlemen as were tied and alied to him by kindnes and kindred, & such as fauoured the yong king, distressed by the deposed quene, as was pretended. After the iointing of these two nations, they on the five and twentieth of Aprill marched towards Edenborough: and the same daie sir William Durie the generall summoned the castell of that towne in forme as followeth.

The summons giuen to the castell of Edenborough.

Sir William Marcardie, sometimes of Orange knight, forsomuch as the quens maiestie my soueraine ladie, vpon the earnest request of hir deere cousin the king of Scots your soueraine lord made to hir highnes by his regent, nobilitie, & estates of Scotland, after all good meanes bled to haue reduced you to a dutifull obedience of his authoritie by treatie, which he shert to you haue not duly harkened vnto, to the onlie hinderance of the vniuersall peace in this realme, by withholding that his highnesse castell, meaning

(as it seemeth) to reserue the same for a receptacle of fozen forces, to the manifest dangers both of this realme and of my souerains; and therefore necessarie to remoue so perillous a danger to both the realmes. For which consideration hir maiestie hath sent hir aid and succors, men, ordinance, and munition vnder my charge and leading, for the expugnation and recouerie of the said castell to the said kings vse and behoefe. And therefore, according to hir maiesties commandement and commission; this shall be in due manner to warne, require, and summon you, that you render and deliuer the said castell with the whole ordinance, artillerie, munitions, iewels, household stuffe, and such other implements within the same to me, and to the vse and behoefe of the king your soueraine and his regent in his name, immediately after this my letter of summons or knowledge of the same shall come to you. Which if you obey, as of dutie you ought; then shall I in hir maiesties name interpone my selfe to trauell with the regent, counsell, and nobilitie here for the safetie of your liues, &c: otherwise, if you continue in your former obstinacie, abiding the canon, then no further to looke for grace or fauor; but you and the rest within that castell, to be pursued to the vttermost, and holden as enemies to hir maiestie, your owne soueraine, and countrie. Given at Edenborough by me sir William Durie knight generall of hir maiesties forces now in Scotland, this five and twentieth daie of Aprill, in the yeare of Christ 1573.

This letter by the lord Orange capteine of the castell thus in due sort receiued, he not regarding the contents thereof, nor considering the mild disposition of such as went about to spare their blood, did vnterlie denie the surrender of the castell, and with all force determined to defend themselves. Wherewith the English generall greatly grieued, did incontinently rebellue such answer to the said lord Orange as wrought an bitter discontent and mislike in the man. By meanes of which the pioners attending their charge, with expedition applied the casting of trenches and erecting of mounts or fortresses to plant the artillerie thereupon against the castell. After which euerte one hastening the cause of his comming, & ioining their force together, began to inuiron the towne, & to laie siege to the castell in foue severall places, where were foue severall fortresses erected for that cause, intituled by these names. The first mount allotted to the regent, had the name of the kings mount, the second the generall thereof the English sir William Durie did possesse, the third was in charge of sir George Carle, the fourth was called sir Henrie Leies mount, and the fift fell to the gouernement of Thomas Sutton maister of the ordinance in the north parts of England. The whole number of which armie vnder paie was two thousand, whereof fiftene hundred were English, and the other five hundred Scots: besides the nobilitie and gentlemen with their companie, and the citizens of Edenborough defended with thirtie peeces of artillerie containing sir canons, nine demicanons, nine culuerings, and sir factes. Whilste the armie without was thus preparing for to assaile the companie within, the captiue of the castell (to hinder their worke) liberallie saluted the pioners & other soldiors with such artillerie as they had within the castell, and vpon and about the walles thereof, whereby manie were hurt, some slaine, but more hindered before the trenches and mounts might be brought to their due perfection, for defense of the assailants, and offense of the assailed. In which action also the aduerse part forgot not to requite the castilians, but immediately after that the pioners and laborers had finished

When he mounts. At what time they gave him a vehement and sharpe assault to the castell, although that the enemye beat thereof began not until the seventeenth date of June following. In which siege on the said seventeenth date of June, the castell was most toughly assailed by the Scottish shot of canons discharged against the same. At what time those peeces so well performed their parts against Dundas tower, that the force of the English cannons was easie to be then making after some short time. Which assault continued until the one and twentieth date of June following; on which date the whole batterie began not againe as before against part, but whole round about on every side of the castell. For until then Dundas tower was on the right hand of the entrance, but after that date they laid out their power in every place, offensive and defending by others soldiers, as well within the castell as without the mounds and trenches; in that sharpe conflict hunting and killing manie of the English and Scots. Whereupon the diligence of the English began to be great, that they forthwith displaced the mounds within the castell, and strooke one of their greatest peeces out in the month; whereby the same was broken, and the castilians force somewhat abated.

After this, on the six and twentieth date of the said month of June, there was a fresh assault given at seven of the clocke in the morning to the Spurre (a place of defense or blockhouse before the said castell) which by the assailants was taken, & forthwith upon the entrance therin was the banner of the generall displayed and set up, to declare who possessed the same, to the great discomfort of them in the castell. For although before they had lost the use of one of their great peeces; that their wailes were battered, that some of their men were slain, & that they had almost all their water taken from them: yet would they not yield, neither did anye begin to despayre of keeping the castell, or repelling the enemye, until such time as the English had now gotten the possession of the Spurre.

And during the time that these gave the assault to the Spurre, there was an other band of English men and Scots, that had in charge to make the way of a fresh assault, at the west part of the castell; to the end that such as layed batterie to the Spurre, might with more ease to themselves, and lesse suspicion of the contrarye part, obtaine the said Spurre. But this last named band, over hastilie putting themselves in adventure beyond the limits of their charge, were repelled and driven to the recoile, with the hurt and losse of chiefe persons, or thereabouts. All which notwithstanding, the castilians (perceiving their chiefe defense the Spurre to be lost, and not greatly relying of this small victorie over those which assailed them on the west side) did the same date by a justissime demand parley: which they obtained with truce of peace from that date, until the eight and twentieth of June next following. For which cause the lord of Pittarvot was let downe by a rope from the castell, and after him the lord of Orange, capitaine of the said castell, with Robert Spelvine; all which came to have conference with the generall sir William Dornie, & such other persons as were sent to accompanie him about the same. In the end, upon much conference had betwene the Scottish lords and the generall, the castell was the same eight and twentieth date (in which the truce ended) delivered up into the hands of the said sir William Dornie, which he kept in his possession for a certeine time; during whose abode in the castell, he set up and spread his ensignes and banners upon sundrie parts of the walls of the same.

After this done, the generall (after quiet possession had,

not determining to retaine it unto his mistresse use, although he was onelie appointed by him to aid the king of Scots, and such of the nobilitie as took his part) did after (according to his commission) deliver over the said castell to the use of the young king of Scots; for which cause not meaning utterly to spoile the castell, he gave but part of the spoile to the use of the soldiers, leaving the cannons and other artillerie to the kings pleasure. For before the surrender of the castell, it was agreed, that if the Englishmen had by force taken it, as they obtained it by composition, that then they should whole have moied the full spoile by the space of three dates, the artillerie onelie excepted, which should be carried away by the English. But although for these causes following, the same could not abide any long siege, but must of necessity yield it selfe, there was everie part of the said spoile given unto the soldiers upon the deliverie of the same castell to sir William Dornie. The causes of which surrender were manie.

First, for that they were deprived of water, because the well within the castell was choked with the ruines of the castell wailes; & the other well without could not serve them, because there was a mound made to hinder them. An other water there was (which was unknowne to such as were without the castell) and was taken from them by the losse of the Spurre; out of which they were wont to have a pint a daie for everie souldier. The other causes of surrender were these.

Secondlie, diverse persons were sicke, especiallie thorough drink of the water of saint Margarets well without the castell on the north side, which had bene poisoned by some of their enemies.

Thirdlie, diverse others were hurt.

Fourthlie, not manie to mainteine the castell, and they not able to take anye rest, being so pleyed and dailye wearied with batterie.

Fifthlie, diverse of the souldiers divided in opinions.

Sixthlie, some were no souldiers at all.

Seaventhlie, that no aid was to be looked for by the waile of France.

The eight and chiefe cause was, that the regent and his forces planted in the strengths round about, and the hostlemen daylie and nightlie watching and rising, which held and took from them all bittels, and had brought them to great scant of food before the siege began. All these eight causes moved the said surrender of the castell.

After that the castell was thus gotten, the sixteenth date of June following, the prisoners were delivered by the said sir William Dornie, in the presence of sundrie Scots & Englishmen, unto the regent; and that done, the same date sir William Dornie departed with his power to Berwick. The names of the prisoners were these; sir William Birkenhead, lord of Orange, and capitaine of the castell of Denborough, the lord Hume, William Spetellan, lord of Leithington secretaire, the lord of Pittarvot constable of the castell, the countesse of Argile, the ladye of Leithington and the ladye of Orange, with others. But yet the privat soldiers & others of meaner sort were suffered to depart with bag and baggage.

Thus was the castell of Denborough wone, as you have heard, which by the common opinion of men was impregnable, and not to be taken by force; inasmuch as manie thought it took the name of the maiden castell, for that it had not bene wone at any time before except by famine or practise. Which opinion being common is so much the faller, in that the common sort do embrace it, for that they will incline to common fables. For this castell was not named the maiden castell, because it was never taken

Ben by force: but because the pictures of those
there nourished, as male well appare by that which
I shall set downe touching the antiquitie of this
townte: the name thereof: of which there be diuerse
opinions. For some will haue it to be built by Ebo-
racus, of some called Ebzancus king of Brittaines,
called also in British Castle mynne Agnes; the ca-
stell of saint Agnes hill: afterward the castell of vir-
gins. But Lesleus will haue it built long after the
time of H. Ehoide, by the space of thre hundred
score and foure yeares, for thus he writeth. *Chri-
stianus primarius Pictorum urbem & Agnedam
posuit Ethinburgum ab Ebo quondam rege Britan-
norum castro, ubi regis & nobilium Pictorum fili & uxor
ui darentur: seruiri & preceptis ad hunc modum: & uisita-
tem informari solent, condidit. A little before which, the
said Lesleus writeth that Fergusus did. *Christi in car-
nem aduentum 305, & uisita-tem tempore Es-
tadus Britonum & Christianus Pictorum imperi-
um tenebant. Now this king Christianus that built
Agnesda, liued before Christ thre hundred and five
yeares by the Scots account, and Eborac or E-
bianke liued nine hundred foure score & nine yeares
before Christ: so that the Englishmen make this
townte more ancient than the Scots. But as Les-
leus hath mistaken himselfe, following Boetius,
to place Camledunum in Scotland: so hath he ap-
pointed Edenburgh to be built by the Scots, being
built by the Brittaines. But true it might be that E-
borac first builded it, & that being at the space of thre
hundred foure score and foure yeares: wasted and
bitterly decayed, the same was after erected by
Christianus, and after repaired by Ebo. The castell
of which towne, being sometime appointed for the
bringing up of the daughters of the noblemen of
the Isles, until they were marriageable, was for that
cause (and not because it was neuer wonne by force)
called the maiden castell, as the said Lesleus affir-
meth. But after, when Christianus came into Scot-
land, it was called (as I coniecture) Agnesda, because
it was the castell that stood on saint Agnes hill, & not
before the coming of Christ so called Agnedam, as
hitherto it hath bene set downe, but not rightly: as
I haue with reuerence speake under correction of
such as by better authoritie can disprove that I saie.**

But here let vs a little leaue the countrie soile
of Scotland, and such things as were there then
done, and take somewhat of the persons of that
realme, who performed matter of valour in for-
reine countries. Whilste the towne of Leiden was
stronglie besieged (in the moneth of June) and that
the townefolke (having a needfull and hardfall care)
were altogether imployed about making of provision
of all such things as were deemed necessarie for the
defense of the same towne, the principall part of the
commandatores arriued in Boninell quarters,
Coicum, and Lowielsen. Whilste the prince
and the estates of the low countries made no great
account thereof, by reason that Boninell (which was
well furnished of all things necessarie for the wars)
was vnder the custodie of capitaine Baskoure, colo-
nell of the Scottishmen, who had there attending vpon
him the number of teathen Scottish soldiers. Which
Scots desirous to performe some matter of valour,
dailie sallied out of the towne with some of the citi-
zens and gentlemen Hollanders, in which often mee-
ting they valiantlie skirmished with the enimies.
Whereby in the end amongst their mutinie confusions
there were manie warlike exploits performed by
the Scots, which deserved not to be forgotten: as
well for that they often repelled the enimies, and kept
their strength together: as for that they being few in
number, aduentured (beyond the hope of good hap, by
incounterling with a greater troope of such as came

against them, than they were themselves): either to
returne victors, or to lose their liues. As which I com-
miserably will also the same Scots continuing in
those to do duties, performed manie other mat-
ters of martiall exploits: which I will set downe in
this place. For which haue being contented of some of
the Scots (whom these animals & chieftie concerning)
such things might supplie the default of sufficient
matter of Scotland to furnish the same, and for that
I haue herie described of the performances of some
militarie by and with others of that nation
who for partie: but to that countrie sought, and for clear-
ring some snuff or opinion conceived against them
of their actions in their countie: should haue
sought to further me in the so my labour: I must
leaue things done in Scotland, and turne my pen
to other places, providing matters to helpe my man-
ner of discourse, and inform the reader to the deliuer
an action performed by the Scots in the same low
countries: where they were then in service: &
against the Spaniards, vnder the paie of the prince of
Orange, did that which deserves to be forgot.

These Scots were for: remaining in those coun-
tries, serving vnder the command of their colonell fur-
named Baskoure, did in Januarie set forth against
with the Spaniards at a place called the Shewdale,
distant not much more than a mile from Elcege, where
was a long and sharpe conflict betweene these two
nations. In which by the industrie of battell (for the
most part) being victorie vnto the stronger side, a
great multitude of them were left dead in the place,
and the rest by hardie same themselves by flight from
their enimies: who yet felt not this overthrow to
be so much a griefe, but that they last manie of their
people before the Scots were put to the sword.
But leading these Scots in the middle of the wars
of these countries vnder the prince of Orange, we
are to come to other matters following by successi-
on of time: which hath deliuered to vs that Margare-
t the daughter & heire of Sparghale Dowglas
earle of Angus, died in England the tenth of March
in the yeare of our redemption 1577, beginning
the yeare in the Annintiation of the virgin which
lady being borne at Harbottell castell in England
in the yeare of Christ 1525, was afterward brought
up in England, and then being put in assistance in
the eight and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the
eight, being the yeare of Christ 1546, to Thomas
Howard youngest brother to the duke of Northfolke,
he was that yeare committed prisoner to the tower,
but after let at libertie the last of October, in the
nine and twentieth yeare of king Henrie the eight,
in the yeare 1547, married to Sparghale Stewart
earle of Lennox by the consent of Henrie the eight
king of England, in the yeare of our saluation
1544. After which, being tossed with both fortunes,
sometime in aduersitie, & sometime in prosperitie, he
was notwithstanding alwaies honorable inter-
tained in England, as both his birth in respect of his
kinglie blood, and his calling in respect of his place,
did worthily deserve. In the end, to cut off all his o-
ther aduersities, and to draw to things falling in
with his knowledge, he was on the two and
twentieth of April in the yeare 1563 (vpon the ma-
riage of his sonne Henrie Stewart lord Darnley
vnto Marie Stewart queene of Scots) commanded
by the queene of England first to keepe his chamber
in the Whitehall the princes court and palace, where
he remained vntill the two and twentieth date of
June next ensuing, and was then by sir Francis
Knolles (one of the priue counsell and vicecham-
berleine to the queene of England) and by some o-
ther of the gard conueied to the towne of London by
water, in which place he remained prisoner untill
that

Humphred, Ehoide,
in brevis Brit.
I. Stow.

Lesleus lib. 2.
pag. 84.

Campdenus in
Scotia saith ab
Eboraco Britan-
no aut ab Helio
Picto Edinbur-
gum deducere
quid aliud est
quam serio inep-
tius

1576
The Scots
denie their
furtherance
to the writing
of the annals
of Scotland,

The tragical
histories of the
warres of the
low countries
lib. 4.

The Scots
put to flight
besides Agnes.

1577

Some part
of the life of
Margaret
Dowglas.

1574
The tragical
histories of the
warres of the
low countries
lib. 3.

The Scots
repelled their
enimies at
Boninell.

I. Stow.

that his sonne the said Henrie Stewart was mis-
 rablie and traitorously slaine by the earle Both-
 well and his complices (as some affirme, but how
 trulie I know not) upon the twentieth of february
 one thousand five hundred thre score & six. In which
 yeare, on the two and twentieth of the same moneth,
 the said ladie Margaret was discharged out of the
 towre and set at libertie, who still remaining in En-
 gland did (as before is said) in the thre score & second
 yeare of hir age, and in the first yeare of hir widow-
 hood, surrender hir soule to God, being most hono-
 rablie buried & answerable to hir calling in the great
 chapell of Westminster (built by Henrie the seventh
 king of England) among the kings of that realme
 in an inward chapell standing on the right & the
 southside of the said great chapell. The yeare before
 whose death his sonne Charles Stewart earle of
 Lennox (having before married Elisabeth the dangh-
 ter of sir William Candish, by whome he had issue
 Arbella) did also depart this life. Over the bodies of
 both which persons, Thomas Fowler erector to the
 said ladie Margaret, did with the gods of the said
 ladie erect a costlie and statelie toorne of rich stone
 and curious workmanship, with the picture of that
 ladie, as livelie, and as well coloured as art might
 afford it, about which monument is graven this me-
 morable epitaph declaring his nobilitie, as insueth.

At the head of the toorne is set downe

Memoria sacrum.

*Margareta Dowglasia, Mathei Stuarci Leninia comitis
 uxori, Henrici septimi Angliae regis exilia nepti, potentis-
 regibus cognatione coniunctissima, Iacobi sexti regis auiæ,
 matrona sanctiss. moribus, & inuicta animi patientia, in-
 comparabili P.*

Obijt Martij decimo Anno

Domini 1577.

On the right side of which toorne is
 this ingrauen.

*Margareta potens, Viriute potentior, ortu
 Regibus ac proavis nobilitata suis:
 Inde Calidonyi australibus, inde Britannis
 A edita principibus, principibusque parens:
 Quæ mortis fuerant soluit latissima morti,
 Atque Deum petijt, nam fuit ante Dei.*

Henrie second sonne to this ladie and father to
 James the first now king. This Henrie was murde-
 red at the age of one and twentie yeares. Charles
 the yongest sonne was earle of Lennox father to the
 late Arbell. He died at the age of one and twentie
 yeares, and is here intombed.

On the left side of the toorne
 is this ingrauen.

This ladie had to hir great grandfather king Ed-
 ward the fourth, to hir grandfather king Henrie the
 seventh, to hir uncle king Henrie the eighth, to hir co-
 sine germane king Edward the first, to hir brother
 king James of Scotland the first, to hir sonne king
 Henrie the first, to hir grandchild king James the
 first, having to hir great grandmother and grandmo-
 ther two quæns both named Elisabeth, to hir mo-
 ther Margaret quæne of Scots, to hir aunt Marie
 the French quæne, to hir cousines germane Marie
 and Elisabeth quæns of England, to hir neece and
 daughter in law Marie quæne of Scots.

At the foot of hir toorne is thus written.

Here lieth the noble ladie Margaret countesse of
 Lennox, daughter and sole heire to Archibald Dow-
 glasie earle of Angus, by Margaret quæne of Scots
 his wife, that was eldest daughter to king Henrie
 the seventh, which bare unto Mattheu earle of Len-
 nox his husband, foure sonnes and foure daughters.]
 Which honourable toorne, with these super-
 scriptions, was erected for the said ladie, and finished
 in the yeare of our redemption 1578, being begun

and almost perfected in the life of the said ladie Mar-
 garet. This ladie being (as before is thewed) coun-
 tesse of Lennox and Angus, it will not be amisse to
 declare in this place, what beame of both the said
 earledoms, as well in hir life, as after hir and hir
 sonne Charles his death. Touching Angus, this ladie
 Margaret, upon the marriage of hir son Henrie lord
 Darneleite, which was solemnized the nine and twen-
 tith daie of Iulie 1565, to Marie quæne of Scots,
 did giue the said earledome with all the rights and
 members thereof unto the said quæne Marie, to dis-
 pose as fell best unto hir liking. Whereupon the said
 quæne bestowed that honour and earledome upon
 Archibald Dowglasie cousin to the said ladie Mar-
 garet: who being exiled, was here in England at
 the writing hereof. The earledome of Lennox, after
 the slaughter of Mattheu earle of Lennox (husband
 to this Margaret) which was in Sterling the fourth
 of September, in the yeare of our redemption 1571,
 but 1572 as hath Lelless, was inuested in Charles
 James the first king of Scotland, heire in blood to
 the said Mattheu earle of Lennox, father to Henrie
 lord Darneleite (that married the quæne) father to the
 said James the first. Whereupon the yong king,
 mindfull of the aduancement of his uncle Charles
 sonne to the said Margaret, did inuest the said Charles
 with the honour of the said earledome of Lennox,
 which Charles died in the life of his mother Margare-
 ret without heire male, by reason wherof the said
 earledome reuerted to the crowne.

But here leaving the title and succession of the
 earles of Lennox to an other place following (sith I
 am entered into the discourse of such of the earles
 & countesses of Lennox as be dead) I thinke it better
 in this place, than not at all, to mention the epitaph
 of Mattheu earle of Lennox slaine at Sterling (as
 is before touched) in the yeare of Christ 1571. For al-
 though the same matter would more aptlie haue
 bene placed before at the end of the historie of
 Scotland, written by Holinshed, or at the begin-
 ning of my continuance of the annales of that
 countrie, when I mention the death of the said earle:
 yet sith the note of that epitaph came not unto my
 hands, untill I had thus farre proceeded in the histo-
 rie; and the same also at that time passed the print
 (whereby I could not set it downe in due place) I
 will here (having so good occasion therfore) intreating
 of the toorne of his wife (whose charge also wanted
 not in erecting of this toorne of his slaine husband,
 and for that this doth also touch some part of his epi-
 taph) insert the same in this place after this maner,
 as it is written upon the statelie toorne of the said
 Mattheu Lennox, and now standing in the chapell
 within Sterling castell, being as hereafter foloweth.

The epitaph of Mattheu earle of Lennox.

Lo here a prince and potentate,

whose life to vnderstand,

Was godlie, iust, and fortunate,

though from his natie land

His enemies thrice did him out thring,

he thrice returnd againe,

Was lawfull tutor to the king,

and regent did remaine:

Where he with rigor rebels rackt,

the right for to defend,

Till enemies old through tyrans trackt,

did worke his fatall end.

Lo thus respects the death no wight,

When God permits the time,

Yet shall the vengeance on them light

that wrought that cursed crime.

Besides which also on the same toorne are these
 heroicall verses set downe, declaring his name, his
 descent, his marriage, his issue, his offices, and such o-
 ther

ther matters belonging vnto him, as followeth.

Behold herein interred is,
Matthew of Lennox earle,
Who long of late in Britaine soile,
did liue a pearlesse pearle.
And as he was of roiall bloud,
by roiall progenie,
From Stewards stocke of ancient time,
princes of Albanie:
His fortune was euen so to match,
with passing veruuous wight,
Whose race deriued from famous kings,
of wide renoumed might.
His mother queene of Scotland was,
and eldest daughter deare,
Of Henrie seuenth English king,
a princelie mirror cleare.
Hir father earle of Angus was,
the ladie Margaret hight,
The onelie heire of Angus lands,
and all his fathers right.
Thus did king Brutus bloud conioine,
for both by grace diuine
Are come of Northwales princes hault,
which were of Troians line.
And diuerse goodlie impes there were,
that issued from them twaine:
Charls James now king, and * Charls the earle
of them dooth still remaine,
King Henrie father to this king,
their first begotten sonne:
Oh cruell fates! the which so soone,
his vitall dired vnsporne,
By whose deuise the grandfire came,
lord regent in this land:
And noblie bare the regall sword
of iustice in his hand.
Whereby he did in tender age
of the kings maiestie,
This realme protect with fortitude,
prudence and equitie.
But now dame fame with flickering wings
withouten anie let,
Shall spread abroad this worthie man,
and through the world him set.
And tearing time shall not consume,
nor weare the same awaie,
But with the worthiest reckned be,
vntill the latter daie.
After which time, eternitie
dooth triumph then by right:
Where he with angels shall reioise,
in Gods eternall sight.

Besides which English epistaph these verses were
also composed by Buchanan vpon the same earle of
Lennox, wherein is not onelie set downe (as before)
the honourable birth of the man, but also some of the
places of his education, with other things which
right fortunatlie happened vnto him in this sort.

*Regis aui, regis pater, alto e sanguine regum
(Imperio quorum terra Britannia subest)
Matthæus genuit Leuinia, Gallia fouit,
Pulso Anglus thalamum remq; doliq; dedit.
Capi in uicta manu, famam uirtute refelli,
Arma armis uici, confusioq; dolo.
Gratus in ingratos: patriam iusteq; pietq;
Cum regerem, hostili perfidia cecidi.
Chare * nepos, spes una domus, meliore senectam
Attingas fatis, cetera dignus aui.*

Thus setting end to the lines & deaths of this Spat-
thiew Steward earle of Lennox, of Margaret Delu-
glasse his wife, to their honourable epitaphs, and to
their sumptuous sepulchres, we will come backe a-
gaine to such others, either generall or spectall, acci-

dents as haue fallen in the kingdome of Scotland,
and which will touch the vniuersall gouernement, or
the particular occurrents as well of Scottish as of o-
ther forren affaires managed by them at home, or
in other countreies, therewithall ioining the discourse
of such things as haue bene performed by other na-
tions in that kingdome. Amongst which accidents in
Scotland this raretie happened, that the earle Spo-
ton surrendered his pprotectorship or regentship of
the king and kingdome of Scotland. Which I maie
10 worthilie count rare, sith men in so great authoritie
of commanding all persons, can hardlie be brought
to giue ouer such honour, and to yeld themselves to
the commandement of others, because *Qui primatus
sui autoritatem perdit in despectionem et angustiam se mi-
sit: qui autem locum suum sapienter custodit, se ac suos ad pro-
fectum dirigit.* And Bias the philosopher knew, that it
was a most hard thing of all other, and onelie sauon-
ring of great magnanimitie and wisdom, *Fortiter
ferre mutationes rerum in deterum.* But he being verie
20 wise, feared not the alteration of his estate, but ra-
ther desired to be rid thereof, considering the weigh-
tinesse and danger which depended thereupon, and re-
membryng that notable sayeng of Gregorie in his
spozals, declaring the singular good of such, which doo
thun the gouernement of temporall things, in these
wordes. *Quasi quodam iugo seruitutis premunt prospera dum
appetuntur; premunt aduersa dum formidantur. At si quis se-
mel dominationem desideriorum temporalium a collo mentis
excuserit, quadam iam etiam uita libertate perfruitur, et dum
30 nullo desiderio sollicitatus afficitur, nullo aduersitatis errore co-
arctatur.*

This earle Spozton (I saie) surrendred his of-
fice (as before is touched) in the moneth of March, in
this yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred
seuentie & seuen, at what time also Robert Botres
esquier was then in Scotland for hir maiestie of
England. Vpon the remouing of which erle Spozton
there were no moze regents in that countreie, but
the king took vpon him to rule the realme by him-
40 selfe & by such curators as he shuld appoint therfore.
For the king now about the twelue yere of his age
thought he might aswell take vpon him the gouern-
ment of the countreie by himselfe, and such as he ap-
pointed at those yeares, as manie of his ancestors
had done before in their yong yeares; notwithstanding
the opinion of manie of the better sort of the
presbiterie, which mainteins that he cannot absolute-
lie rule, or perfectlie establish anie thing by the cu-
stomes of their countreie, vntill he come to the age of
50 fine and twentie yeares. But we find in their olde
hystories of Scotland, written euen by men of best
iudgement; that James, the second of that name
king of Scots, did in the fourtenth yeare of his
age, in the twentith yeare of his reigne, and in the
yeare of our Lord one thousand four hundred forty
and foure, put Alexander Lennox, knight from
his regentship, and took vpon himselfe the absolute
gouernement of the kingdome, of whom thus writ-
teth Lesleus. *Gubernatoris cancellarijque conciliarij missi*

60 *factum est, ut minimum ordinem comitis. Strucling indies
diceretur. An. Dom. 1440. mense Ianuarij, omnium assensu est
constitutum, ut res suam regnum testans; contentiones so-
piat, causas decidat, concionibus dirimat, reliqua reipubli-
ca negotia presens procuraret. Aulici nobiles sese comites itine-
ris adiungunt, qui in illius societatem se penitus immergentes,
odij cancellarij ac gubernatoris elati, persuadent regi, ut alio-
rum seruicium se premis diuini non sinat: sed ut omni iugo
excusso, ipse sibi reipublice gubernande partes assumat. Is in-
ueniunt quidam regnandi ardore incensus, illorum voces tan-
quam Syrenum cantum in suas aures effundere liberalissime
patiebatur. Decimum iam quartum annum agens, in regnum
solum preceps intrat, ac ut publici comitis solum preceset, om-
nes ordines Struclingian vocat, 4. Nembrii 1444.*

*Gl. super ill. ec-
cles. 23 melius
est vis filij.*

*The earle
Spozton sur-
rendred his
regentship.*

*The kings of
Scotland
take on them
to rule the
realme with-
out procura-
tors being
with in age.*

*Lesleus li. 8.
pag. 297.*

* This was
Charles earle
of Lennox bu-
ried in the
same which
his grandmo-
ther the ladie
Margaret
Lennox before
mentioned
who liued af-
ter the death
of this Spat-
thiew his
grandfather.

* James the
first king
of Scots.

After

After which, about five yeares following, the same James, to shew his absolute and sufficient gouernement, did in the yeare of Christ 1449, in the nineteenth yeare of his age, and the twelfth yeare of his gouernement create Alexander Seton lord Gourdon earle of Huntley, and George Leslie a baron earle of Rothesay. James the fourth of that name king of Scotland, being but sixtene yeares of age when he came to the crowne, in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred four score & eight, administered the realme by himselfe without any procurator, as I gather out of Lesleus. James the fifth the king of Scots, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred twentieth and eight, in the seventeenth yeare of his age, & about the fiftieth yeare of his gouernment, remoued the earle of Angus from the regentship, and tooke vpon himselfe the gouernment of the kingdome. And Marie the mother of the now liuing king of Scots, did in like sort in the yeare one thousand five hundred fiftie and two, in the tenth of hir age, and as much of hir gouernment of Scotland appoint procurators to gouerne the realme, whilst she remained in France with the French king hir husband. But enough of this, sith Lesleus in his 9. booke pag. 429, and also in his 10. booke pag. 517, hath liberallie argued on both parts, at what yeares the kings of Scotland may assume to themselves the gouernment of the kingdome, after that they haue attained to the crowne in those yeares, which are ouer tender and unfit to dispose of the sword and scepter. Wherefore to passe ouer the same, I thinke it not vniuersall in this place, sith we haue mentioned this Morton which was the last regent, gouernour or protector of the kingdome, to set downe a catalog of all such regents and gouernours of that realme, as haue come to my knowledge, after the same sort as I haue done in England at the end of the gouernment of the duke of Summerset, who was the last protector of that realme: into the discourse whereof I enter as followeth.

The protectors, gouernours, or regents of Scotland, during the kings minority or his insufficiencie of gouernement, or during his absence out of the realme.

Conanus.

Conanus was gouernour vnder Thereus about the yeare before the birth of Christ, one hundred thirtie and seven: for Thereus renouncing the kingdome and fleeing to Poyke, where in the end he died, this Conanus during the exile of this Thereus, was regent or gouernour, of whom writeth Lesleus lib. 2. pag. 89. Conanus qui rempublicam Therei iam exulantis loco optime administraret, interrex à nobilibus declaratur. Nam Thereo viuo nullum alium regem substituere vulerunt, quo mortuo, Iosina eius frater successus est.

Cadallus.

Cadallus liuing about the yeare before the birth of Christ, seuentie and nine, did pursue Gillus (the bastard of Cuenus) having slaine the sonne of Cuenus, and blurring the crowne, of whom thus writeth Lesleus lib. 6. pag. 92. Tandem auctore Cadallo viro fortissimo, qui interrex à regni nobilibus interea constitutus est, quidam in Hiberniam profugam assecuti, inita prius pugna capiunt, & statim capite plectuntur.

Argadus erle of Argile.

Argadus earle of Argile, when Conar who began his reigne in the yeare of Christ one hundred fortie and eight, was cast in prison for his euill life, was by the nobilitie chosen gouernour of Scotland, after which Ethodus the next king, whome this Argadus

holpe vnto the crowne made him chiefe iustice of Scotland to him and his heires, which function at this date the earles of Argile doe inioice by inheritance.

Donald, Colollan, Morbach and Conrade were made gouernours of the kingdome, for thus writeth Lesleus lib. 4. pag. 198. Senectutis tandem tadio illius (which was Etheline who began his reigne about the yeare of Christ, seuen hundred thirtie and three) vires ita debilitate sunt, & cum regni oneri ferendo impar fuerit, quatuor sui regni regulos (in quibus præstans quædam sed fucata virtutis species eluxit) delegit, quibus singulis singulas prouincias decreuit; Donaldus Argadiam; Colano Atholiam; Mordaco Gallouidiam; & Conano Morauiam.

Donald, Colollan, Morbach, & Conrade.

William Fraiser bishop of S. Andrewes, &c: after the death of Alexander the third king of Scotland, which fell in the yeare of our Lord, one thousand two hundred four score and three, who died without issue, the nobilitie (because it was not knownen to whome the kingdome did appertene, sith there were manie which claimed the same, as Balioll, Bruce, Hastings, and others) agreed amongst themselves, and chose six regents or gouernours of the same, vntill a king were fullie known and established: the names of which six were these, William Fraiser bishop of saint Andrewes, Duncane earle of Fife, John Cumine earle of Buchquane, to whome the rule of the north parts were committed. The other three were Robert bishop of Glasgou, sir John Cumine, and James high steward of Scotland, who had the disposition of the south parts.

William Fraiser.

Hugh Cressingham an Englishman was made gouernour of Scotland by Edward the first, who going into France about the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred ninetie and six, after that he had brought Scotland vnder his subiection, appointed the said Hugh (whom he had before made treasurer of Scotland) to haue the gouernment of that realme in his absence, whilst he was buised in the wars of France. But not long after, this Cressingham was slaine at Sterling by William Wallace (and such Scots as attempted by all the force they could to set themselves at libertie from the subiection of the English) in the ides of September, in the yeare of Christ, one thousand two hundred ninetie and seven, at what time also Andrew Purreie was slaine, whose sonne did certeine yeares after (as hath Buchanan) administer and gouerne Scotland for the king.

Hugh Cressingham.

Buchan. lib. 3.

William Wallace after manie worthy exploits done in the behalfe of his countrie against the English, was for the Scots chosen gouernour of the realme vnder John Balioll, when the king had forsaken the realme and was come into England, about the yeare of Christ, one thousand two hundred ninetie and six, who after that (as is before touched) did slea Cressingham the gouernour of Scotland vnder the king of England, which Wallace did after in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred nintie and eight renounce his office of gouernour, and was in the end for his rebellion against king Edward the first king of England, and absolute lord of Scotland, taken, brought to London, drawn, hanged and quartered, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and five.

William Wallace.

John Cumine, after that William Wallace had giuen ouer his office of gouernour, was chosen to be gouernour for the Scots, in purpose to trie with the Englishmen for their liberties, which being knownen to Edward the first king of England, he sent an armie into the countrie, and destroyed it. Whereupon John Cumine admitted Simon Fraiser seldow with him in the administration of the wars against

John Cumine.

the English, and discomfited the English in the pere of our Lord God one thousand three hundred and two. After which king Edward being againe a conqueror of the Scots, returned homewards, and left Dòmare de Valence his deputie in Scotland.

Dòmare de Valence or Aimer de Valence.

Dòmare de Valence or Aimer de Valence, uncle to king Edward the first king of England by the halfe blood, was about the yeare of our Lord one thousand three hundred and four, made gouernor of Scotland vnder Edward the first king of England, who before in the yeare one thousand three hundred & two, toke William Wallace and sent him to London to king Edward, to be dealt withall as you haue heard before. After which Robert Bruce being crowned king of Scotland, was on the nineteenth of June in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and six, at Speken discomfited by the English armie, and put to flight by the said Dòmare de Valence, who after banished all those which ante waite toke part with king Robert Bruce. But in the end Robert Bruce recovering himselfe & moze aid, drave all the Englishmen out of Scotland, gouerning the kingdome all his life, by himselfe & his substitutes, as by that which followeth maie well appeare.

Thomas Randolph.

Thomas Randolph earle of Arrerte, much about the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred and six and twentie, being about the 21 yeare of Robert Bruce, was made protector of the realme. For Robert Bruce being fallen into extreme sickness, whereby he could not weeld the scepter to gouerne as the state of that countrie required, committed the administration of the realme to erle Thomas Randolph, and to James Dowglaste knight, who ruled the same to their singular commendation, and the countries good about foure yeares, during the life of the said Robert Bruce, whose death happened in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred twentie and nine. After the death of king Robert, when Dauid his sonne came to the crowne, being but seven yeares old, this Randolph was againe appointed to haue the administration of the kingdome as regent of the same, during the kings minority and insufficiency of gouernement, who confirmed a new peace betwene England and Scotland. Shortly after which the gouernor died of poison at Newcastle, in the pere of our redemption one thousand three hundred thirtie and one, being about the second yeare of king Dauid, & was buried at Dunfermling, hauing had two sons, John erle of Arrerte, and Thomas, both being persons worthy of such a father.

Patrike Dunbar.

Patrike Dunbar earle of March was made regent after this sort. After the death of erle Thomas Randolph, there was an assemble of parliament of the three estates of the realme, in which in the said yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and one, and the second yeare of the reigne of king Dauid, these two, Patrike earle of March and Dauid (whom Lesle calleth Donald) earle of Arrerte were chosen gouernors of the realme by common consent. Whereof the first had the charge of that part of the realme which lieth on the south side of the Frith, & the other was appointed to gouerne all that on the north: which Donald in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and two was slaine sleeping in his bed at Duplin nere to the waier of Erne, by such as followed and toke part with Edward Balliol attaining the crowne, and expelling Dauid from the kingdome.

Andrew Murray.

Andrew Murray, a man of great power, and of no lesse possession, hauing performed manie exploits of warre for his countrie, was made gouernor after the death of the earle of Arrerte, and joined

in that office with Patrike of Dunbar earle of March. Shortly after which this Andrew was taken prisoner at Rockborough, being yet in the end ransomed for a great summe of gold. After which he died of a vehement sickness, and was buried in Rose Parkie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and eight.

Archibald Dowglaste, after the decease of Andrew Murray, was by one consent of the nobilitie chosen gouernor in the place of Andrew Murray, whilst king Edward did bessege Berwik, who raising a power of men entred England, and caused the king to remoue his siege of Berwik. Afterward this Dowglaste was slaine at the battell of Halidon hill, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and two (as some haue) but Hector Boetius and Buchanan refer it to the yeare of our Lord God one thousand three hundred thirtie and three, the nineteenth of Iulie.

Archibald Dowglaste.

Dauid Cumine was made protector in this sort. When that Edward the third king of England, in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and six had entred Scotland with maine force by land and by sea; he afterwards hauing Edward Balliol the king of Scotland in his companie with 50000 men came by land to Glasgou: but perceiving no resistance against him, retired with Balliol into England, and left Dauid Cumine earle of Artholl gouernor in his come, to win such holds and strengths as were yet defended against him. Which Dauid toke on him to be gouernor in the name of Edward Plantagenet king of England, and of Edward Balliol king of Scots, seizing into his hands all the lands which pertained to Robert Stewart, so that at one time there was chopping and changing of gouernors by each part which became stronger.

Dauid Cumine.

Robert Stewart regent of Scotland possessed that place, at this time also when Dauid Cumine was gouernor for Edward Balliol; for this witness Lesleus li. 7. pa. 234. Verum ne patria gubernatoris imperio destituta, aduersariorum insidij pateret magis, Robertus Stuartus omnem regi curam in se transtulit, quoad Dauid ex Gallia rediret, ipse tunc regni gubernacula suscepturus. By which words appeareth, that as Dauid Cumine was gouernor for Edward Balliol gone into England, so this Robert Stewart toke vpon him the regentship for king Dauid Bruce fled into France: the which he the rather did, because he would incounter Dauid Cumine which had spoiled him of all his liuings and patrimonie. Which Robert being thus procurator of the kingdome, granted sundrie priuileges to the inhabitants of Bute & Arrane, as amongst other things, to be free from paying of tribute of corne and graine. For this Robert together with John Randolph earle of Arrerte, were by a counsell assembled at Edenborough by generall voices elected and confirmed to be gouernors of the realme, about the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie and four, or one thousand three hundred thirtie and five.

Robert Stewart.

John Randolph earle of Arrerte protector.

Robert Stewart earle of Fife, second sonne to Robert Stewart the first king of Scotland (by the name of Stewart) and the second by the name of Robert, was (because his father became extreme old, and could not follow the affaires of the kingdome) made gouernor by the content of the realme during the life of his father, about the yeare of our Lord God one thousand three hundred foure score and nine, being about the nineteenth yeare of the reigne of the said Robert the second: which office this Robert continued during the life of his father, dieng in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred

Robert Stewart.

Arrane, but shortly after they falling out amongst themselves for the bestowing of benefices, the duke of Albanie was called out of France to performe that office.

John duke of Albanie.

John duke of Albanie being sent for out of France (where he accustomed to abide) to come into Scotland (to be tutor to the king and governor of the realme, as he which next of blood to the king, and nearest to the crowne) was by universall consent at saint Johns towne admitted to those offices accordinglie, having the same confirmed unto him by a parlement holden at Edinburgh in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and thirtene, and the first yeare of the young king James the first. Whereof intelligence being brought unto the duke, yet in France, he in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and fourtene, directeth dilatorie and excusing letters of his acceptance of that charge. At that time, but in the yere following, being the yeare of Christ, one thousand five hundred and fiftene, and in the third of James the first, on the seventeenth of Maye, he arrived at the towne of Aire in Scotland to execute his office of governor, who was honorablie interteined at sundrie places as he passed along by the sea coasts, before he came to Edinburgh. After which a parlement was made to be called at Edinburgh (being but the continuance of the former parlement, as my memorie serveth) in which this duke of Albanie was againe confirmed governor, the scepter and sword being delivered unto him, and an oath by him to the lords, and by the lords to him given, that each of them should be faithfull to each other, and euerie of them to their lord and king, &c. After this the duke of Albanie going into France in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and seuentene, as saith Lesleus, committeth the government of the kingdome in his absence to the archbishops of S. Andrews and Glasgow, and to the earles of Huntlye, Argyle, Angus, and Arrane. And least any euill might happen to the kings person in his absence, he appointed the king to be brought into the castle of Edinburgh, there to be committed to the earle marshall, and to the lords Eschwine, Bothwicke, and Ruthuene, whereof two at the least should alwaies be present with him. The duke having thus bene about some three yeares in France, returned into Scotland about the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and twentie, remaining still governor: but in following time, which was the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred thirtie and foure, and about the twelfth yeare of the reigne of king James the first, the duke of Albanie left that office, and went againe into France.

Margaret the quene.

Margaret the quene, the mother of James the first, did (after the departure of the duke of Albanie into France, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thirtie and foure, the six and twentieth of Julie) find meanes that the young king came from Sterling unto Edinburgh: three daies after which the quene took the whole government upon hir, and entred into the castle of Edinburgh with the king, making the lord Marwell protonot of Edinburgh. When the quene appointing a parlement to be held the february following, there were in the same parlement eight lords chosen to be of the kings private counsell, to take on them the government of the king and the realme, which were the archbishop of S. Andrews and Glasgow, the bishops of Aberdeen & Dunblane: the earles of Angus, Arrane and Lencour, to whom the quene was adioined as principall, without whose aduise nothing should be done. Which ordinance did not long hold, Archibald Dotooglas earle of Angus in the

end fullie getting the whole government into his hands.

Archibald Dotooglas (after that the bishop of Dunbane was dead, and the quene gone into Sterling, leaving the king with the earle of Angus, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thirtie and foure, being about the thirtieth of James the first) took the whole government upon him both of the king and kingdome, setting by, removing, and pulling downe that officer it best pleased him: who for the more declaration of his authoritie and government, made his uncle Archibald Dotooglas treasurer of the realme, and bestowed all benefices and offices by the aduise of his brother George Dotooglas and the earle of Lencour who assisted him. After which there was a divorce had betwene the quene and the earle, who falling in the kings disgrace in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thirtie and eight, and the sixteenth yeare of the same James the first, was attainted by parlement holden at Edinburgh in September, when the king had taken the absolute government into his hands in the seventeenth yeare of his age, and the said sixteenth yeare of his said government. Whereupon the yeare following, this Archibald came unto the king for to submit himselfe, but the king would not receiue him, by reason whereof he fled into England.

James earle of Arrane in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fourtie and two, when Marie (the daughter of James the first) being but seven daies old obtained the kingdome, was by authoritie of the nobilitie proclaimed regent and protector of Scotland, notwithstanding all that David Beton, fauor of the French causes had without all reason usurped the government, under the pretense of a devised will and testament of James the first, in which testament he was appointed governor. This earle thus made protector, appointed by the old quenes consent a governor to the person of the young queen, which was the lord Levingstone capitaine of Aithy quo. This protector in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fortie and foure, being the second yere of queen Marie, was by the French king made knight of the order of saint Michaele. About eight yeares after which, that is in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and three, being about the twelfth yeare of queen Marie, this earle was inforced to leaue his office of governor, and the quene took the same into hir hands, appointing procurators to rule the same under hir: whereupon the governor in the yeare following, being one thousand five hundred fiftie & foure, was by the French king made duke of Chatelaerault. The procurators which were appointed for and by queen Marie, were (as hath Lesleus) Henrie king of France, Charles cardinal of Lozeine and the duke of Guise his brother, touching whom thus writteth the same Lesleus in these words: Hos (which was hir curators) sibi in Gallia delegerat regina nostra (being Marie the quene of Scots) maximis suavis, Henricum regem Francie, Carolum cardinalem Lotharingum, ac ducem Guisum eius fratrem, qui totam regni nostri molem regine matri procurandam transulerunt: &c. This duke had issue James Hamilton earle of Arrane after lunatike, and one David Hamilton.

Marie descended of the house of Guise, the dowager of Scotland, as widow to James the first, and mother to the young quene Marie, was in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure, being the twelfth yeare both of the age and reigne of the same quene Marie, made regent of Scotland under hir daughter the same young quene, which office

Marie dowager of Scotland.

Lesleus lib. 1. pag. 517.

office this regent toke vpon his hauing the same confirmed by parlement, continuing in that place about six yeares, & died in the castle of Edenburgh, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and thre score, being vpon the point of the eighteenth yeare of quene Marie, whose bodie (as hath Lesleus) was after caried into France, for thus he writeth: Fuit autem corpus in Galliam postea transuectum, primum ad monasterium Feckamense, quod in Normania est, deinde ad cœnobium S. Petri Rhemis in Campania, cui soror ipsius piè tunc præerat, delatum, honorificè condebatur.

James Stewart bastard sonne to king James the first king of Scots, and bafe brother to Marie quene of Scots now liuing and imprisoned, being prioz of saint Andriew and earle of Mar, was in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and two, being about the twentieth yeare of the reigne of the same quene Marie, made earle of Arrere. About five yeares following, after that the nobilitie had conspired against quene Marie, toke hir, committed hir to prison, depose hir, and vpon the same (on the nineteenth daie of Iulie in the yeare a thousand five hundred thre score and seven, being the five & twentieth yeare of the reigne of that quene) advanced hir sonne Charles James Stewart (being then about a yeare old) to the kingdome, by the name of James the first: this James earle of Arrere, was made regent and gouernoz of the young king James the first, and of the kingdome: who vpon the office receiued, did by parlement abolish the popes authoritie and doctrine in Scotland: continuing that office of regent vntill his death, falling about the time of thre yeares after. For in the time of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and ten, being in the third yeare of the reigne of James the first, this regent as he was riding through Lithquo, was shot at with an harquebus by one James Hamilton, and so wounded, that he died of the hurt the next daie following, hauing before in that yeare, in which he was created earle of Arrere, married Agnes Keith daughter to the earle Marthall.

Mattheu earle of Lenex, being sent for out of England, where he had before long remained, was after the death of the earle of Arrere, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and ten, being in the third yeare of the reigne of James the first, made lord lieutenant or protector of Scotland, in a convention of the lords of Sterling. After which in August following, there was another convention at Edenburgh, where by the consent of the thre estates of the realme, the said earle was made regent of Scotland, at what time the earle of Huntley toke vpon him to be lord lieutenant of Scotland: for Marie quene of Scots remaining then vnder custodie in England, which Huntley in hir name summoned a parlement at Lithquo the 21 daie of September, wherevnto the earle of Lenex was summoned: to incounter which, the earle of Lenex caused a parlement likewise to be summoned in the kings name at the same place, wherunto the earle of Huntley was warned at the same daie. But the earle of Huntley coming no neuer at that time than Brechin, it was ordered by the regent Lenex and the nobilitie, to pursue him: wherevpon ensued great warres betwene the nobilitie of Scotland diuided into factions, some taking part with the depose quene Marie, and other with the young king in possession. During which turmoiles and wars, this earle of Lenex hauing bin regent about a yeare and more, was wounded at Sterling with a pistoll by capteine Calder, whereof he shortly after died, in the yeare of Christ

one thousand five hundred thre score and eleven, being about the fourth yeare of James the first.

John Arskine earle of Mar was made regent after the death of the earle Lenex, as made appeare by that which I haue before set downe in the continuance of the annals of Scotland, after whose succeeded the earle Morton, of whom I haue a little before spoken, and of whom we will more intreat hereafter, when we come to speake of his beheading, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fourescore and one, falling about the fourteenth yeare of James the first, after that the said earle had continued that office about five yeares. For being advanced to that place, about the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and twelue, he continued in the same, vntill he surrendered it, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and seuentene, as is before touched. Thus setting end to the discourse of the protectors of Scotland, let vs descend to other matters which haue succeeded.

Going therefore forward with that yeare one thousand five hundred thre score and seuentene, we saie that much about the time in which the earle Morton gaue ouer his regentship, that the lord Glames, who was then in office of the chancelorship, was trecherously slaine by his enemies at Sterling, with a shot of purpose discharged against him, as he was coming out of Sterling castell, & going to his owne lodging from the councill or parlement. Whereby it seemeth that this murdering by sudden shot began now to be a common thing: for there were thre great persons in short time dispatched after that sort, which were the earles of Arrere and Lenex regents, & this lord Glames chancelor. After the death of which lord Glames, the earle of Atholl was advanced to that place, and invested with the title of lord chancelor of Scotland. Wherefore, hauing so good occasion therefore at this time by talking of this earle of Atholl thus made lord chancelor to treat of that office: I thinke it not inconuenient in this place, nor disagreeable to the nature of the matter which I haue in hand, somewhat by waie of digression, to discourse of the originall of this office in Scotland, which I will doe in few words.

This officer the chancelor had his first originall in Scotland by Malcolm the second of that name king of Scots, who beginning his reigne in the yeare of our redemption one thousand and ten, and gouerning thirtie yeares, departed the world in the yeare of Christ one thousand and fortie. This man, during the time of his gouernment, ordeining manie necessarie laws for the better rule of his countrie, and for the benefit of the crowne, did also first ordeine the honorable officers of the kingdome, as chancelor, constable, marthall, chamberleine, and others, as appeareth by Lesleus in his historie of Scotland in these words: Felicitè rempublicam haud paucos annos administravit (king Malcolm) multis & egregijs operibus illustris: interque cetera municipalium legum volumen condidit, quas nostrates exinde in iudicijs ferendis seruauerunt, nihil pene immutatas, regionum magistratuum iudiciumque, quos licet mundijs, magisque Latine vocare possunt, vulgò tamen cancellarium, constabilem, mariscallum, camerarium, iusticiariumque vocitant, & qui a secretis, a thesauris, a cubiculo, a chartophylaceo essent: cunctorumque ministrorum aula annua salaria, vt nostris diebus penduntur, quantumque regijs pro diplomatis, ac ceteris literis, libellionibus, tabularijs, lectoribusque soluendum foret, instituit. This officer being in Scotland before the time of Edward the confessor, seemeth also to me conuenient.

John Arskine earle of Mar.

Earle Morton regent of Scotland.

The lord Glames chancelor slaine.

The earle of Atholl made chancelor.

The originall of the office of the chancelor.

Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 204.

Q. 11.

ueritie

ueritie to proue, that the same officer was in England before the time of the same king, sith it appeareth, that the Scots for the most part haue alwaies taken their maner of gouernement, lawes, and customs from vs, as will be I doubt not sufficientlie proued, although it maie be that some will affirme that they might haue this officer from the Frenchmen & Romans as other nations had : which as I do not suppose, because the Romans had but little dwings amongst them, for as they neuer vsed anie such officer in this land whilste they gouerned here (for anie thing that I can yet learne) so it maie be, (because they will not seeme to haue borrowed anie order of their gouernement from vs) that they will suppose that they had the first ground of this officer from the French, with whome they haue alwaies bene in league euer since the time of their king Achaius the first, who (beginning his reigne in the yeare of Christ seven hundred fourescore and eight) did knit a perpetuall league with Charles the great. But leauing this, we saie (more particularlie treating of Scotland) that much about this time, John Lesle bishop of Rosse (who had some yeares before bene some certeine time imprisoned in the Tower of London in England, and had travelled to Rome about the affaires of the imprisoned quene of Scotland, where he labored to procure such aid for hir, as the princes which fauored hir faction would yeld) did depart from Rome, and went from the pope to Randulph, as the second of that name now emperoz. Which said Lesle, taking his iourneie out of Italie, passed through the frontier towne of Germanie, and was staied at Platzenburgh, otherwisse called Palatinopolis, by George duke of Bawier, countie Palatine of Rhene, and earle of Heldegens; in which citie, his coffers and other things were rifled and searched: at what time there were manie writings found, and amongst others certeine papers, in which did appeare that friends the quene of Scots had of all the parts of Europe, what enemies, and what neutrals: with letters and other instructions of Philip king of Spaine.

All which notwithstanding (though they gaue the said George occasion to mistrust Lesle, as an enemy to his religion) this bishop of Rosse was afterward dismissed, because he was furnished with the emperors passport, or safeconduct to come vnto him. Wherefore the duke of Bawier for his better discharge, and to manifest to the world that they did nothing but that, which both the present estate of these troublesome times, and the dutie of a religious prince required, did honorablie dismiss the said Lesle, bearing all his charges, restoring all his goods, & conuicteng him out of his dominions with a goodlie companie of horsemen, after that he had caused the said bishop of Rosse to leaue a testimoniall writing in the Latine tongue vnder his owne hand, to shew that no iniurie was done to the said bishop, in that his detaining and search for those causes; & that the bishop should not anie waie seeke anie reuenge thereof: the copie of which writing (as I receiued the same) I haue faithfully and verbatim set downe in this sort.

The testimoniall left by the bishop
of Rosse with the duke of
Bawier.



Os Iohannes Lesleus, Dei gratia, episcopus Rossensis, & administrator Morauia, &c: testamur hoc scripto palam & apud omnes hoc inspecturos, aut lecturos. Cum in hisce periculosis & mo-

tuum plenissimis temporibus omnibus sacri imperij principibus & magistratibus prospectio incumbat, ne imperium aut eius membra aliquid detrimenti accipiant, neque per prætereuntes & redeuntes ex externis nationibus, calidas negationes, ad turbandum pacem publicam, aut noxias dissensiones sub quouis prætextu tractari, strui aut seminari inter ordines & membra imperij sinant aut patiantur; præcipue cum nunc exempla in vicinis locis extant, quam facile aliquid strui & seminari possit. Ita factum est, vt illustrissimus princeps Georgius, Iohannes comes Palatinus Rheni, dux Bauaria, comesque Veldentzia, &c: motus præcedentibus & alijs rationibus, in absentia, per suos capitaneos & ministros, in suo territorio Lutzelsteinensi, & vrbe Palatinopoli, nos cum nostris retineri mandauerit. Quam causam & mandatum retentionis imperatori, antequam exqueretur, significauit. Post factam retentionem, celsitudo eius certior facta de literis imperatoris nobis communicatis de Spira, vbi mandatum dederat, protestatione ibi aliqua habita, festinanter huc apulit: præsertim etiam simul cum literis imperatoris, aliquarum copiarum instructionis & memorialium eius celsitudini missæ fuerat, vnde aucta suspicio, aliquid nos ad extirpandam religionem tentare: & cum mentio aliqua extirpandæ religionis hisce verbis facta fuerit, nimirum, vt extirpata hæresis, religio reuiuiscat, & simul cum procuracione Scotticorum monasteriorum, quorum Palatini aliquot possident, aliquid moturos in Germania putauerit, præsertim cum plurimos catholicæ religionis principes & episcopos in itinere cum literis credentalibus a papa salutauerimus, & inuiferimus. Ad quam suspicionem amouendam & purificandam, cum celsitudo eius aduenit, lectione aliquarum copiarum conati sumus celsitudini eius satisfacere. Etsi tamen aliquid scrupuli de extirpanda religione ac opinio de aliquibus negotijs quæ vigerem remaneret, quæ pacem publicam tam in religione, quam politicis perturbare, & suspicionem principibus Augustanæ confessionis mouere, non minus quam ipsius celsitudini possent. Nihilominus celsitudo eius, magis alijs rationibus, quam præcedentibus suspicionibus imminentium periculorum non diutius nos detenturos concludit. Ea tamen conditione, vt promitteremus nos contra patriam in causa religionis per viam armorum, aut structione dissensionum, aliquid nunquam tentaturos, sicut & alibi: sed quod exhortationibus pijs & doctrina facere possimus, liberam relinquere conscientiam. Secundò, quod polliceamur more solito, pro nostro, nostrarumque familiarum nomine, neque per nos neque per alios, vlla via & ratione quæ nominari possit, illam detentionem vindictam fore. Quare consideratione habita periculorum & motuum, quæ passim (potissimum verò in locis vicinis) cernuntur, sacro imperio, optima ratione metuendum & vigilandum, maxime verò in extremis imperij limitibus & terminis. Idcirco sanctè pollicemur, (decreto Constantiensis concilij, quo diuersis à Romana religione hominibus fidem datam seruandam haud esse, sancitum fuisse dicitur, hoc ipso scripto & optimo modo renuntiantes) nos nostro, nostrarumque familiarum nomine, iam neque per nos, neque per alios vlla vi, vel ratione, recta aut obliqua, quæ eius celsitudinem, aut eius famulos aut subditos &

& ditiones hanc retentionem persequi vel vindicare velle. Et ad maiorem huius scripti & promissi corroborationem propria manu signauimus, & sigillo nostro appresso confirmauimus. Actum & datum Luzelstemi 28 Decembris: anno Domini 1578.

Iohannes Lesleus episcopus Rossensis
& administrator ecclesie Morauensis.

This Lesle being yet liuing, and (as I haue said) in great credit in France, possessing the place of the chancelloz of Lions, is descended of an ancient familie, as one whose ancestors and name hath both intioied honorable titles in descent, and great places of gouernement in the common-wealth of Scotland. For when Edgar the sonne of Edward the outlaw and kinsman to Edward the Confessor king of England was vered with vnjust war, first by Harold king of England the son of Godwine, & then by the Norman bassard surnamed the Conqueror, which surnamed Harold obtained the crowne of England; Edgar did priuillie take shipping with his mother Agatha, and his two sisters, to the end, that being now out of all hope euer to obtaine the kingdom of England, they might direct their course and saile againe into Hungarie, from whence they came. But it happened by diuine prouidence, that being on the sea, they were grieuouslie molested with vehement winds, which forcible made them forsake their appointed course, and draue them into the mouth of the riuer of Forth or Frith, whose landing place is yet to be seene, & at this daie called S. Margarets haven (after the name of hir which was sister to this Edgar & called Margaret) whome Malcolme king of Scots (for the rare parts both of bodie & mind wherewith she was wonderfully indued) did after take to wife, & solemnlie crowned to the great comfort of the whole kingdome. Upon which deed William the Conqueror being more grieuouslie moued than he was before, banished all the friends of Edgar out of England. By occasion whereof, Lindsey, Waus, Ramseie, Louell, and diuerse other men of great nobilitie came then first into Scotland to craue aid of king Malcolme; which persons being liberallie indued with rich possessions by the same Malcolme; their posteritie do at this daie in our age flourish with great honor. Besides which also, at this time there came out of Hungarie with Agatha before touched diuerse other persons of account, as Crighton, Forzingham, Giffert, Panlis, Borthike, and others; amongst whome Bartholomew Lesle descended of noble parentage, and of great valor of mind, did with the rest appeare verie famous, whose sharpe wit, and excellencie of knowledge (ioined with a sound and strong bodie) when Malcolme the king of Scots did behold, he vsed his helpe in the defense of the castell of Edinburgh, and in all other weightie affaires which concerned the warres.

Out of this familie of the Lesles haue sprung and flourished manie worthy persons, ballantlie resisting and subduing their enemies. And amongst those, one Walter Lesle earle of Rosse, who afterward purchased such singular commendation for valor and wisdom shewed in manie battels of the emperor Lewis the second, & Charles the fourth, against the Saracens, & (one of their owne name notwithstanding) a bishop of Rosse in his bishopric of Scotland (saith) a quodam animi generoso impetu, quo hostes frangere, & sub iugum fortiter mittere solebat, generosi equitis cognomentum sit consecutus: eiusdem stirpis comes Rothefius, multi que alij barones & equites Leslei cognominati (quos Malcolmus primum,

ac alij deinde reges multis amplisque agris, in Fife, Augustia, Gourea, & Garcocha, aliisque prouincijs munifice cumulabant) magnæ hodie nobilitatis virtutisque commendatione in Scotia vigent. Of whose line and name at this daie (as is before said) continuing in great honor, the earle of Rosse now liuing called Lesle dwelleth in Fife, and married the daughter of the earle of Galloway or Galloway, the same earle of Rosse being a person no lesse wise and honorable, than descended of ancient and honorable ancestors. But leauing that familie, let vs returne from whence we haue digressed.

The bishop of Rosse being departed from the duke of Banter (as before you haue heard) in the yeare following, which was the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and nineteene, Amies Stewart the lord of Obignie in France, being of the house of the Stewards, and sonne to John the eldest brother of Matthew Leneur, some time regent of Scotland, buried at Sterling, as is before touched, did come into Scotland, was by the king most honorablie receiued, and advanced to further honor. For the king taking from Robert Stewart (whom the last yeare he had created earle of Leneur) the title of that earldome of Leneur, he now inuested this lord of Obignie with the same, and created him earle of Leneur, thereby more firmelie to bind the lord of Obignie in France to be faithfull vnto him in Scotland. And least he should seeme by taking the earldome from Robert Stewart to haue wronged him, the king for recompense thereof, bestowed vpon the said Robert Stewart as honorable a title and earldome as the same was, for he inuested the same Robert with the earldome of March. Not long after which the king erecting the same earldome of Leneur vnto a dukedome, he did bestow that honor of duke vpon the said lord of Obignie, & created him duke of Leneur, which title at this daie, his sonne being a towardlie young gentleman with most honorable possesse, he being the onlie person in that countrie which doth in this our age intioie that title of duke, being such an honor as was but latelie begun amongst them, and neuer verie plentifull in that region: for the same hath not yet as I for this present suppose noished at anie one time (when that title was rifest amongst them) these persons adorned with that stile. Now touching the matter of their first creation and continuance, I thinke it not vnfit to saie somewhat in this place.

The first creation of dukes in that countrie was vsed by Robert the third of that name, whose right name being John, was after turned vnto Robert, for doubt of euill successe to grow to the kingdome by a gouernor so called. For thus write the Scots as Lesleus hath deliuered with these speeches: Verum quum ipsi nobiles arbitrarerunt nomini inesse nescio quid ominis infausti, quod reges Francie & Anglie, hoc nomine consignati, bello prehenderetur, mutato nomine Robertum vt patrem eum appellari decreuerunt. Quæ illorum siue in nominis obseruatione superstitio, siue in regis conseruatione diligentia, maioris mali regi iam impendentes augurium quadam mihi videtur. Nam non multo post ex equo illi decidenti, omnia membra ita confusa fuerunt, vt (quod regnandi molestias ac labores nullo modo poterat pati) Roberti comiti Fifensi fratri suo regni gubernatione dedere cogeretur. Which John as before is said, hauing now obtained a new name, was the first which brought a new title of honor into his kingdome: for he created David his eldest sonne duke of Rothseie, and his brother Robert (whom he had made protector of the kingdome) duke of Albany, as is set downe by the same Lesleus in these words;

The lord of Obignie made earle of Leneur.

Robert Stewart made earle of March.

The first creation of dukes in Scotland.

Lesleus lib. 7. pag. 264.

To which king John of England and France, he might also haue added one of his own countrie of Scotland John Balliol the king, who was as unfortunate in his gouernment as anie of the other.

Words: Tertio plus minus anno (which was about the yeare of our redemption one thousand three hundred foure score and thirtene) concilio ex omni ordinum genere Perthi habito, post alias res pro regni comodo sapienter actas, rex Dauidem filium suum titulo ducis Rothsaix, & Robertum fratrem suum quem regno administrando prefecerat, ducis Albanij honore ornat: qui duo primi fuerunt in Scotia his titulis illustrati. Thus much he, proving that it is not about one hundred foure score and thirtene yeares since that title came first into Scotland. Wherby it aperech that England since the conquest having dukes erected by king Edward the third, who in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred thirtie & seven, made his eldest sonne duke of Cornwall, hath had dukes about two hundred fortie & nine yeres past, being fiftie and six yere before they had any in Scotland. And as those two before named were the first which were invested with the honor of duke in Scotland, so after the death of the same king which fell in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and six, in the Interregnum or vacancie of the kingdome (which continued eightene yeares from the said yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred and six, untill the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred twentie and foure) in which James the first having bene trained by in England obtained the crowne, and under the protection of Mor-dache (the sonne of the foresaid Robert the first duke of Albanie) to whom the government of the realme of Scotland was committed after the death of the said Robert the third.

Archibald Dowglas was the first Scot which passing the seas, & serving a strange prince, intitled ante such title of duke in ante foreign nation. For the Scots going then to aid the French against the English, the French king to honour the Scots and to bind them to be more faithful unto him, created John Stewart earle of Buquaine constable of France, & advanced the said Archibald Dowglas to the honor of the dukedome of Arnone: but he did not long intitle that great title, being shortly after slaine at the battell of Verneuil, in the yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred twentie and foure. In treating of which battell Buchanan, whose name may rightlie be deduced from Bucca vana, beyond all modestie and course of reason forgetting his calling, his learning and humanitie, hath spued out all his malice against the English nation, whereof I have treated in my former additions to the historie of Scotland. Thus having somewhat digressed from the matter of later yeares, wherewith I ought to have furnished my imperfect continuances of the annals of Scotland, I will returne to the lord of Obegnie, who was at this time created duke of Lennox, and who occasioned me to make this discourse. Wherefore I will here set downe what Lesseus hath written of the first originall of that house in France, and of this duke of Lennox thus by the king netolice as before said created, the words of which Lesseus bishop of Ross be these: Nouam quoque Scotorum equitum turmam Carolus 6 (king of France, which had the warres against the king of England, when the Scots were thus advanced in the dominions of France, being meane betwene the said yeares of Christ one thousand foure hundred and six, and one thousand foure hundred twentie and foure) paulo ante conscripsit, quæ vulgò Scotorum armorum cohors dicebatur. Huius primus dux Robertus Stuartus ex Lenoxij comitis familia ortus, domino de Aubigne multisque alijs terris, muneribus, honoribus, & balcaijs communi populi sermone dictis, a rege insignitus est. Quæ omnia a Scotis eiusdem cognominis & prolapsa continuata, successio-

nis serie per Barnardum nimirum celebrem militiæ ducem, deinde per Robertum, denique Iohannem Stuartum comitis Lenoxij fratrem iam diu possessa, præclaræ nobilitatis ac indolis iuuenis, Iohannis filius non paruum suorum virtutis speciem de se excitans, etiam nunc hodie obtinet. Thus much Lesse. Beside which that Lesseus hath set downe of the first lord of Obegnie in France, Pankus Iouius in his booke of Empresse written in Italian, hath not forgotten to speake somewhat of him, where he setteth downe the devise of his ensignes or armes in this sort translated by me into English.

There was (saith Iouius) amongst the French, men a man of knowne vertue or prowesse, & most famous capteine called Heberard Stewart (borne of the blond rofall of Scotland) being honored with the title of monsieur de Obegnie, who being of kindred to James the fourth of that name, did beare for his devise or ensigne, a field siluer, a ramping lion gettoles, with a number of buckles thereabout; the which rote armour he did weare upon his upper garment, and likewise beare in his standard, with this posse, Distantia iungit: signifying thereby, that he was the mean or buckle to hold and knit together the king of Scots and the French king, with a just counterpoise against the force of the king of England, naturall enemy to Scotland and France. Thus much Iouius, & thus much of the duke of Lennox lord of Obegnie in France. After which, sith I am now in discourting of dukes of that countrie, and have shewed when the first duke was made in Scotland, and who they were; I thinke it not vnfit for this place, to set downe a catalog of all such dukes of Scotland as haue come vnto my knowledge by search of histories, since the creation of the same first dukes, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and eightene; which I will not refuse to do in this place, following the same course which I haue observed before in the historie of England, where I haue set downe all the dukes, since the first creation of any duke in that countrie. Wherefore thus I enter into my dukes of Scotland.

A catalog of all the dukes of Scotland by creation or descent.

David Stewart (eldest son of John Stewart earle of Carricke, after called Robert the third, and leaving the name of John when he came to the crowne of Scotland) was (by parlement, about the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred foure score and eightene, being the eight yeare of Robert the third) made duke of Rothsay, when he was about eighteares yeares of age, or rather twentie, as by all accounts it must be, if that be true that he was borne the two and twentieth date of October one thousand three hundred three score and eightene, made duke in the yeare one thousand three hundred fourescore & eightene, as some haue. But Lesseus (as before) referreth this as I by all circumstances doe gather, to the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred foure score & thirtene. He married Margerite the daughter of Archibald earle Dowglas, about the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred, being the tenth of Robert the second.

Robert Stewart second son to Robert the second king of Scots, by Elisabeth daughter of Moray his wife, being by his father created earle of Fife and Menteth, was in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred fourescore and eightene, and the eight yeare of the government of Robert the second, advanced

nanced to the title and honoz of the dukedome of Albanie : this Robert and the other David as I haue before noted, being the first dukes that euer were in Scotland. This man being gouernoz of Scotland in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred and one, falling in the yeare of the reigne of Robert the third, did apprehend David the duke of Rothesie, and committed him to streit prisonment in Frankeland, where in the end he died by extreme famine, whose want of food was such, that he was faine to gnaw his owne fingers : of this Robert is more spoken in my protectozs of Scotland.

Murdacke called duke, was also earle of Fife, eldest sonne to this Robert duke of Albanie, was as is most likelie duke of Albanie after his father, who being gouernoz of Scotland, occasioned me to intreat more of him in that place.

Alexander Steward the second sonne of James the second, was by his father aduanced to the dukedome of Albanie, who being verie young at the time of his fathers death, which happened in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred & threescore, was with his brother John earle of Mar, committed to the custodie of Marie their mother. After which in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred threescore and thre, being the third yeare of James the third, he was taken on the sea by the Englishmen in the moneth of June, as he returned from his grandfather the duke of Guelderland, but was after restored home by the meanes of James Benedicte bishop of saint Andrews. About sixtene yeares following, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred threescore and ninetene, falling in the sixteenth yeare of James the third, this duke was committed prisoner to the castell of Edinburgh, out of which he brake and escaped to Dunbar, from whence being well furnished, he sailed into France where he was honorablie receiued, and there married the daughter and heire of the earle of Bononie, who shortly after dicng, and the duke perceiving himselfe not to be so well bled as he was before, came into England & was by king Edward the fourth louingly accepted; who granted aid to this duke. Whereupon he in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fourescore and two, did enter Scotland with a great power & spoiled the countrie, comming (without ante resistance in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fourescore and two, being the two and twentieth yeare of James the third) as far as Radstrag, or Kallstrig, where he pitched his campe: which being knowne, he was by mediation of the nobilitie admitted home to his countrie, being further preferred to the earldomes of March and Mar, and proclaimed generall lieutenant of the king; by meanes whereof, he gouerned the whole realme, the king being now in prison. After which, this duke letteth the king at libertie through the persuasions of the quene, without knowlege thereof giuen to the other of the nobilitie: whereby new turmoiles did arise amongst the people. Then in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred fourescore and two, and the thre and twentieth yeare of James the third, this duke hauing intelligence that there was poison prepared to be giuen to him in drinke in the kings chamber, whereby he stood in feare of his life, did forsake the court and fled to Dunbar: at what time also the king for his owne safetie, got him vnto the castell of Edinburgh: whereupon the earle of Angus and Buccoquaine forsaking the king, took part with the duke.

After which the duke being summoned as some haue (or being besieged in the castle of Dunbar as other haue) fled into England. But Lesleus saith

that he took a little bote and so escaped into France, where he was honorablie intertained by Charles king of that realme; and where the Frenchmen for his singularitie in feats of armes, termed him the father of chivalrie; thus writeth Lesleus. But others (deliuering this matter in other forme) saie that after his flight from Dunbar, he passed into England, gathered power, returned into Scotland, did invade the kingdome, & was put to flight: whereupon growing in disgrace with the king of England, he then fled into France. And then after, the same Lesleus saith: Parisijs dum singulare certamen Aurelianensis dux cum aliquo equite inuict astans, particula cuiusdam hastæ traicitur, breuique post moritur, about the yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred eightie thre. He left two sonnes behind him, John duke of Albanie gouernoz of Scotland during the minority of James the fourth, and one other Alexander, whom he had by his first wife in Scotland the daughter of the earle of Orkadie, which Alexander was after bishop of Morue, and abbat of Scone.

John Steward duke of Albanie, sonne to the foresaid Alexander duke of Albanie, did after the death of his father obtaine that dukedome, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred eightie thre: of this man I haue made a more large discourse in the gouernozs of Scotland, wherunto I refer thee; and therefore omit to talke anie further of him in this place.

James Steward (eldest sonne to James the third) being duke of Rothesie, is by some termed prince of Rothesie, was borne in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred seuentie and two on the tenth daie of March, being about the twelue yeare of the reigne of his father James the third. This duke in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred eightie and eight, in the nine and twentieth yeare of his father, and the sixteenth of his age, was by the nobilitie rebelling against his father made capitaine or leader of those rebels, who at that time at Banocksburne two miles from Sterling, incountring with the king his father, did there slea him; whereupon this James duke of Rothesie was presentlie made king by the name of James the fourth.

Alexander Steward the second, sonne to James the third, king of Scotland, and brother to James the fourth, was duke of Rothesie: for thus writeth Lesleus li. 8. pag. 331. In studium incubuit rex (which was James the fourth then king, in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred eightie and nine) sedulo, vt Alexander dux Rothosiæ & Iohannes comes Marriæ sui fratres tenelli adhuc liberali educatione diligentissime imbuerentur, tantoque sumptu pro ratione patrimonij, quod singulis pater reliquerat satis amplum, magnifice alerentur. He died the sixteenth kalends of Januarie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and sixtene at Sterling.

Henrie Steward lord Dorneleie the eldest sonne to Mattheu Steward erle of Lenear, was brought vp in England, a goodlie and beautifull personage, being to be married to Marie the quene of Scots, was after his comming into Scotland made earle of Rosse, in the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred threescore and five by the same quene, about the thre and twentieth yeare of his reigne: shortly after which he was in the Iulie following created duke of Albanie; and on saturday the eight and twentieth day of the same moneth before the marriage, proclaimed king by the quenes commandement, at the market crosse of Edinburgh, being married to the same Marie on the nine and twentieth daie of the same moneth, in the chapel at Holie rood house, at five of the clocke in the morning: which honoz he did not long

Murdacke
duke of Alba-
nie.

Alexander
duke of Alba-
nie.

Lesle. lib. 8.
pag. 329.

John duke of
Albanie.

James Ste-
ward duke of
Rothesie.

Alexander
duke of Ro-
thesie.

Henrie duke
of Albanie.

insoie. For in the tenth of Februarie, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred threescore and six (what by the malice of some of the nobilitie, and false persuasion of others, he was led to enter into those actions, which in the end were his owne overthrow, and that by such as moued him thereunto) he was miserablelaine in a house within the towne, nere to kirke a field.

Amies Ste-
ward duke of
Leneur.

Amies Steward lord of Obignete in France, sonne to John Steward brother to Matthew Steward earle of Leneur, being first by James the first of that name made earle of Leneur, was after by the same king made duke of Leneur; who being dead, hath left a yong sonne behind him, a gentle-
man of great hope, at this date liuing, inioieng the title of his father, and called duke of Leneur. Thus hauing set downe all the dukes which haue bene in Scotland, we wil descend to such Scots as haue inioied that title in a forren nation.

Lodowike
Steward
duke of Le-
neur.

That diuers of the Scots haue obte-
ned the title and honor of dukes in
forren countries.



As it is honorabie to anie man to be ad-
uanced vnto anie title of honour in his
owne countrie, either for desert or fauor;
whereof yet parcialitie maie most com-
monlie be the fortherer: so is it far more honorabie
and remoued from all suspition of vnderferued fa-
uor, to be inuested with anie title of dignitie for anie
cause in a forren countrie; because princes (whose
hands are mostlie opened to enrich their subiects, in
whose faithfull hearts their safetie is principallie in-
closed) do not commonlie without singular desert ad-
uance strangers to them by birth in an other nation,
& not their native subiects, for that they are people,
to whom without an especiall trall anie prince is
not to commit anie portion of his kingdome, and
much lesse anie part of his person. Wherefore the
same being an argument of worthie desert, either
for assured fidelitie to the person of such prince, or for
the valour of seruice of the aduanced, when anie one
is aduanced with anie such title of honor, I thinke it
not vnsitt in this place to obscure the glozie of the
Scots (who might impute the same to be malicious-
lie done by me) and to omit such of their nation as
haue inioied the title of dukes in a forren countrie,
especiallie being now in hand with all the dukes of
Scotland.

And although the number of such dukes be small,
as not exceeding the figure of foure, and therefore in
some mens minds might well enough be passed ouer
in silence: yet carrieng a contrarie mind, in that I
would not anie waie pretermitt what they iustlie de-
serue, I will faithfullie set downe what I find recoz-
ded touching the same after this maner.

Archibald
Dowglas
duke of Tour-
aine.

Archibald Dowglas was created duke of
Touraine in France in this sort. In the yeare of
Christ one thousand foure hundred twentie and thre
as some saie, or one thousand foure hundred and six
as other haue (whereof I maie not determine anie
thing by reason I cannot reconcile these defaults of
numbers which haue happened through the con-
trarietie of bookes) Charles the seventh of that
name king of France, sending ambassadozs into
Scotland, to renew the old league betwene the two
nations of France and Scotland, and to craue aid
against the English, there were ambassadozs and o-
ther noble men sent likewise into France out of
Scotland, with whose comming the French king be-
ing greatlie comforted, and hoping of good successe
against the English by reason of the Scottish aid, he
did vpon the comming of the Scots to the court

creat this Archibald Dowglas (then erle of Wigh-
ton) duke of Touraine. But that honor continued
not long with him, for in the yeare of Christ one
thousand foure hundred twentie and foure, at the
battell of Mernoile in Perth the English obtained
the victorie, and this new duke with his sonne and
heire James Dowglas earle of Wighoton was a-
mongst others most vnfortunatlie laine.

Archibald
Dowglas
duke of Tour-
aine.

Archibald earle Dowglas was duke of Tour-
aine, as I gather by the wordes of Lesleus touching
this Archibalds sonne, of whom we will speake here-
after, and then set downe the same wordes of Lesleus
to proue Archibald duke of Touraine, who married
the earle of Craufozds daughter, by whom he had
issue William earle Dowglas, a child of foureteene
yeares old which succeded him, & one David Dow-
glas. After which this Archibald died at Alesfelrig
in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred
thirtie and nine, being about the thirde yeare of king
James the first.

William earle Dowglas a child of foureteene
yeares of age succeded his father in his inheritan-
ces, and was after made duke of Touraine or Tou-
rone, who being now earle Dowglas, deliuered
forth such buds of vertue, as he lent great hope to all
men of his worthinesse and good successe, to his fur-
ther honor and his countries benefit. But in the end
their expectations were deceiued after that he was
made duke of Touraine: for being putt vp in pride
with those great honors, he forgot himselfe, and
wrought his owne and his countries harme, where-
of we will not now speake; but onelie set downe
Lesleus wordes touching his admittance to the duke-
dome of Touraine. Gulielmus (which was this earle
Dowglas) Malcolmum Flemingum dominum
Cummirald & Alanu Lowder ad Carolum septi-
mu Francorum regem misit, orati, vt ducatu Toro-
nenis eius patrimoniam & dignitates amplificarentur:
equum enim esse contendit, vt quo ducatu Archi-
baldus Dowglasius (qui pro libertate Francie bello
Vernolensi mortem oppetiuit) fruebatur & pater
illius nuper mortuus potiebatur, idem ad se quoque
perueniret. Carolus non inuitus concessit, quo dono
quantum illi ad honorem dignitatemque cumuli,
tantum profecto ad superbiam, insolentiamque ma-
teriam accessit. Thus much Lesle, placing the same
to be done as other authozs also do, in the yeare of
Christ one thousand foure hundred thirtie and nine,
being about the thirde yeare of the reigne of James
the first of that name king of Scotland. Which honor
he did not long inioie, for in the yeare following be-
ing the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred
and fortie, and the fourth yeare of the same king
James, he was, for that he would neither obeie the
gouernment of the gouernor, or chancelloz, bidden to
a banquet at Edinburgh castle, whereas when he and
his brother David were set at dinner, the meat was
suddenlie remoued, and a bulls head presented to the
erle of Dowglas, being in those dates a token that
he should shortly be executed. Immediatlie there-
vpon, the said earle with his brother David, & Mal-
colme Fleming lord of Cummirald were behea-
ded befoze the castle gate: so that this great ho-
nor seemed to those Scots which possessed the same,
not much vnlike to the Seiane horse, or to the honor
of the dukedome of Gloucester.

Lesleus lib. 8.
pag. 292.

This prometh
Archibald
Dowglas
father to this
William to be
duke of Tour-
aine.

James earle of Arrane being made gouernor to
Marie queene of Scots, in the yeare of Christ one
thousand foure hundred fortie and two (in which being
about seven daies old, he began the first yeare of his
vnfortunate gouernement, which I maie so rightlie
terme, because he was after deposed in the yeare of
Christ one thousand five hundred threescore and se-
uen, in the five and twentieth yeare of his reigne) was
made

made duke of Chateaufort by the French king in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure, being the twelue yeare of the reigne of the same quene Marie, of whom I haue intreated more liberallie in my discourse of the protectors of Scotland, and therefore meane not to speake anie thing of that here: wherefore leauing these dukes, we will returne our pen to other matters done in Scotland.

This yeare there was a practise by forren persons of great state in Europe, to make some inuasion, or at the least some disturbance vpon or amongst such realmes as professed the gospel, and were enimies to the Romane religion, by meanes whereof as it was supposed, manye princes inclining their heads to the popes obedience, embracing his doctrine and resting at his disposition, expected the performance of some actions then to be done by them in the territories of the aduerser part, and in the realmes of such princes, as not onelie opposed themselves against the popes doctrine, but had also drawne their necks from the yoke of his subiection, in matters both of ciuill gouernement and of religion. Amongst which princes, being commonlie termed catholiks, the duke of Guise a person of great account in France, tied nerelie in blood to the imprisoned quene, and to the young king of Scots, and supported with other princes pursues, purposed to haue set full foot in Scotland, and to haue obtained the whole disposition and rule of that king and kingdom. But God, in whose hands resteth the ordering of princes harts, not permitting such determinations to sort to the purposed effect, did for that time frustrate the execution thereof.

For whereas the duke of Guise should with martiall power haue inuaded, entered and possessed Scotland, there arose troubles and turmoles of warres in his owne countrie of France, about the parts of Picardie and Walphine, which called him from the dispatch of that his former deuise, for the staing to appeale the same new insurrection, employing all his gathered forces thereunto, and countring with those persons: the rigor of the same warres so weakened his strength, that he was not able (without some new supplie of men and monie, which could not be had vpon the sudden) to produce his former intent to anie effect. But yet, least that the same intention might not seeme altogether to haue quailed, or that he should be noted to haue made shew to enterprize a thing which he neither could nor would prosecute to the bittermost; there was somewhat by his meanes and furtherance attempted in Scotland, which yet in the end fell forth in all respects to answer the expected hope of good successe therein. For partly by the policie of the Scots, and partly by the support of the allies and friends to the king, but altogether by the united strength of both sorts, the Scots rid themselves of the same deuise, and since remained safe from the danger of the Guise and of his partakers.

After this the earle of Morton, sometime regent of Scotland, being condemned to die, and ready to suffer that execution which was appointed vnto him, some persons had conference with him about matters of great importance, on the same date wherein he was to suffer, which persons so conferring with him, were John Durie, and master Walter Bannanquell. In which discourse betwene the earle and them these matters in substance amongst manye others fell forth, in questions propounded by them, and in answers made by him in this sort almost word for word, drawne into some seuerall heads and articles, as they were deliuered vnto me.

The examinations and answers of the earle of Morton before his death, but after his condemnation.

First he was exhorted by them that he should not be discouraged by his overthrow, in considering the estate wherunto he had bene once called in this world, but rather remembering the glorie to come, he should reioice and be of god comfort. Wherevnto he answered, that as concerning all the glorie which he had in this world, he respected it not, because he was persuaded that all worldlie honoz is but vanitie, and the broken reed of Egypt. And as concerning the estate wherunto he was brought, he thanked God for it, and was at that point, that he was rather content to render his life than to liue, because he knew, that as God had appointed the time for his death, so had he also appointed the manner thereof, seeing that now was the time, and this was the manner which best pleased his God to take him in, and therefore was content. And as for his life in this world, he cared not for it, in respect of that immortalitie, & the eternall lasting joy which he looked for, and thereof he was assured.

Secondlie, being required what was his part of knowledge in the kings death or murder: he answered with this attestation, that as he should answer to his Lord God, so he would declare all his knowledge therein: the sum wherof was, that after his returne out of England, whither he was banished for Dauides slaughter, he came out of Wetherborne to Wetheringham, where the erle Bothwell was at the same time, with whome there was communication about the kings murder, but he would not consent thereto. After which, opening a large discourse thereof, lateng the cause, the contriuing, and the execution of the same in great persons now liuing, and confessing that they vnderstood thereof, and durst not for manie causes reueale the same, neither to the king nor the kings father the earle of Aeneur; he added, how that in the end he was by the law noty of late conuicted of knowledge and concealing the kings murder, when as he should answer to God he had no part or knowledge in that matter. Furthermoze, shewing that after the earle of Bothwell was cleared of that murder by assise, that he and sundrie of the nobilitie subscribed a bond with the earle of Bothwell, that if anie should late the kings murder to his charge, he would assist him to the contrarie, and that therefore he subscribed to the quenes marriage with the earle Bothwell as sundrie other of the nobilitie did, being charged therevnto by the quenes owne writing and commandement.

Then being required in the name of the liuing God, that seeing this murder of the king was one of the most filthyest acts that euer was done in Scotland, and that the secrets thereof had not hitherto bene opened, neither who was the chiefe doer therein, or whether the king was then strangled or blowne by into the aire; that he should declare if he knew anie further secret therein: he answered, that as he should make answer to God, he knew no more secrets in that matter than he had already declared and heard, by the depositions of such as had already suffered for it, which depositions are yet extant. Againe, being demanded if he knew anie pretentie about the king, which were doers of that worke, by whose companie the king and commonwealth might be hurt: he answered that he knew none, neither would he accuse anie, &c.

Thirdlie, being examined of the poisoning of the earle of Athol, if he had anie act or part therein: he

which was
Henric king
of Scots, slain
in the yeare of
Christ 1566,
beginning the
yeare at the
annuntiation
of the virgin,
Dauid Richis
the Italian,
secretarie to
the quene,
slaine in the
yeare 1566,

he answered with godd attestation, saying; Let God neuer be mercifull vnto me, if euer I knewe any thing of that matter, or heard of it before it came to my eares by the common bzute of the countrie. And being further demanded if he knewe that maister John Broundt brought him any poison; he replied that he knewe no such thing, and that he knewe nothing by maister Broundt but honestie, to which he more added these speeches; Fie, fie, there is ouer much filthinesse in Scotland alreadye, God forbid that vile practising of poisoning should enter among vs: I would not for all the earledome of Athlone, haue neither ministred poison to him, or caused it to haue bene ministred, yea if there had been one hundred on my part, and but he alone, I would not haue stirred one heate of his head.

Fourthlie, being demanded if he made any conspiracie against the earle of Lenex: he answered with like attestation as before, that he neuer thought in his heart, or once purposed any conspiracie against the earle of Lenex, neither minded to him any hurt in bodie or otherwise. But it grieved him that the earle of Lenex knewe not the estate of their countrie, nor yet perceived the danger of the kings person. For being thereunto requested by others, sundrie were brought home who were the kings enemies, ouerthrowers of the kingdome, and enemies to religion; whereby there was apparant danger to his person and the reime: all which he hoped to haue helped by counsell, when the earle of Lenex familiarity and his should haue bene greater.

Fiftlie, being demanded whether he had any league or dealing with England for the conuening of the king or otherwise, or if he had any pension of the queene of England for that purpose, he answered in these words: As I shall answer to God vnder paine of condemnation or saluation, I neuer had any dealings with England that waie: there was neuer one in Scotland or England, neither the queene nor any in his name, that euer moued any such thing to me, so indirectly as to conueie the king into England; it neuer entred into my hart, I would not for all the realme of England haue put him into England, except that it had bene for his profit and honor, &c. And for the more clere purgation of my selfe in this matter I will saie, if euer I meant but directly his wealth, let God neuer be mercifull vnto me; and I shall neuer aske God mer-
cie for any thing that entred in my hart against the king: yea there was nothing more that I regarded in this life, than that he should be brought vp in vertue and godlinesse. And I will saie more. If I had bene as carefull to serue God & walke in his feare, as I was to seeke the kings wealth, I had not bene brought to the point I am at this daie. And where they allege I was the queene of Englands pensionarie, as I shall answer to God, I had neuer pension of the queene of England in all my life. And although they caused the bzute to go, that I should haue furnished the queene of Englands souldiours now last vpon the borders, I neuer knewe of it. And last of all, where they allege that I should haue bene a great dealer with England, I praise God I neuer had dealing with them, but for the weale publike of the king, his countrie, and subiects, &c.

Sixtly, being demanded what was his part of the enterpryse of the castell of Sterling, he answered, that he knewe nothing of it till it was done; but being in Lochleven, he receiued aduertisement out of the castell of Sterling, and a writing from the king, that he should come thither. And whereas they said, that he minded to keepe the king in captiuitie there, the truth was, that he neuer meant to keepe him in captiuitie there or in any other place. But

he vnderstood by the kings owne speaking, that he was as free at that time as euer he was before, or desired to be, for the present: And if he had knowne that his grace would haue gone to any other place, where greater libertie had bin, he would gladly haue gone with him.

Seuenthly, being laid to his charge, that he was a great hinderance of the matters and authoritie of the bishops, &c: when he might haue done much good for the furtherance of Gods glorie & advancement of his gospell, both in the time of his gouernement, and since: his answer was, that concerning the religion and doctrine as then it was preached and professed in Scotland, he alwaies meant well in his hart to it, and acknowledged it to be the verie truth of God; inso much that rather than any hurt should haue come vnto the religion, he would haue spent his life and goods in the defense, like as now he was contented to die in the constant profession thereof. But indeed as concerning some things in policie of the church, as the state of the bishops, and such like, which were in question betwene him and the church, he did therein according to his knowledge, and followed the opinion which he thought to be best at that time, in consideration of the estate of all things as they were. Howbeit he would not stand in defense of those things which he then did, but yet he would make this protestation, that as he should answer to God, he did nothing in those matters either of contempt, malice, or enuie; but if there were any things done amisse, it was of ignorance, and for lacke of better knowledge; and if he had knowne better, he would haue done otherwise, being now purposed at the last to haue holpen them so farre as he might.

Eighthly, he was desired in the name of God, not to stand in his owne innocencie, but plainlie to confesse his sinnes to Gods glorie, and to thinke, that howsoeuer it be that men haue done in this life, yet God had alwaies before him whereof he might be worthy of this and more: whereunto he yielded this speech; Howsoeuer it be that men haue done, I commit them to God and their owne consciences. But I acknowledge indeed, that God hath alwaies done iustlie to me, and not onlie iustlie but mercifullie also, because amongst all the other sinners I confesse my selfe to be one of the greatest and filthiest abusers of my bodie in the pleasures of the flesh; and also to haue giuen my selfe so much to the world, to the pleasures thereof, and to other sinnes, that God might iustlie laie it to my charge, in that I expessed not the fruits of my profession in my life and conuersation as I ought to haue done, for which I beseech God to be mercifull vnto me. And indeed now I acknowledge the great mercie of God in this, that amongst all the benefits which he hath bestowed vpon me, one of the chiefest is, that he hath in this my last trouble giuen me space and leasure to repent me of my sinnes, and to be at a point with God. In which trouble also I haue found farre greater comfort than euer I could find before, because I haue thereby concluded thus with my selfe, that if God should haue spared my life, and deliuered me out of this trouble, I should then haue cast awaie all the cares of the world, the pleasures of the flesh, the delights of earthly things, and declared my selfe to serue my God in all kind of quietnesse and simplicitie. And if it shall please God to take me in this trouble, I am concluded also to be content therewith, being alwaies assured of the mercies of God. And for that cause I do now thanke God that I find my selfe at this point, that I am rather content to die than to liue; and that I shall not see the miseries to come: for I will assure you

you that I thinke this to be the most acceptable time that ever God could haue taken me in, because I perceiue and see such miseries and confusions to issue, that I thanke God that I shall not see them. And you who doe feare God, and liue after me, when you shall see these things, you will wisly to be where I shall be, that is, with him.

Twentiethlie, being demanded what he thought of the forme of iudgement vsed against him, what his opinion therof was, whether he thought ante wrong done vnto him or no, &c: he answered, I would be verie loth to find fault or blame the noble men which haue taken themselves vpon their consciences to condemne me, but I will remit them to God and their owne consciences; yet I am moued to speake somewhat frellie in this matter which is this: I saw such parciall dealing against me, that it hath bene all one to me, if I had bene as innocent as saint Stephan, or that I had bene as gillie as Iudas was: for I perceiued there was nothing sought but my life, howsoeuer things had bene, which appeareth in this, that no exception of ante person which was to passe vpon my asslie could be admitted: for I required the earle of Argile to purge himselfe of parciall counsell giuen to the pursuer my accuser; he purged himselfe indeed, but I knew the contrarie, that he gaue parciall counsell to him. Likewise the lord of Manton, the lord of Setton, and such others, who were knowen to be my enemies, (notwithstanding lawfull exception) were put vpon my quest. In consideration wherof I can not but be persuaded of one thing, which it behooueth me to communicat vnto you, and it is thus. I perceiue it is not my life that they seeke onelie, but they who are authours of my death haue some other purpose in hand, which they perceiue will not be done, except I and such other which doe fauor the good cause, were taken out of the waie: Wherefore I can not but suspect that I haue bene so handled, and that such as hereafter shall be put therevnto, may haue a more plaine waie to do their turne or intent: and I praie God that they which are to liue behind me see not the practise thereof, but I feare it soze. And therefore in respect of this apparant danger of the common cause, I will giue my counsell to the king my master, and wisly you in the name of God to beare it to him, the summe wherof is this. I perceiue that they which haue bene the kings foes and enemies, are brought into credit & court, and they who haue bene the mainteiners of his crowne & good friends, are discredited and mistiked of. And likewise such as are knowen to be papists, and suspected to be enemies to the religion, are ouer familiar and great in credit with his maiestie, which surely can not be without great danger to the religion, and hurt to his estat. For which cause I admonish him in the name of God to beware of them, and to seeke a remedie thereof. And as he hath bene brought by in the feare of God, and companie of good men, so to continue therein, and not to go backe, or else he hath done with it for euer. For I tell you what moueth me to speake thus, which is, that the state of religion in this countrie appeared neuer to be in such danger, and that for this cause. I here saie there is a dealing put in practise betwene France and England, and Monsieurs marriage with the queene is like to be feared; if France and England bind together, and that marriage go forward, you may easilie vnderstand, that the one of them will persuade the other to their religion, &c.

Tenthlie, being required to giue his counsell to the earle of Angus, and to shew him what was meetest to be done, seeing presentlie he was in great trouble, he answered; I dare giue him no coun-

sell, and I will tell you whie; to bid him come in, partlie I dare not, all men may see in what danger he is although he now come in: and to counsell him to abide forth I dare not, for then he shall lose the kings fauour for euer, himselfe and his heritage, friends and all; and therefore the best counsell that I can giue him in this matter is, that he make all meanes possible to purchase the kings fauor againe, and to see if he may haue ante assurance of his life; and that he may serue his God and his king trulie, and submit himselfe, and all that he hath to his maiesties goodwill: he hath done nothing yet, but it may be amended. I saie no more, the Lord giue him his spirit to follow that which is best.

Eleuenthlie being required to declare what was the summe of that admonition, which John Knoke gaue him before he accepted the regiment, when he came vnto him a little before his departre, he answered: I shall tell you as far as I can remember. First, he asked of me if I knewe ante thing of the kings murder, I answered in deed I knewe nothing of it. Then he said vnto me, Well God hath beautified you with manie benefitts which he hath not giuen to experie man, for he hath giuen to you riches, wife, home and friends, and now he is to prefer you to the gouernement of this realme: and therefore in the name of God I charge you, to vse these benefitts aright, and better in time to come than you haue done in times past; first to Gods glorie, to the furtherance of the gospel, to the maintenance of the church of God & of his ministers, next for the weale of the king, his realme and true subiects: which if you shall not do, God shall spoile you of these benefitts, and your end shall be ignominie & shame. When being inquired if he said true or no, he answered: I haue found it true, and yet I doubt not but the Lord will be mercifull vnto me.

Twelfelie, being demanded for what cause he held some of the neighbours of Edinburgh in ward, he answered: Surely I meant no euill to those men, but it was done in this respect: we had the matter of Bulzoine then in hand, and I was informed that they were hinderers therof, for which cause I thought it best at that time to put them in ward for a while vntill the turne had bene done. And if I did them ante wrong, I craue forgiveness of them as I forgive all men.

Thirtenthlie, being required to declare if he knew before hand that he should be accused of this matter or no, he answered: I was advertised in deed, and might haue escaped, but I would not, trusting alwaie vnto mine innocencie, and therefore supposed that they would not condemne me vpon such a thing. After this, the said earle with the foresaid John Durie and Walter Balcanquall did together call to God by earnest praier, which being ended the earle said vnto vs (meaning the said Durie and Balcanquall who as I gather were the penners of this matter) I thanke you hartlie for your comfort which you haue offered to me, for now in deed is greatest need of comfort, and therefore as you haue begun, I praie you to continue with me: for now that I am come to the knowledge of mine owne sinnes, there resteth onlie two things which I craue of you, that is first that you will shew vnto me some kind of argument, whereby I may be comforted against naturall death, because the flesh is fearefull and weake; whose desire we trauelled to satisfie by long conference, which is too long to rehearse in euerie point, yet the summe of that was thus. It was said vnto him that there were three things wherewith which might make him assured of the mercie of God in Christ: first the innumerable and comfortable promises of God contained in his word, wherewith

it behoued him alwaies to leane. Secondlie the example of Gods mercie practised towards his owne seruants, albeit they haue bene great sinners; as appeared in Dauid, Agabalen, Peter, and the these, &c. Whiche the often experiences of Gods mercies from time to time, which he had found in his owne person, being a light to assure him of his mercie. In the end he answered to this, saying: I know it to be true, for since I past to Dunbarton I haue read the five booke of Moses, Iosue, the Judges, and now I am in Samuell, and will tell you what I haue found there. I see that the mercie of God is wonderfull, and alwaies inclined to haue pittie vpon his owne people: for there it appeareth that although he punished them so oft as they sinned, yet as soon as they turned againe to him, he was mercifull vnto them, and when they sinned againe he punished them, and as often as they repented he was mercifull againe, and therefore I am assured, that albeit that I haue offended against my God, yet he will be mercifull vnto me. Also further in this point it was said vnto him, that in case sathan should trauell to discourage him in consideration of the iustice of God on the one part, and of his sinnes on the other part, we exhorted him to the contrarie, to be of good courage, and that in respect of the verie selfe same iustice of God, which will not suffer him twise to take payment for one thing, as we know in the common dealing of men: for he that is a iust man will not twise demand payment of that whereof he was already paid, for sith Christ died for our sinnes, and paid the uttermost farthing that God could craue, he cannot laie our sinnes vnto our charge being satisfied in Christ, because his iustice will not suffer him twise to take payment for one thing. Vnto this the earle answered, Cruelle it is verie god.

And concerning the naturall feare of death, we exhorted him to be alwaies exercised in the consideration of the glorie, iote, and felicitie of the life to come, which would be the onlie waie to swallow vp the feare of this naturall death. Wherevnto he answered, I praise God I do so. This being thus done, and he being in his hand a pretie treatise of the meditation of death, written by Wadford (which he said that he had gotten from the ladye Darnelston before he went into ward, and for that cause before he came forth of prison againe gaue it to maister Latson, desiring him to deliuer it to the said ladye againe) he willed maister Walter to read him a peece thereof, which he did, in which reading (haunting sundrie confessions vpon the thing read) both he and we found great comfort, in so much that he said; I protest now that I heare with other eares than I did before. Wherevnto being called to breakfast, he earnestly desired vs to take part with him (as we did) at what time he eat his meat with great cheerefulness, as all the companie saw, and as appeared by these his words: I see there is great difference (said he) betwene a man which is troubled with the cares of the world, and him which is free from them, the which I haue found by these two former nights: for before mine accusation, I could not in things find ante rest by reason of cares which I had, because I was to be accused vpon the morrow; and therefore being carefull to answer euerie point that should be laide vnto my charge I could not sleepe: but this night, after that I was condemned, and knew that I should die, I was at a point with my selfe, and had nothing of this world, nor care of this life, but cast my onelie care vpon God, and I praise God I neuer slept better in my life than I did this night. When he said vnto the steward, William you can heare me record of this; who answered, It is true my lord. Then maister Walter said vnto him, My lord I will drinke to you

vpon a condition, vpon this condition my lord, that you and I shall drinke together in the kingdome of heauen, of that immortall drinke which shall neuer suffer vs to thirst againe. Wherevnto the earle answered, Cruelle I will pledge you maister Walter on the same condition. After which he said, John Durie, now John I will drinke to you vpon the same condition. This thus ended for that time, and thanks being giuen to God, the earle passed againe to his chamber, at what time maister James Latson came to him, with whom he considered the substance of all other things againe. After this we departed from him.

Then at afternone we came to him againe, with sundrie of the brethren of the ministerie, as maister James Latson, maister Robert Point, Dauid Fargalane, maister David Hensla, John Bzard, maister James Garnichie, and maister John Dautson, whom the earle receiued verie louinglie in his arms, and said to him; Maister John you wrote a little booke in deed, but trulle I meant neuer euill towards you in my mind, forgive me, and I forgive you: vpon which words maister John was moued with teares. Then all the brethren being present, the earle repeated againe the cheefe substance of all the things whereof before he spake, being demanded thereof point by point, as their testification of this matter subscribed by them at more length will declare. After which the earle was called to his dinner about two of the clocke in the after none, who being thus at his dinner, the brethren of the ministerie were informed that there was trust report made of his profession to the king, & that he should haue confessed much otherwise than he did, whereby the king might haue a worse opinion of him. Wherefore they thought good to send down some before his suffering to informe his maiestie of the truth of his confession: which persons so sent were Dauid Fargalane, John Durie, and John Bzard, who before his death did largelie tell the simple truth of his confession (as it was made) vnto the kings maiestie. At their returning the earls keeper required him that he would come forth to the scaffold, wherevnto the earle answered; Sith they haue thus troubled me overmuch this daie with two double things, I supposed that they should haue giuen me one nights leisure to haue aduised my selfe with my God. Then the keeper said, All things are redie now my lord, and I thinke they will not staie. The earle replied, I am redie also I praise God: and so comfortable prayer being made, the earle passed downe to the gate, intending to go directly to the scaffold; but the earle of Arrane staied him, brought him backe againe to the chamber, and willed him to staie until his confession should be put in writing & subscribed with his owne hand. Wherevnto the ministers which were present answered, and the earle also answered: Pate my lord, I praye you trouble me no more with these things, for now I haue another thing to muse vpon, which is to prepare me for my God. And sith I am at a point to go to my death, I can not write in the estate wherein I now am; and all these honest men can testifie that I haue spoken in that matter. With which answer the earle of Arrane being satisfied, he said to him, My lord you will be reconciled with me, for I haue done nothing vpon ante particular quarell against you. The earle of Morton replied, It is no time now to remember quarels, I haue no quarell to you nor to ante other, I forgive you and all others as I would you forgive me. And so after with a good courage he passed to the scaffold, who being vpon the scaffold, repeated in few words the substance of the things before confessed, &c. adding some exhortation to the people which he spake not before, in this sort.

Sure

Sure I am the king shall lose a good servant this daie, and so he exhorted the people, saying: I testifie before God, that as I professe the gospell which this daie is taught & professed in Scotland; so also now I willinglie laie downe my life in the persecution thereof. And albeit I haue not walked according thereto as I ought, yet I am assured that God will be mercifull vnto me; and I charge you all in God which are professors of the gospell, that you continue the true professing and maintaining thereof to your power, as I would haue done God willing with my life, lands, and goods as long as I had liued: which if you do, I assure you God shall be mercifull vnto you; but if you do it not, be sure the vengeance of God shall fall vpon you, both in bodie and soule. As concerning all the rest of the words which he had vpon the scaffold, he spake them in effect and more ample before. When all these speeches were ended vpon the scaffold, a comfortable prayer was made by maister John Lawson, during the time of which prayer, the erle Porton laie grouning vpon his face before the place of execution, his bodie making great reboundings with sighes and sobes, being euident signes of the inward and mightie working of the spirit of God, as all they which were present, and knew what it was to be earnestlie moued in prayer, might easilie perceiue.

The prayer being ended, and sundrie coming to him before his death, he did most louinglie receiue them; who after he had taken vs all by the hand that were about him, & bidden vs farewell in the Lord, he passed both constantlie, patientlie, and humble (without feare of death) to the place of execution, and laid his necke vnder the axe being vnbound. And there maister Walter putting him alwaies in mind to call vpon God; the earle continually cried vntill his head was stricken off, Lord Iesus receiue my spirit, Lord Iesus receiue my spirit: which words he spake euen while the axe fell on his necke. Now what soeuer he had bene before, he constantlie died the servant of God. And howsoeuer it be that his foes alleged, that as he liued proudlie, so he died proudlie; the charitable seruants of God could perceiue nothing in him but all kind of humilitie in his death: inasmuch that we are assured, that his soule is receiued into the soles and glories of the heauens; and we praise God, that they which are behind, may learne by his example to die in the true feare of God our Lord. Thus far the confession & death of the earle Porton, penned by such of the presbyterie as were present thereat.

In a parlement holden in Edinburgh the eight & twentieth of Januarie, in this yeare one thousand five hundred fourescore and one, being the fourteenth of the kings reigne, were matters established, touching the ecclesiasticall gouernement, whereof I meane not fullie to set downe the same, sith my pen & purpose is bent to treat of politicall and not spiritual causes. Wherefore onelie determining but tuall causes. Wherefore onelie determining but slenderlie, and by the waie to touch that matter, set forth in print at Cambridge, vnder the stamp of Thomas Thomas, printer for that vniuersitie, in this yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fourescore and six, we saie that the same booke, published by the Scots (and intituled, A generall confession of the true christian faith and religion, according to Gods word and our acts of parlement subscribed by the kings maiestie and his household, with diuerse others, &c.) hath further, after the preface thereof this title giuen vnto it. The estates of Scotland with the inhabitants of the same, professing Christ Iesus & his holie Gospell, to their naturall countrymen and to all other realmes & nations, professing the same Iesus Christ with them, with grace, mercie, and

peace from God the father of our Lord Iesus Christ, with the spirit of righteous iudgement of saluation.

After which title and salutation, the substance of the same booke, being declared in the forhead of the chapters following, containeth these heads: First of God, then of the creation of man, next of originall sinne, fourthly of the reuelation of the promise of the continuance, increase, and preservation of the church, of the incarnation of Christ Iesus, why it becometh the mediator to be verie God and man, of election, of Christs death, passion, and buriall, of his resurrection, of his ascension, of faith in the holie ghost, of the cause of good works, that works are reputed good before God, of the perfection of the law and the imperfection of man, of the church, of the immortallitie of soules, of the notes by which the true church is discerned from the false, and who shall be iudge of the doctrine, of the authoritie of the scriptures, of generall counsels, of their power, authoritie & cause of their conuention, of the sacraments, of the right administration of the sacraments, to whom sacraments appertene, of the ciuill magistrat, and of the gifts frelie giuen to the church, &c.

The discourse of all which matters, being in that booke largelie and iudiciallie handled, both for the declaration of the faith of those people, and for the further instruction of others, were shortly after the agreement thereto in that parlement confirmed by the king, and commanded to be published and to be sed through his realme, as appeareth by this his following precept concerning the same.

The kings maiesties charge to all commissioners and ministers within his realme.

Seeing that we and our household haue subscribed & giuen this publike confession of our faith, to the good example of our subiects, we command and charge all commissioners and ministers to craue the same confession of their parishioners, and to proceed against the refusers according to our lawes, and order of the church; deliuering their names and labour full proccesse to the ministers of our house, with all hast and diligence, vnder the paine of fortie pounds to be taken from their stipend: that we with the aduise of our counsell may take order with such proud contentners of God, and our lawes. Subscribed with our hand at Holierod house one thousand five hundred foure score and one, the second daie of March, the fourteenth yere of our reigne.

Religion thus settled in Scotland, it fell herupon that Amies duke of Lennox, to which honoz he was not long before aduanced, as is already set downe in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred three score and nineteene, was now in this yeare vpon displeasure, conceived against him by others of the nobilitie, banished Scotland, and enforced to returne into France, there to passe the rest of his life as he had done before. In whose erle was performed an old prophesie, which I haue heard, that a nag of five shillings should beare all the dukes of England and Scotland. For when this duke was out of the Scottish kingdome, there was neither duke in that countrie or England. But as I greatlie fauor not these things; so yet finding manie of them to sort to vnhappie successe; I cannot altogether condemne them, especiallie sith I find two other which concerning the last duke of England, being the duke of Summer set, did prognosticat both the aduancement of religion by him, and that he should

R. r. ij.

The duke of Lennox banished.

A digression touching the duke of Summer set.

not

Declaration of the Scottish church, published and confirmed by the king.

not long kepe his head on his shoulders, after that he began to make his stately buildings. Of which propheticall verses declaring the same, the first was,

Cessabit missa cum regnat equa marina.

The other propheticall mentioning his name of honor was in this sort, as also the time of his fall:

Aestatis sedes cum scandis ad alta per ades,

Pro certo credes quod caput perdere debes.

And to prove that Summerseat was manie yeres past called in Latine Aestatis sedes, I find this matter in Roger Wall, sometime an herald living in the time of Henrie the first, who named him accordingly, when the said author expressing himselfe of all eloquence, and complaining of his owne rudenesse, sent his booke to M. John Summerseat to correct; which doctor being the kings schoolmaster and physician, a great learned man well sene in the mathematics, one that had written much therein, and be- rie eloquent also, was (as this Roger Wall thought) most meet to have the oversight of his worke: which matter is set downe in the latter end of the same worke of the acts of Henrie the first.

Vecors, inculca, pauper & pannosa pagina, video quia nuditatem, pauperiem, ac ruditatem tuam expauescens patefaci: ad hoc immensa verecundiae terrore ducta in lustralibus latebris, & abditis desertis, & inuijs latitare decreuisti, fortassis tamen, si quenquam reperies qui nuditatem tuam operire, pauperiem tuam locupletare, & ruditatem tuam reformare dignaretur, indutura fores animositatis spiritum processura in lucem. Eia igitur consilij meis adquiescere non deseras: & meis monitis edocta, doctorem gloriosum inuenies, qui Aestatis sedes gloriosum cognomen sortitus est, &c. Supplica igitur pauperrima pagina pauperibus illis, vt tibi Aestatis sedem velint ostendere, &c. After which this Wall setteth downe the supplication, which his booke should dedicate to this doctor (when he hath found him) in these verses, beginning also with the same name of Aestatis sedes, in English Summerseat:

*Ferilis Aestatis flori da sedes,
Morum multiplici luce resurgens,
Gloria doctorum gemma scientum,
Eloquij pelagus, lux medicina,
Pectore caelesti calica condans,
Praradians alijs lumine mentis,
Cui patet astrorum candida turba,
Et motus primi mobilis orbis,
Nec latet eiusdem mira rapina,
Quid flammis ignis in orbe,
Aerisque sinus abyssa nosti? &c.*

Thus hauing exprest the words and verses of Roger Wall, which in Latine termed some hundred yeres passed (as you haue heard before) the name of Summerseat by the words of Aestatis sedes, I haue trauell bene the willinger to set downe the same by waie of digression (besides the former declared causes which moued me thereto) for that I would not suffer so worthy a man as that John Summerseat was to be buried in oblivion.

But leaning our Englishmen, let vs returne to the affaires of Scots and Scotland: intreating first of some thing done by them in the low countries, where one Stewart a Scot, hauing had charge of men in some part of the low countries of Flanders, Zelant, and Holland, under William of Nassau, earle of Arange, did not fall from the states of that countrie, emploie all his force on the king of Spaines side, and went to assist the prince of Parma (the deputie of king Philip in those parts) because the states did not paie to him and his soldiers their due stipend and wages for the wars. At what time also the garrison of Burels were for the like cause in an uprore. But some portion of monie

being offered vnto them, they were for that time somewhat pacified. All which notwithstanding, one certaine Scot, called Aitchfield, & surnamed Sempie, being capteine of the garrison of Lire, and long vnpaid his sallarie for those warres, did in vaine manie times demand that monie due vnto him. Whereupon, imagining with himselfe how he might deceiue Aitchfield the gouernour of the citie, as they had beguiled him in detaining of his due, he deuised with a new stratagem to bring his towne into the subiection of Philip king of Spaine. Wherefore, setting him selfe that he would in the middelt of the night with his people go forth to bring home some great bottie for his and the townes benefit, he departed the towne, and late in the night gathered together a great prete of catell, horses, oxen, kine, sheepe, and such like, with some prisoners of the kings part. All which he brought to the towne gate of Lire, and then commanded the gates to be opened vnto him, whereby they with their bottie might enter all at once. But the porter fearing at such time of night to set the gates full abrode, onelie opened a little wicket or doore, thereby to receiue Sempie into the towne. Which thing Sempie then perceiving (e not finding all things to answer his expectation) feined that the enemies were hard at their backs, would kill them all, and recover their bottie, vnlesse he did speedilie open the great gate, through the same to receiue them into the towne all at once. When the porter believing all this to be true, forthwith set open the great gates of the citie; which done, the Scot entereth therat, slue those which kept the watch, possessed the towne, & into the same receiued the kings souldiours, which were not farre behind, but secretlie laie in wait expecting the successe of this deuise. By which meanes the Spaniards and their followers first toone the market place, and the next daie after the kalends of August reduced the whole towne of Lire vnder their owne subiection: the same Lire being a place well fenced, and set in such a convenient soile, that it would prohibit all passage and carriage to come to Antwerpe, Mechelin and Burels.

In March was renewed a great & old contention betwene the lord Marwell earle of Dorset warden of the west marches of Scotland, and the lord of Johnstane; the occasion of which new dissention proceeded of an old enmitie begun in the time of Douglas earle of Dorset beheaded, as before in the yere of Christ one thousand five hundred eightie and one, touching the receiuing of the same wardenship. In which hurle burlie the lord of Johnstane behaued himselfe vnto rigourlie against the lord Marwell, in blowing by both gunpowder the locks of the castell of Lochmaben. Which dissention secretlie after the death of Douglas earle of Dorset, continuing betwene the lord Marwell and Johnstane, with further increase of malice, they in this yere sought a fresh reuenge thereof, with the lord Johnstane had not (before this) either power or meanes to encounter with the lord Marwell. But now the ladie Johnstane (being vnto familiar and fauored with and of James Stewart earle of Arrane) obtained of the king some succors of men of warre against the lord Marwell earle of Dorset, his husband (as was supposed) not being able otherwise to make his part good against the same earle. Whereupon capteine Lammie and capteine Crane were sent with two companies of backbuts vnto the reliefe of the lord of Johnstane. Who being thus furnished, did in the kings name raise the nobilitie and countrie therabout to assist him with their powers: which being had, he meant and therfore went to haue joined with the said two capteines Lammie and Crane. But as man purposeth, and God disposeth quite

The mare of the sea, which back-ward is lea-mare.
b Summers seat, or Summerseat.

Roger Wall submitteth his worke to the censure of M. John Summerseat.

* Summerseat.

Surius in comen. de reb. in orbe, hystor. pa. 1092.

Robert Marwell bade together to earle of Dorset first against capteine Lammie.

Capteine Lammie & Crane were sent to the town.

The castles of Louchhouse and Louchwood burnt.

The lord Johnstane forced to flee.

The lord of Dorset commanded the contention betwene earle of Dorset and the lord Johnstane.

quite contrarie to our determination. So the lard Johnstane was disappointed of that meeting; for the earle Morton (whose heedfull watch was not idle in learning out the deuises of his enemies, a needfull policie for all such as intend to bring great actions to effect) having intelligence by some of his friends tendering his safetie, of this determination and preparation of the lard Johnstane, and wiselie (as behoued him) seeing what danger might rise vnto him, if their two forces met, which would rise to a greater number than he were able to encounter, and iudging it best in the beginning to prouide for mischefe, and to stop their passage, did prepare to present all their deuises, and for that cause sent his base brother Robert Sparwell capteine of Langholme with some horsemen and footmen vnder the conduct of James Fraiser brother to the lord of Fulforth, which Robert meeting on Craisford mere with the foresaid captaine Lamie and Craneffane, before that they had ioined with the lard Johnstane gaue the charge vpon them, and that so fiercelie as they ouerthrew the whole strength of his enemies, Que Lamie, toke Craneffane prisoner, and so handled the matter that all the rest were taken or slaine except some few, who sought their liues by the benefit of streng. After which victorie the report thereof came to the lard Johnstane, who desirous to be reuenged thereof, used the helpe of other meanes when he perceived that force would not preuaile. And for that cause assembling such power as he had, he used the strength of one element against another, of the highest against the lowest, of the heauen against the earth, of the fire against mettall, and of burning against fighting. For with all speed he hastened to the lands of the earle Morton, which he cruelly spoiled, and in the same did burne certeine houses and other places belonging to the earle, as Comers freres, Dumcoll, Colobill, and such like. Whereupon the earle Morton, who in like sort did not neglect his owne cause, but as opportunitie serued, sought the requitall thereof, did with the like furie, but with more hurt, enter the lands of Johnstane, bitterlie spoiled them, and yet not so satisfied, committed to the fire both the castles of Louchhouse and Louchwood belonging to Johnstane, and Que sundrie gentlemen of name, the friends to Johnstane, being persons of good sort, as the two brothers of Lokierbie, a brother of the lord Manerfraie, some of the sons of John of Johnstane of Polgill, with others. Which done, the earle Morton proceeded vnto further pursue, and determining finally to reuenge himselfe vpon Johnstane, and his followers, forced the lard Johnstane himselfe to flee his furie. Wherefore he fled to a strong house called the Bonshaw castle belonging to Edward Priuine of the Bonshaw, whome the earle pursued, and besieged in the same place, at what time he so battered the castle with artillerie, that the house was almost gotten. Which being perceived of those within, not able to make further resistance, they fell to parley, and so to composition; whereby in the end the matter was wholly compounded and ended betwixen them, by the mediation and furtherance of the lord Scrope of England, with certeine conditions to be performed as well on the part of the earle as of the lard Johnstane. But the coles of inward griefe being couered with cold ashes of outward reconciliation, did not long lie couered, but in the end began afresh to shew their fire. For the lard Johnstane falling from the said accord, vpon what occasion I know not, either for cause giuen by the earle Morton, or for an euill disposition in himselfe, or for both, they burst forth againe into the like conflicts & part taking, which in the end falling to the worst,

for the lard Johnstane, he was taken betwixen Cirtwall and the Warden ditches (where he was laid in ambush to haue performed some action against the said Robert Sparwell comming from the towne of Domfrees to Laugham from the earle Morton his brother) by William Carrutheris (baron of Holmence and capteine of the kings castell named Traffe) being by the earle Morton appointed to encounter with the said lard Johnstane: which this baron was the more willing to do, because he intirely loved the earle, and had alwaies from the beginning followed the earles faction.

These things thus performed and the successe thereof comming to the kings knowledge, he grew so heauilie displeased with the earle Morton, that he was scarce able to susteine the kings displeasure, by reason that the earle attempted these things against the kings mind, when the king had supported the lard Johnstane with men and weapons. But the kings displeasure onlie growing against the earle, was partlie for that the earle of Arrane did bitterlie exasperat the cause against him, and partlie by the persuation & lamentation of the ladie of Johnstane, whereof the last was enemie to the earle, as of dutie he ought in respect of hir husband, and the first (which was the earle of Arrane) became a bitter and heauie enemie besides all reason against earle Morton, because that Morton refused to exchange the baronies of Poke and Sparwell betwix with Arrane, which most instantlie required the same, in respect they adioined nere vnto other lands which Arrane had procured to himselfe. For although that Arrane would in place of those required lands haue deuiered others of no lesse value and honoz (for he would haue giuen the baronie of Minneile for the same) yet Morton had good cause and no lesse reason not to yeld thereto: as well for that Sparwell betwix was his ancient inheritance, and the first land which his ancestors had, and whereof they toke the name of lord Sparwell; as for that, that there were manie of the surname of the Sparwells, who dwelling vpon these lands, would not become subiect to the earle of Arrane, as they must haue bene if he had departed with those lands; amongst which Sparwells so refusing to become tenants to Arrane, were John Sparwell lard of Betwarke, and William Sparwell lard of Poke.

This thus handled, the king assembled a parliament in Spate, wherein were certeine lawes enacted, which giuing occasion to some of the nobilitie and clergie to misconceiue thereof, and to depart the realme, did after minister cause to the king (for the more discharge of his honour, the better explaining of the said lawes, and the manifesting of secret practises against him) to set downe this following declaration thereof to the view of the world. Wherein he shewed himselfe of a rare and good disposition, in that he would humble himselfe beneath the maiestie of his crowne, publikelie to tender a reason to his neighbours and to his subiects of his dealings, towards such as were vnder his government, sith he was not bound thereto, being to dispose of those his subiects according to the lawes of his realme and the customes of those countries. But before I set downe that declaration, I thinke it not vnmeet to saie somewhat of such things as went before, and were the cause of setting forth of the same declaration. There were some lawes in the same parlement enacted for the reformation of religion, which to the king seemed to be growne ouer dangerous, in seeking a certeine equalitie of government in the ecclesiasticall hierarchie. Vpon which law established, the earles of Angus and Spar, with diuers others of the temporalitie and the spiritualtie,

Robert Sparwell base brother to earle Morton sent against captaine Lamie.

Captaine Lamie & Craneffane ouerthrowen.

The castles Louchhouse and Louchwood burnt.

The lard Johnstane forced to flee.

The lord Scrope compounded the contention betwix earle Morton and the lard Johnstane.

The lard Johnstane taken.

The king displeased with earle Morton for the cause of the lard Johnstane.

The earle of Arrane would exchange lands with the earle Morton.

The Sparwells would not be subiect to the earle of Arrane.

as Andrewe Spelaine, and such as professed the purer and reformed religion (as it was termed) were enforced for the vse of their conscience and for other causes, to banish themselves from their countrie, and to flee into England there to vse the libertie of their religion, and to provide for the safetie of their persons, who coming into this realme, made their abode and sojourned at Norwich. About which time also of their departure out of Scotland, there was a supposed treason discovered by Robert Hamilton unto the king, intended to be practised against his maiestie, whereupon some were summoned upon suspicion, some were apprehended, and some were executed for the same cause. Of the first sort, the lord Blakater and George Dologlasse were summoned to the court upon suspicion that they were consenting and conelcing to and of the same treasons. For the second part touching the same, the lord of Donthasell, the lord of Dunkreth, the lord of Baithkist, Robert Hamilton of Inchmachan, and James Sterling, were apprehended at the kings court: besides which John Hopplingell of the Howes was taken at his owne house by the capteine of the kings gard, and the lord Keier with the lord Spains and other gentlemen were taken about Sterling; and lastlie the lord Donthasell and the lord Spains were executed, with the lord Ruthwine earle of Cotwike, treasurer of Scotland, who was beheaded in Scotland. Which being thus done, the king as is before said made this following declaration upon the said acts of parliament, in which he sheweth reason and cause why he ought and might both make and execute those laws, with a further explanation also of the same lawes deliuered in that declaration with these wordes.

The kings maiesties declaration of his acts confirmed in parlement.

As much as there is some enill affected men that goeth about so farre as in them lieth, to inuent lies and tales to slander and impeire the kings maiesties fame and honor, & to raise reports as if his maiestie had declined to papistrie, & that he had made manie acts to abolish the free passage of the gospell, good order and discipline in the church: which byrtes are maintained by rebellious subjects, who would gladlie couer their seditious enterprises vnder pretense of religion (albeit there can be no god religion in such as raise rebellion to disquiet the state of their native soueraigne, and peruerbedie both stand against the duty, band, & obligation of their faith, whereunto they haue subscribed) therefore that his maiesties faithfull subjects be not abused with such slanderous reports, and his highnesse good affectionat friends in other countries maie vnderstand the verities of his vpright intention, his highnesse hath commanded this breife declaration of certeine of his maiesties acts of parlement holden in Maye one thousand five hundred foure scoze and foure, to be published and imprinted, to the effect that the indirect practises of such as slander his maiestie and his lawes maie be detected and discovered.

In the first act his maiestie ratifieth and approueth the true profession of the gospell, sincere preaching of the word and administration of the sacraments, presentlie by the goodnesse of God established within this realme, and alloweth of the confession of the faith set downe by act of parlement the first yere of his maiesties reigne. Likewise his highnesse not onlie professeth the same in all sinceritie, but (praised be God) is come to that ripenesse of iudgement by reading and hearing the word of God, that his high-

nesse is able to conuince and overthrow by the doctrine of the prophets and apostles the most learned of the contrarie sect. So that (as Plato affirmeth that common wealth to be counted happy wherein a philosopher reigne, or he that reigne is a philosopher) we maie much more esteeme this countrie of Scotland to be fortunate, wherein our king is a diuine, and whose hart is replenished with the knowledge of the heauenlie philosophie: for the comfort not onlie of his good subjects and friends in other countries but of them that professeth the gospell euerie where, he being a king of great wisdom, and by his birth right bozne to great possession; but much more his highnesse, vertue, godlinesse and learning, and daillie increase of all heauenlie sciences, doth promise and assure him of the mightie protection of God, and fauour of all them that feare his holie name.

In the second act his maiesties totall authoritie ouer all estates both spirituall and temporell is confirmed: which act some of malice, and some of ignorance doth traduce, as if his maiestie pretended to be called the head of the church, a name which his maiestie acknowledgeth to be proper and peculiar to the sonne of God the sauiour of the world, who is the head, and bestoweth life spirituall vpon the members of his mysticall bodie, and he hauing receiued the holie spirit in all abundance, maketh euerie one of the faithfull partakers thereof, according to the measure of faith bestowed vpon them, of the which number of the faithfull vnder the head Christ, his maiestie acknowledgeth himselfe to be a member baptised in his name, partaker of the misterie of the crosse and holie communion, and attending with the faithfull for the coming of the Lord and the finall resurrection of Gods elect. And notwithstanding his maiestie sutelie vnderstandeth by the scriptures, that he is the chiefe and principall member appointed by the lawe of God, to see God glorified, vice punished and vertue maintained within his realme: and the soueraigne iudgment of a godlie quietnesse & order in the common wealth, to appertene to his highnesse care and solicitude. Which power and authoritie of his highnesse, certeine ministers being called before his maiestie for their seditious and factious sermons in stirring vp the people to rebellion against their native king (by the instigation of seditious vniquiet spirits) would in no wise acknowledge but disclaime his maiesties authoritie as an incompetent iudge: and especiallie one called master Andrewe Spelaine of a salt and sterte humour, usurping the pulpit of S. andrews, without anie lawfull calling, and pruite at that time to certeine conspiracies attempted against his maiestie and crowne, went about in a sermon vpon a sundae, to inflame the hearts of the people by odious comparisons of his maiesties progenitors and counsell, albeit the dutie of a faithfull preacher of the gospell be rather to exhort the people to obedience of their native king, and not by popular sermons (which hath bene the euersion and decaye of great cities and common wealths, and hath greatlie in times past bred disquietnesse to the state thereby) to trouble and perturb the countrie. The said master Andrewe being called before his highnesse, presumptionlie answered that he would not be iudged by the king and counsell, because he had spoken the same in pulpit, which pulpit in effect he alleged to be exempted from the iudgement and correction of princes, as if that holie place sanctified to the word of God and to the breaking of the bread of life, might be anie colour to anie sedition in word or deed, against the lawfull authoritie, without punishment. Alwaies his maiestie (being of himselfe a most gracious prince) was not willing to haue be

sed ante rigor against the said matter Andrieu, if he had humble submitted himselfe, acknowledged his offence, and craved pardon: who notwithstanding affaile of his owne guiltinesse, being psume to diuers conspirators before, fled out of the realme, whose nightlie & presumptuous refusing of his highnesse iudgement, was the occasion of the making of this second act: that is, that none should decline from his highnesse authoritie, in respect that the common pouer be heareth *Ex malis moribus bona leges nata sunt*, which is, that all euill maners good lawes proceed. And in verie deed it wanteth not ane right intolerable arrogancie in anie subiect called before his p'fence, professing and authorising the same truth, to disclaime his authoritie, neither do the prophets, apostles, or others (conduced by the spirit of God) minister the like example: for it is a great error to asserme (as manie do) that princes and magistrats haue onlie power to take order in ciuill affaires, and that ecclesiasticall matters do onelie belong to the ministerie.

By which meanes the pope of Rome hath exempted himselfe and his cleargie from all iudgment of princes, and he made himselfe to be iudge of iudges, and to be iudged of no man: whereas by the contrarie, not onelie by the example of the godlie gouernors, iudges, and kings of the old testament; but also by the new testament, and the whole historie of the primitive church, in which the emperors being iudges ouer the bishops of Rome, depofed them from their seats, appointed iudges to decide and determine causes ecclesiasticall, and challenge innocent men, as Athanasius from the determination of the councell holden at Cirus, and by infinit god reasons which shall be set downe by the grace of God in an other fenerall worke, and shall be sufficientlie proued and verified. But this appereth at this present to be an vntimelie and vnprofitable question, which hath no ground vpon their part, but of the preposterous imitation of the pretended iurisdiction of the pope of Rome. For if there were anie question of this land of heresie, whereby the p'found mysteries of the scriptures behoued to be searched forth, his maiestie would vse the same remedie (as most expedient) which the most godlie emperors haue vfed: and his maiestie following their example would allowe the councell of learned pastozs, that by conference of scriptures the veritie might be opened, and heresie repressed.

But God be thanked, we haue no such controversies in this land, neither hath anie heresie taken ante deepe root in the countrie; but that certeine of the ministerie, joining themselves to rebels haue trauelled to disquiet the state with such questions, that the people might imbrace anie sinister opinion of his maiesties vpright proceedings, and factions might be nourished and interteined in the countrie: neither is it his maiesties meaning nor intention in anie sort, to take awaie the lawfull and ordinarie iudgement in the church, whereby discipline and good order might decaye; but rather to preserve, increase, and mainteine the same. And as there is in this realme, iustices, conestables, shiriffes, prouosts, bailiffes, and other iudges in temporall matters: so his maiestie alloweth that all things might be done in order, and a godlie quietnes may be preserved in the whole estate; the synodall assemblies by the bishops, or commissioners, where the place was vfed to be conuenient, twise in the yeare, to haue the ordinarie triall of matters belonging to the ministerie and their estate: alwaies reseruing to his highnesse, that if they, or anie of them do amisse, neglect their dutie, disquiet the estate, or offend in anie such manner and sort, that they in no waies pretend anie

immunitie, priuilege, and exemption, which onelie was intended by the popes of Rome, to tread vnder foot the scepter of princes, and to establish an ecclesiasticall tyrannie within this countrie; under pretence of new invented presbyteres, which neither should answer to the king nor bishop under his maiestie: but should haue such infinit iurisdiction, as neither the law of God nor man can tollerat; which is onelie his maiesties intention to repress, and not to take awaie anie godlie or due order in the church, as hereafter shall appeare.

The third act of his maiesties foresaid parlement dischargeth all iudgements ecclesiasticall, and all assemblies which are not allowed by his maiesties parlement. Which act speciallie concerneth the removing and discharging of that forme, intended in this land, called the presbyterie: wherein a number of ministers of certeine precincts and bounds, accounting themselves to be equall, without anie difference, and gathering vnto them certeine gentlemen and others of his maiesties subiects, vsurpe the whole ecclesiasticall iurisdiction, & altereth the lawes at their owne pleasure, without the knowledge or approbation of the king, or of the estate: a forme of doing without example of anie nation, subiect to a christian prince. The perill thereof did so increase, that in case it had not bene repressed in due season, & forbidden by his maiesties lawes, the same had troubled the whole countrie: and being tried by his highnesse to be the ouerthrow of his maiesties estate, the decaye of his crowne, and a readie introduction to Anabaptistrie, and popular confusion in all estates; his maiestie hath giuen commandement against the same. And that the reader may knowe the danger thereof by manie inconueniences, which thereby inueth in this land, I will onelie set downe one, whereby they may vnderstand what perill was in the rest.

The ambassadoz of France, returning home into his countrie, commanded the prouosts, bailiffes, and conestable of Edinburgh to make him a banquet, that he might be receiued honozable according to the amitie of ancient times betwene the two nations. This commandement was giuen on the Saturday by his highnesse, and the banquet appointed to be on the mondaie. A number of the foresaid pretended presbyterie vnderstanding thereof, assembled themselves on the sundae in the morning, and presumptuously determined & agreed, that the ministers of Edinburgh should proclaime a fasting vpon the same mondaie; where their fenerall ministers one after another made three fenerall sermons, and inuadines against the prouosts, bailiffes, and counsell for the time, and the noble men in the countrie, who repaired to the banquet at his maiesties command. The foresaid presbyterie called and persuaded them, and scarcelie by his maiesties authoritie could be withhelden from excommunicating the magistrats and noble men, for obteing onelie his highnesse lawfull command; which the law of all countries called *Im gentium*, requiries towards ambassadors of foreign countries. And not onelie in this, but innumerable other things, their commandement was proclaimed directlie, vnder the paine of excommunication to the kings maiestie and his lawes.

Which forme of proceeding ingendered nothing but disquietnesse, sedition, and trouble: as may manifestlie appeare, in that the especiall authors of the inuenting, promoting, and assisting of the foresaid pretended presbyterie, hath joined themselves with his maiesties rebels; and being forth of the realme, in respect of their guiltinesse, hath discouered what malicious practises was deuised amongst them, if God had not in tyme prouided remedie. The

The other forme of iudgement, which his maiestie hath discharged, is the generall assemble of the whole cleargie in the realme: under pretense whereof a number of ministers from sundrie presbyteries did assemble, with some gentlemen of the countrie; whereof, some for that time (malcontents of the state) sought that colour as fauourers of the ministerie, by the which they haue practised manie enterprises in the realme; where there was no certaine law in ecclesiasticall affaires, but all depended vpon the said generall convention, where the laws of the church were alterable after the number of voices, which for the most part succeded into the most vnlearned of the multitude.

* which is one of the estates of parliament.

This generall assemble amongst other things, did appoint and agree with his maiesties regents in his minoritie, that the estate of bishops should be maintained and authorized, as is registered in the booke of counsell, and subscribed by the commissioners for the time. Which order was obserued manie yeares, and bishops by their consents appointed to their diocesse, untill within this late time, in assemblies holden at Dundee, and Glasgowe, respecting the foresaid ministers and assemblies, toke vpon them contrarie to their owne handwritting, to discharge the estate, and to declare the same to be vnlawfull in their pretended manner. And there commanded the bishops of the countrie, to demit and leave their offices and iurisdictions, and that in no wise they should passe to the kings counsell or parliament, without commission obtained from their assemble: that they should confirme nothing in parlement and counsell, but according to their acts and instructions. And further, they directed their commissioners to the kings maiestie, commanding him and the counsell vnder paine of the censures of the church (whereby they vnderstood excommunication) to appoint no bishop in time to come, because they had concluded that estate to be vnlawfull. And notwithstanding, that which they would haue effected in the bishops, they purposed to erect in themselves, desiring that such commissioners as they should send to parlement and counsell, might be authorized in place of the estate: whereby it should haue come to passe, that whereas now his maiestie may select the most godlie, learned, wise, and experienced of the ministerie, to be on his maiesties estate, his highnesse should haue bene by that meanes compelled to accept such as the multitude, by an od consent of the most vnlearned, should haue appointed, which could not tend but to the ouerthrow of the realme.

After they had discharged bishops, they agreed to haue superintendents, commissioners, and visitors: but in the end they decerned that there should be no difference amongst the ministers, and imagined that new forme of presbyterie, whereof we haue spoken before. Neither was there anie other appearance that they should haue staied from such baillie alterations in the common-wealth, which could not but continually be disputed, where the law of conscience, which they maintained by the sword of cursing, was subject to such mutations, at the arbitrement of a number, whereof the most part had not greatlie tasted of learning. At once the foresaid assemble was accustomed, not onelie to prescribe the law to the king and estate, but also did at certaine times appoint generall fastings through out the realme; especiallie, when some factioner in the countrie was to moue anie great enterprize. For at the fast, all the ministers were commanded by the assemble to sing one song, and to crie out vpon the abuses (as they termed it) of the court and estate for the time: whereby is most certaine great alterations

to haue ensued in this land; while at the good pleasure of God, and his blessing towards his maiestie, the pretense of the last fast was discovered, and his highnesse deliuered from such attempts, whereby his maiestie hath bene iustlie moued to discharge such conventions, which might import to preiudiciallie to his estate.

But especiallie his maiestie had no small occasion, whereas the same assemble being met at Edinburgh, did authorize and auow the fact perpetrated at Ruthwen, in the taking of his highnesse most noble person. The which deed notwithstanding, with the aduise of his estates in parlement accounted to be treason; the said assemble esteeming their iudgement to be the soueraigne iudgement of the realme, hath not onlie approved the same, but also ordeined all them to be excommunicate that would not subscribe and allow the same. So the acts of this assemble, and the lawes of the estate directed, twined in ciuill matter, with the which the assemble should not haue medled, it behoued his highnesse either to discharge himselfe of the crowne, or the ministerie of the forme of the assemble, which in deed of it selfe, without the kings maiesties licence & approbation, could not be lawfull, like as generall counsels at no time could assemble, without the commandement of the emperor for the time. And our king hath no lesse power within his owne realme than anie of them had in the empire. Vea the bishop of S. Andrews had not in time of poperie, power to conuent the bishops and clergie out of their owne diocesse, without licence giuen before by his highnes most noble progenitors of good memorie, and the causes thereof intimate and allowed.

Notwithstanding that his maiesties intention and meaning maie fullie be vnderstood, it is his highnesse will, that the bishop or commissioners of anie diocesse or prouince, or part thereof, shall at their visitation appoint in euerie parish, according to the greatnesse thereof, some honest, vertuous, and discreet men, to aid and assist the minister, and to haue the ouersight and censure of the maners and behauior of the people of that parish. And if there be anie notable offense, worthe of punishment, that the bishop and commissioners be aduertised thereof, who shall haue an officer of armes to be assistant for the punishment of vice and execrations to follow therevpon: that they who contemne the godlie and lawfull order of the church, maie find by experience his maiesties displeasure, and be punished according to their desertings. And further, his maiestie vpon necessarie occasions which shall fall forth, by diuers maners of waies amongst the clergie, vpon humble supplication made to his highnesse, will not refuse to grant them licence to assist the bishops, commissioners, and some of the most vertuous, learned and godlie of their diocesse, where such ecclesiasticall matters, as appertaine to the vniuersitie of doctrine and conuersation of a godlie order in the church, maie be intreated and concluded in his maiesties owne presence, or some of his honorable counsell, who shall assist for the time: where if necessitie so require, a publike fast throughout the whole realme maie be commanded, and by his maiesties authoritie proclaimed, to auoid the imminent displeasure and danger of the wrath of the Lords iudgements, which is the right end of publike humilitie, and not vnder pretense thereof to couer such enterprises, as haue heretofore disquieted and troubled the peace of this common wealth.

The twentieth act ratifieth and approueth, and establisheth the estate of the bishops within the realme, to haue the ouersight and iurisdiction, euerie one in their owne diocesse: which forme of gouernement, and

and rule in ecclesiasticall affaires, hath not onlie continued in the church from the daies of the apostles, by continuall succession of time, and manie martyrs in that calling shed their blood for the truth: but also this realme embraced and receiued the christian religion, the same estate hath bene maintained, to the welfare of the church, and quietnes of the realme without anie interruption, untill within these few yeares, some curious and busie men haue praised to induce into the ministerie an equalitie in all things, aswell concerning the preaching of the word, administration of the sacraments, as likewise in discipline, order, and policie. The which confusion his maiestie finding by most dangerous experience, to haue bene the mother and nurse of great factions, seditions, and troubles within this realme, hath with aduise of his highnes estates, aduisedlie concluded, the said pretended partie in discipline, orders and policie in the church, to be no longer to be tolerated in his countrie, but the solicitude & care of all churches in one diocesse to apperteyne to the bishop and commissioners therof, who shall be answerable to God, and his maiestie, and estates, for the right administration and discharge of the office of particular ministers, within the bounds of his iurisdiction. For as it becommeth his maiestie, as Eusebius writeth of Constantinus the great, to be a bishop of bishops, and vniuersall bishop within his realme, in so far as his maiestie should appoint euerie one to discharge his duetie: which his highnesse cannot, his countrie being large and great, take him to euerie minister that shall offend and transgresse against dutie, or quarrell with the whole number of the ministerie: but it behoueth his maiestie to haue bishops & ouerscers vnder him which may be answerable for such bounds, as the law and order of the countrie hath limited and appointed to euerie one of them. And that they hauing access to his maiesties parliament and counsell, may intercede for the rest of the brethren of the ministerie, propound their graces vnto his highnesse and estates, and receiue his maiesties sauourable answer therein. The which forme doth preserve a goodlie quietnesse, vnitie, concord and peace in the estate, and one vni forme order in the church. As contrariwise, the pretended equalitie diuiderth the same, and vnder the pretense of equalitie maketh the same of the most craftie and subtil dealers to be aduanced and enriched: and in pretending of partie, to seeke nothing but their owne ambition and aduancement aboue the rest of the simple sort.

And notwithstanding that his maiestie hath re-established the said estate, it is not his highnesse will and intent, that the foresaid bishop shall haue such full power as to doe within his diocesse what he pleaseth, for his maiestie cannot allot of anie popular confusion, wherein (as the proverbe saith) Nulla tyrannis equiparanda est tyrannidi multitudinis, that is: No tyrannie can be compared to the tyrannie of a multitude, hauing commandement and power in his hands: so on the other part his maiesties will is, that the bishops authoritie in anie graue matter, be limited to the counsell of wise men of the most ancient, wise, and goodlie persons of his diocesse, selected out of the whole synodall assemble of the prouince: by whose aduise, or at the least the most part thereof, the weightie affaires of the church may be gouerned to the glorie of God, and quietnes of the realme. Further it is his highnesse will and commandement, that their bishops and commissioners shoulde in the yeare, to wit, ten daies after Easter, and the first of September, hold their synodall assemblies in euerie diocesse, for the keeping of god orders therein: and if anie be stubborne, or contemne within their

bounds the good order of the church, that it may be declared vnto his maiestie, and punished to the example of others, according to their desertings. Neither is it his maiesties meaning or intent, that such bishops or commissioners as shall be appointed, shall receiue their onelie and full commission of his maiestie without admission ordinarie, by such as are appointed to that effect in the church: but hauing his highnesse nomination, presentation, and commendation as lawfull and onlie patrons, they to be tried and examined, that their qualities are such as they are able to discharge their cure and office. And if it shall happen anie of the said bishops or commissioners, to be negligent in their office, or to be slanderous or offensive in their behauior, life, and maners, in time to come, it is not his highnesse will, that they shall be exempted from correction, notwithstanding anie priuilege of his highnesse estate, counsell or parliament: but their labors, trauels, diligence and behauiors, to be tried in the generall assemble, not consisting of a confused multitude, as it was before; but of such worshipfull persons as is heretofore prescribed in his highnesse presence, or his deputies to that effect.

Lastlie his maiestie giueth commission to the said bishops or commissioners at their visitations, to consider in what part of the countrie, the enterprise, or interpretation of the scripture, by conference of a certeine number of the ministerie within those bounds, may be most commodiouslie once in euerie fixtē daies. For as his maiestie inhibits all vniuersall meetings, that may ingender trouble and contention in the countrie: so his maiestie is well affected to see the ministerie increase in knowledge and vnderstanding, and by all means to fortifie and aduance the same. Wherein his highnesse commandement is, that a graue, wise, and sage man shall be appointed president, who may haue the ouersight of these bounds, and be answerable therefore to the bishop, his counsell and synod; and he to be respected reasonable for his paines, at the modification of stipends: that all things may be orderly done in the church, peace & quietnesse maintained in the realme, and we deliuered from apparant plagues, and the blessings of God continued to the comfort of our posteritie. And in the meane time his highnesse inhibits & expresse forbids vnder the paines conteyned in his maiesties acts of parliament, & all other pains arbitrable at his maiesties sight & counsell, that no minister take in hand to assemble themselves for the foresaid cause, without the appointment and order taken by the said bishops or commissioners, whereby his highnesse may be certeinly informed, that the foresaid ministers assemble not, to meddle with anie ciuill matters, or affaires of estate, as was accustomed before; but onelie to profit in the knowledge of the word, and to be comforted one by another in the administration of their spirituall office: which his highnesse wisheth them faithfully to discharge, and then to call to God, that his maiestie may in a prosperous reigne enioie good and long life, and continuall increase in the feare of the almighty.

Besides which, the king at the end of this his intention, did further articulate his intention into sundrie heads as here followeth.

The kings intention drawne into certeine articles, and published in print.



As maiesties intention is, by the grace of God, to mainteine the true and sincere profession of the gospel, and preaching thereof within his realme.

2 His maiesties intention is, to correct and punish such as seditiously abuse the truth, and factiously applie or rather betwaine the text of the scripture to the disquieting of the state and disturbing of the commonwealth, or impairing of his highnesse and counsels honour.

3 His maiesties intention is, if any question of faith and doctrine arise, to conuocate the most learned, godlie, wise, and experienced pastors, that by conference of scriptures the veritie may be tried, and all heresie and schisme by that means expressed.

4 His maiesties intention is, that for the keeping of good order in euery paroch, certeine ouerscers to the good behauiour of the rest, be appointed at the visitation of the bishop or visitour, who shall haue his maiesties authoritie, and officers of armes concurring for the punishment of vice.

5 His maiesties intention is, to mainteine the exercise of prophesie for the increase and continuing of knowledge amongst the ministerie: in which a wise and a graue man selected by the bishop or commissioner at the synodall assemblie, shall render account of the administration of those bounds, where the exercise is holden, for which cause some respect of liuing shall be had vnto him, who susteins that burden.

6 His maiesties intention is, not to derogate from the ordinarie iudgement of matters of the church by the ordinaries bishops, their counsels and synods: but if any of them doe amisse, and abuse their calling, to take order for correcting, amending and punishing thereof.

7 His maiesties intention is, not to hinder or staie any godlie or solid order, grounded vpon the word of God, and order of the primitive church, but that the ministers of the word meddle themselves onelie with their owne calling, and iudge not fearfullie of the estate.

8 It is his maiesties intention, that the presbyteries consisting of manie ministers and gentlemen, at handwar or otherwaies, be not further tollerat in his realme: but the exercise of iurisdiction of all churches to be in the hand of the bishop or commissioner, and their counsels and synods.

9 It is his maiesties intention, that the bishops or commissioners assemble not any generall assemblie out of the whole realme, without his maiesties knowledge and licence obtained therevnto: which vpon supplication his highnesse will not denie, that an vniforme order may be obserued in the whole realme, and the bishops and their diligences there tried and examined, and the complaints of euery particular heard and discusled.

10 It is his maiesties intention to assist this assemblie himselfe, or by a noble man of his counsell, his highnesse deputie.

11 It is his maiesties intention, that when any paroch findeth necessitie of any fast, they informe the occasion to the bishop or commissioner and their counsell, that they may vnderstand the cause to be lawfull; as likewise the bishop of the diocesse finding lawfull occasion, may within the same, with his counsell prescribe any publicke humilitation.

12 It is his maiesties intention, that a generall fast throughout the whole realme, shall not be proclaimed but by his maiesties commandement, or by a generall counsell, wher in his maiestie or his highnesse deputie is present.

13 It is his highnesse intention, that the bishops in the realme in euery diocesse with their counsell proceed into the ecclesiasticall gouernement, but as is said with a counsell, that both tyrannie and confusion may be auoided in the church.

14 It is his maiesties intention, that commissi-

oners be directed vniuersallie throughout the whole realme, to establish a godlie order, and that his maiesties commissioners take order presently for the translation of such ministers, whose travels they e, seeme may more conuenientlie and profitablie serue in an other place.

These things was the king saue to publish, to staie the euill report of such as went about to touch him for the breach of the christian order in religion, which being nothing but that which seemeth answerable to naturall sense & princelie maiestie, should neither by malice haue moued, nor for colour of religion procured any beyond the warrant of the word of God, or the due tie of naturall allegiance to resist the kinglie ordinance, or to lift by their sword or word against him, who being a god in earth, presenteth the maiestie of the God of heauen. But teaching the discourse of these things to preachers, to whom it belongeth to instruct vs in our dutie to God, to our prince, & to our neighbours, we will turne againe to the other following occurrents of Scotland. And yet before we speake any thing of those matters, sith I haue in this place as well as in manie other spoken of parlements & acts of parlement, I thinke it not amisse to set downe somewhat collected out of authors touching their manner and order of parlement, and that the rather because the same consisteth of three estates, and the princes confirmation as our parlement doth, from whence it seemeth to me that they haue set their light. Touching which, Lesleus in his Scottish historie lib. 1. pag. 75. vnder the title of Leges Scotorum, writeth in this sort. Qui vero seculi negotijs sese implicantes in ecclesiasticorum album non referuntur, legibus, quas reges descripserunt, aut regum voce confirmatas, tres regni ordines sanxerunt, continentur, has partim Latino, partim Scotico sermone confirmatas, regni municipales leges vocamus: libro qui leges Latine scriptas continet, titulus (regiam maiestatem) præfigitur, quod ab illis vocibus libri exordium ducatur. Reliquis legum libris, comitiis (quæ populari sermone parliamenta dicimus) acta inscribuntur. Quanquam hæc aduertendum, nos ita lege municipaliter teneri, ut si causa multis controuersijs implicata (quod sæpe fit) incidat quæ legibus nostratibus non possit dirimi, statim quicquid ad hanc controuersiam decidendam necessarium censetur, ex ciuilibus Romanorum libris promatur. Sed si quis legum nostrarum originem velit conquistare inuestigare, intelligat potestatem hæc ferendi antiquandique trium ordinum suffragijs liberè in publico latis regis assensu confirmatis esse positam. On which parlements so assembled, consisting of the three estates, & the princes confirming voice (in the beginning whereof the king goeth to the place where that assemblie is made, to keepe such parlement attired in his regall garments, with the sword and other ornaments, the ensignes of his kingdome and knightlie authoritie, eared before him, attended on with all his nobilitie and cleargie) those common people with maiesties giue such be names as seemeth best fitting to themselves, and is most answerable to the nature & order of that parlement, as we also doe here in England, whereof I could produce manie examples of both nations, which at this time I will forbear, and onelie set downe one proofe (as well of England as Scotland) to confirme the same, least in passing it ouer without some example thereof, I might make some defect of knowledge consisting in matters of this kind, without asse sound matter. Wherefore I say, that as in England in the yeare of our redemption one thousand two hundred fiftie and eight, being the two and fortieth yeare of the reigne of king Henry the sixth, the parlement

The parlements of Scotland consisted of three estates.

Parlements nicknames.

The made parlement.

ment held at Oxford by the lords against the king, was called *Parlamentum infamum*, because manie things were there intruded which turned to the death of diuerse noble men. So the Scots in like manner benamied a parliament, in the yeare of April 1556, (being the fourteenth yeare of Marie the notie imprisoned quene of Scotland) and called the same a running parliament, because there were manie intermissions and remissions during the continuance therof, as appeareth by Lelous in these words.

The running parliament.

Lelous.

A q̄ste frequēti habita fuit Edinburgi trium ordinum comitis, in quibus domini Brachp̄m̄, Grangior, Delacour, & alij magni, quorum bona a gubernatore publicata fuerunt, singularem regni Francie commendatione dignam, fama atque bonis rebus fuit. Hic vero comitis, quod intermissa potius quam omnia, quasi continuarentur, nomen a iudice acciperent, ut currentia dicerentur. Thus much being said about their parliaments, let vs againe fall with our pen into the other matters of Scotland.

1585

About this time an ambassage was sent out of England into Scotland, for the concluding of a peace betwene both nations; the contents whereof, the king (opening unto the lords and gentlemen assembled in parliament, and holden at saint Andrews) did vnto them this speech following.

The kings speech to the estates, concerning a league in religion with England.

WHO causis my lordis and ye all of the estates have moued me to send for you at this time to craue your aduises towards them, quharof sith the one is generall & the other particular, I will begin at the generall as the matter of greatest weicht. Amongst all the benefitis that God doth bestow vpon his elect and church, the triall and sifting of the god chosin from the bad hypocritis, is one of the most speciall, quibich he hath vsed in all ages for the separation of thame, althowh for that to lang companie of the wicked doth corrupt the goodlie, as also that their separation is a taken in this earth, of Godis lūe towards them, quibich triall he doth notio chesellie vs, for that the number of the wicked doth abound in these latter daies, quherin God doth permit the diuell most to rage. For quhat greater triall of the faithfull can there be, than the confederating togidder of all the basard christians, I meane the papists in a league quibich they terme holie, albeit most unholie in varie truth, for the subuersion of the true religion in all realmes throughout the quhole warld. This is a matter so manifest and notorious to you all, euen by the report of the smallest merchantis that traueill, as it doth dilate the felle, thought I were silent.

This leagues quhome of I speake, are composed of Frenchmen and Hispaniols, assisted with the king of Spaine and the papes monie, solemlie stroue to performe the foresaid enterpryse before they leaue armies: the perswasions quherof we ought to resist for thre causes (to wit) for conscience, honor, and loue of selfis. For gif they maie attaine to their purpose (as God forbid) either will they destroye or cast out vs, our vills and childre in, & quhat thence we possesse, gif we remaine constant; either else must we render Christ Jesus, and suffer our soules to be the most nablest part of man to be bound with the bonds of idolatrie, and our bodies to be vnto at their insatiable pleasures. But sith the loue of our selfis and our honour cannot pervert the one, and that our consciences and the remembrance vnto God, cannot suffer the other: I craue my lordis; but first & soundest opinions and aduises quhat ye thinke fittest to be vsed for the remedie hereof. But gif ye desire to see how my

opinion, it is this in fere locutis; that as simple christian princis have already counselled me, our contraleague shalbe made, not aneie intermis, but in effect holie, for the joining togidder all true christian princis to defend themselves, in case of other troubles. A thing hurtfull to none, profitable for felicitie acceptable to God, and vnto in the sight of the world. By this meanes shall our consciences, honours, and liues be preserved, and God and his religion glorified and aduanced.

And sith the quene of England is not anie a true christian, but also merest to wit to be in neighbourly confanguinitie and goodwill, I thinke it writt in mine opinion, that it be our league first and most aduantageous with hir; for quibich cause I have made and set before a forme of act to be subscribed by you all, quherin ye promise to ratifie and approve in parliament, quhatsoeuer articles I, or anie in my name shall conclude with the quene of England, or anie in hir name, for the making and effecting of the foresaid league. But for that the act it selfe will more ample informe you, it shalbe presently read in all your audiēcies.

Upon this speech the lords being of diuerse opinions, some willing to embrace the league with England, and some desirous to leave it, and to loine in amitie with France according to the most ancientest leagues, which haue bene established betwene them and the Scots by most of their former kings (whereof the first was Athaus, who entering league with Charles the great, had a token of confirmation on therof, which was the flower delices added to the arms of Scotland) there was nothing done in that conuention. After which, the banished lords of Scotland remaining in England, entered their countrie: and after some abode there made, vpon diuerse meetings & consultations, at last gathered their powers, and on the first of Nouember they pitched their tents, placed there as it had bene a new towne, to the great terror of their enemies within Scotland: determining for the cause of their comming this proclamation following.

The proclamation published by the nobilitie of Scotland, conteining the causes of their repairing towards the towne of sterling to the kings maiestie, the second daie of Nouember.

WHERAS the kings maiestie our soveraigne good, naturall, and vertuous education is notio plainelie understood to have bene abused, and his roiall qualities giuen to him by the almightie God (which caused his fame far above the capacitie of his yeares to be magnified, and worthilie praised, to the great comfort of all his subiects) hath bene these yeares past obscured by the craft & subtiltie of some lewd and wicked persons of no desert or worthinesse, and for the most part of base linage, not borne to one foot breadth of land, yet of marvellous aspiring tozongs and cruell inclination; who vnder colour of friendship and blood creeping in about his maiestie, and seeking onelie their owne particular profit and promotion, shaking off (as it were) not onelie all christian and charitable nature: but euen the generall points and offices of humantie vnto amongst most barbarous people, without feare of God or man, as subtill fiers and bloudie tooles, by working of lawes and other deceitfull practises, both so wasted, tozme in peccēs, and deuoured the whole bodie of this afflicted commonwealth, that of the whole ancient forme of iustice and policie receiued of our ancestors, remaineth nothing, neither in spirituall or temporall estate;

S. J. g.

estate;

State; but the naked shaddo & counterfetted maske thereof to our souveraignes high dishonour, our opprobrie (who are a part of his nobilitie) and heauie greefe of all good men throughout the realme. It is euidentlie knowne that iustice and quietnesse was in the realme, what heartie loue betwixt his maiestie and his subjects; what beautifull countenance the church of God had, what daikie hope of increase; what expectation was of his highnesse in farrren nations, before the arrivall of Degenie, afterwards called the duke of Lennox, and the entring in credit of James Stewart, and cojonell Stewart with their unhapie companions. But what hath succeeded since, no true Scottis hart can remember without extreame dolour: for there is no part or corner within the land at this time peaceable or quiet, but all replentished with particular enimities, and cruell reuenges without punishment.

It is also well knowne, that whereas the wisest of his maiesties most noble progenitors labored by clemencie, not by crueltie to possesse the hearts of their subjects, & to keepe the strengths of their realms in their owne hands (thereby meaning the better to preserve themselves against such inconveniences, as many princes of that land misgouverned, and lead by peruerse counsell haue bene subiect vnto) that the foresaid abusours had depriued his maiestie both of the one and the other so far as in them lye. For the chiefe strengths of the realme are in Arrane his hands, who by agging of his pedigree by descent from duke Goddarche (one that was beheaded for his treason against his souereigne) was not ashamed to saie (meaning of himselfe) Here stands the person of king James the seventh. And to the end that the hearts of the people might be alienated from his highnesse, and so (as appeareth) his maiestie made unable to punish them, if at any time hereafter he should perceiue their false and treasonable doings, what can be added more than these said seditious hath already done in that behalfe, seeing under his maiesties name and authoritie, such parcialitie is vsed in all matters, such extortion with crueltie, and incredible dissimulation throughout the whole land, that were it not of his good subiects (upon the experience of his mild & calme gouernement before these lewd men about him) clerelie vnderstood that the causes of all these misorders ought to be imputed vnto them, & not to himselfe, they had long agoone by vniuersall male-contentment of the people (procuring from the causes aforesaid) procured a great distraction of the kings leges hearts, and had cast his maiesties honor, crowne, and estate in marvellous danger; whereas now (blessed be God) all his true subiects are certeinlie perswaded, that if the said lewd persons could be separated from his maiestie, he would returne againe to exercise his former clemencie and towardnes in euerie respect, which hath bene these pceres past maruellouslie eclipsed by the craft of those treasonable persons aforesaid, who not onelie haue sought & seek for their particular commoditie, the destruction of certein seuerall persons; but euen (as it appeareth) haue conspired against the whole bodie of the realme, in so much as there is no estate of the land free from their persecutions.

The worst & chief and most ancient of the barons and nobilitie (namelie such as haue giuen best proofe of their forwardnes in true religion, and fidelitie to their souereigne) are by parcialitie, and wresting of lawes, without mercie either executed, conspired, imprisoned, banished, or at the least debarred his maiesties presence, against the ministerie, scholes, and alergie, acts and proclamations published, inhibiting their presbyteries, assemblies, and other exercises, priuileges, and immunities ratified by parlia-

ments, proceedings, or at the least by laudable rites some permitted euer since the first reformation of religion within this land; and without the which the puritie of doctrine, and right forme of the ecclesiasticall discipline cannot long continue: as being the onelie meanes to trie & examine the liues, maners, and knowledge of euerie person, and to reforme the same if need requite. With this the most learned, and of most vnspotted liues of that number, are either compelled for safetie of their liues and consciences to abandon their countrie, or else inhibited to preach, or depriued of their stipends, Jesuits, seminarie priests, and such as be knowne practisers in diuers nations for the execution of the bloody council of Trent are interteined, and in great estimation; yea some indurated papists in session, to occupie the places from the which the most godlie & faithfull senators haue bene by them delected. An euident presage of the ouerthrow of true religion. And concerning the estate of burrowes, by intrusion of such magistrats to rule aboue them, as neither are comburgeses, nor apt to discharge them selues of such offices; but men elected to applause and to consent to the appetite of the seditious aforesaid, these priuileges & ancient liberties are so preiudiced, that without timelie remedie, that estate (sometime a great ornament of the land) must needs suddenly decaye. So as these three pillars (whereby the king & common wealth should be preserved & upheld) being wasted & vndermined in maner aboue written, what can be expected but vniuersall ruine and ouerthrow of the whole bodie of the estate; except God of his mercie prevent the same. Besides all these, the foresaid abusours not resting content with the enormities aboue exprest, haue practised, and daikie do practise to turne the happy amitie & loue, which now a good space hath stood betwene the inhabitants of the whole Ile in open hostilitie & hatred, without respect of neighborhood or kindred, standing betwene the two princes, or regard had to the benefits that his maiestie of England hath bestowed upon the king our souereigne, and his whole countrie, first by planting of true religion within this realme, and next by preserving his maiestie, when as in his minoritie he could not take in hand or enterprize for himselfe.

To this effect they openlie delt with such persons as by all meanes sought his maiesties destruction, as by the confession of sundrie his maiesties rebels latelie executed in England is made manifest. But how soone they perceiued open danger to arise, by open dealing with his enemies, then fraudfullie to flude his maiestie, they haue pretended these monthes past, in great friendship and kindnesse, promising largelie in that behalfe, and offering to capitulat a bond offensive and defensive to stand perpetuallie. But in the end, notwithstanding all these liberall promises, the effects by experience declare nothing to haue bene in their minds but falshood & crueltie, as by the late murder of the lord Russell is manifest to the whole world, who being a yong noble man, for his birth and qualittes verie honorable and vertuous, and of great expectation, & for his earnest zeale to religion, and good affection to the king our souereigne, and to all Scottis men in generall, one that merited great praise, loue and commendation: yet he was murdered in most odious and treasonable maner, euen when as greatest kindnes and friendship was pretended; which cannot but produce marvellous suspition and slander, as well against the king our souereigne, as against the whole countrie, to his maiesties great dishonour, and discredit of his innocent subiects, if condigne iustice be not ministered vpon the authors, and the executors of this horrible crime aforesaid.

It self, which is most of all, and necessarie craueth present reformation, the foresaid abusers couer all these enormities with his maiesties name and authority, thereby thinking to excuse themselves, and to laie the burden on him. And therefore, as it cannot be but verie slanderous and dangerous to his maiestie, if such licentious persons (who hath already made shipwacks of all honestie) be suffered to remaine in his compaignie: so is it shamefull to be reported in other nations, that such a few number of beggerlie fellows replenished with all vice, should ertinguishe the beautie of the nobilitie, haue empire ouer the whole countrie, and keepe his maiestie thral to authority by his roiall power their abhominable and execrable facts. For the causes aforesaid, and manie others that might be iustlie alleged, we of his maiesties nobilitie here present, in the feare of God and our soveraignes obedience, being through Gods free mercie called to be professors of the blessed euangell, and bozne counsellors to his highnesse our soueraigne, bound in dutie not onelie to hazard, render and renounce our liues, lands, and goods (if need be) for the same euangell and true religion, but also in conscience charged to be carefull of his maiesties welfare, honoz, and reputation, and to procure to our abilitie, peace and quietnesse to him and his realme, hauing our lands and heritages for that effect, holden of his maiesties most noble progenitozs of worthie memorie.

In consideration of which great enormities and tyrannies, hauing conuened our selues together for redress and reformation of the same, seeing the suffering thereof hath already wounded the estate of true religion, dishonored his maiestie, disturbed the whole realme, and had almost disioined aswell the hearts of the princes as of the subiects of the two nations: we thinke it therefore high time, and we are in dutie and conscience (all doubt and perill set apart) to procure the separation and thrusting awaie of the said desperat and enoyned persons from about his maiestie, that his highnesse being restored to his former libertie, maiestie, peaceable, and wiselie gouerne his subiects and realme, by aduise of graue, modest, and indifferent counsellors; onelie respecting his maiesties suertie and preservation, to the end that the afflicted church within this land maie be comforted, and all acts latelie made in prejudice of the same, maie be solemnlie cancelled, and for euer aduolled, his maiestie restored to his former libertie, the bodie of his commonwealth (by punishing of vice cheselie vpon the authors of these late misorders, and maintenance of vertue) maie be once discharged of the heauie oppressions and iniuries that they haue with no small græfe so long sustained, and the happy amitie with England reestablished and conserued, to the high glorie of God, honoz of the king our soueraigne, and vniuersall contentment of all good men euerie where. In prosecution thereof, we protest before God and his holie angels, we shall neither spare our liues, lands, nor goods, but frankelie hazard and expend the same as need craveth, vntill the said abusers be either apprehended or presented to iustice, to suffer for their demerits; or else (if they cannot be found out) till they be debarred from his maiesties compaignie, and expelled the realme.

Wherefore we command and charge (in our soueraignes lords name) all and sundrie his subiects, as well to burrow as to land, to fortifie and assist this goodlie enterpryse, and to concurre with vs to that effect, as they will giue testimonie of their affection to the aduancement of true religion, his maiesties suertie and welfare, and the publike quietnesse of the whole realme; certifieng all and sundrie that with

attempt any thing to the contrarie, or will not take one fold and plaine part with vs, we will repute them as partakers of all vice and iniquitie, authors of the treasonable conspiratozs aforesaid, and enemies of true religion, to his maiestie and his authority, and to the publike quietnesse betwixt the two realmes, & will vse them in bodie and goods accordingly. And that all iustices as well lords of sessions as iurists, commissioners, and other inferior iudges sit and administer iustice to the furtherance thereof, according to the laws of the realme, as they will answer vpon their allegiance and bittermost perill, with certification of the disobeioz, as is aforesaid.

The assemble of the nobilitie and the proclamation thus knowne, diuerse matters passed betwixt the king and the lords, as petitions to and fro made and exhibited, with grants therevnto according: and to conclude, much congratulation was made for returne into their countrie of Scotland. In December there was a parlement called at Lithgo, at what time the earle of Arrane was displaced from his earldome, and (if I erre not) of fice of chancellozship: the remembrance wherof hath induced me to record some things touching some such persons as haue possessed that dignitie.

The names and times of certeine chancellors of Scotland, gathered out of the histories of that nation.



William Wood, bishop of Dunblaine was chancelloz to William king of Scots, which began his reigne in the yeare of Christ 1185, as some haue (but Lesleus, lib. 6. hath 1160, whose account herein is false) and continued in that office at the time of the death of the said William, which fell in the yeare of Christ 1214. After whose death he was by Alexander the second confirmed in the same place of chancelloz.

John Lion chancelloz of Scotland (in the time of Robert the second of that name, and the first of the house of the Stewards which bore the crowne) was chancelloz of Scotland, who being in great fauour with the said Robert the second, married the ladie Elizabeth daughter vnto the said king, with whom he had in franke marriage diuerse possessions called Clames, wherby he was called lord of Clames; of which Lion is that surname descended, who in memorie of that marriage beare in their armes the lions and lillies, with the tressie in such forme as the king of Scotland beareth the same, except that their lions be placed in a blacke field, as Holinshed hath noted. Which Lion being chancelloz was slain in the yeare of our Lord 1380, being about the tenth yeare of the same Robert the second, who after banished the earle of Crawford.

Gilbert Grenlatz bishop of Aberdeen, being chancelloz about the yeare of Christ 1411, in the vacancie of the kingdom, vnder duke Moribacke, bestrawne the death of Robert the second (which fell in the yeare of Christ 1406, and the beginning of the reigne of James the first, in the yeare of our Lord 1426) was sent ambassadoz into France with other noble men of Scotland. After which ambassage in France this Gilbert liued not verie long: for Henrie Lichon, who came thoslie in his place of the bishopricke, was with other sent ambassadoz into England, to fetch home James the first, and to instruct him in the crowne of Scotland.

William Creighton knight, whom Lesleus termeth the wisest man that euer Scotland saw, being chancelloz to James the first, was (in the yeare 1433, about the ninth yeare of the same king James) with the earle of Angus, and Adam Hepburne of Hales, sent

William Wood

John Lion

Gilbert Grenlatz

William Creighton

sent to the castle of Dunbar, with letters signed with the kings hand, directed to the keepers of the castle to deliver the same to the bringers thereof: which the keepers of that castle durst not disobey, but permitted them to enter accordingly. After this in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred thirtie five, & the eleventh of the same king, he was sent ambassador into Denmarke, where he concluded a sound peace betwene the nations of Denmarke and Scotland; which good service being well rewarded, he was after the death of James the first, and in the entrance of James the second into the government of Scotland, in the yeare of our Lord 1436, confirmed in his office of chancelorship, beside which he had the government of the kings person, and of the castle of Edinburgh committed to his charge. Then by reason of contention which fell betwene sir Alexander Levingston the governor of the realme and this chancelor, they fell to parts taking in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred thirtie and seven, whereby ensued much mischief and bloodshed in the realme (as alwaies by my obseruation I haue found to happen during the minoritye and the insufficiencye of kings) at that time the queene taking part with the governor against the chancelor, found means by subtiltie to get the king into hir possession out of the hands of the chancelor, after that she had handsomely trusted by the king in a tronke like a fardell full of apparell, whereupon the governor besieged the chancelor in the castell of Edinburgh, but in the end they agreed that Creichton should still keepe the castle of Edinburgh and his office of chancelor.

James the second.

That done, in the yeare one thousand four hundred thirtie and nine, and the third yeare of James the second, the chancelor obtained to haue the queen Dowager, and hir husband James Steward lord of Rothe released out of the prison of Sterling, whither they were committed by the governor. Which done, the chancelor keeping in mind the decree of the queene, in overreaching him by getting the king out of his possession, and seeing the governor to take the whole authoritie on him at his pleasure, did so worke, that he found means that he onely accompanied with foure & twentie persons, did againe get the king (as he was one morning hunting in Sterling parke) into his possession, whom he carried with him into the castle of Edinburgh, wherewith the governor was grievously displeased: but not able to remedie the same, there was an agreement made betwene the chancelor & him, that the king should remaine in the custodie of the chancelor, and the governor continue his office in administering the affaires of the realme. Whereupon in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred and fortie, and the fourth yeare of James the second, the governor and the chancelor assembled a councell of the nobilitie at Edinburgh. In the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred fortie and foure, being the eight of the same James the second, both the governor and the chancelor (at the perswasion of William earle of Douglas) were removed from their offices by the king, who being now about foureteen yerres old, had taken the absolute government of the kingdome upon him: besides which they were also put from the councell, their friends were banished the court, and they were forbidden to appeare before the king, which they refused, not as guiltie in conscience, but as fearing the crueltie of their enemies, whereupon they were proclaimed rebels and put to the horne, which occasioned William Douglas the chancelor, by great entreatie to gather a power and spoile the lands of this William Creichton for requitall thereof, Creichton gathered a like power, entered the land

of Douglas, and spoiled the same all that he could, which thing adding further heat to the Douglas, caused him to procure the king in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred fortie and five, being the ninth yeare of the kings reigne, to demand of Creichton the delivrie of the castles of Edinburgh and of Creichton, which he demeing to doe untill the king came to full age, had all his goods confiscat, having therein no intorie done unto him, so as saith Lesleus: Primus omnium sanciverat Creichtonus, ut qui regi castum aliquod postulanti restiterit, violata maiestatis arceatur, cuius ille legis poenam primus subiit, as he did which denised Malaxis bull. But after, when the king had besieged Edinburgh castle nine moneths, Creichton being therein, the same was delivered with condition, that Creichton should still remaine chancelor, which obtained, he neuer after delt in affairs of the common welth, whereby growing againe into the kings favour, he was with others in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred fortie & six, being the tenth of James the second, sent ambassador to the duke of Gelderland to obtaine Marie the dukes daughter to wife for the king, which he brought to passe. All which notwithstanding, in the yeare following he fell againe into the princes disgrace, and was by parlement holden in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred fortie and seven, so fasted, so that his servants would not deliver Creichtons house or castle to the king, as before you have heard. But after as it seemeth, such is the mutabilitie of fortune, he returned into the kings grace, for which in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred and fiftie, he was by the earle Douglas (supposing him to be the cause that the king disliked the earle) assaulted one morning as he was comming out of the castle of Edinburgh, from which although wounded, he escaped unto his castle of Creichton, where in short space after he assembled a power, recovered Edinburgh from the Douglas, and had destroyed the earle at that present, if he had not shifted awaie more speedily: who being thus dishonourably chased from Edinburgh, by the earle of Crawford and Ross to joine with him against Creichton, but he little esteeming thereof and requiting good for euill, did in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred fiftie and thre, or a thousand four hundred fiftie and foure as some haue, procure a pardon for the earle of Crawford, grievously fallen into the kings displeasure. In which yeare also the king calling a parlement at Edinburgh, the earldome of Marrie was given to sir James Creichton, or rather restored to him, from whence it had bene wrongfully taken by the unjust sentence of William earle of Douglas, who had procured it to be assigned to his brother Archibald Douglas, although the right remained in the same sir James Creichton. But yet when the same sir James could not keepe that earldome without the enuie of diuers persons, he surrendered the same into the kings hands. Beside all which at this parlement was George Creichton created earle of Cathness, which I thought good to note in this place, because it touched the name of Creichton, whereof I doe now treat by reason of this chancelor.

Lesleus lib. 8. pag. 297.

James the second.

Andrew Steward lord of Anandale was chancelor of Scotland in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred thre score and eight, being about the eight yeare of the reigne of king James the third, & was sent with others into Rome to conclude a marriage with the king of Denmarke, betwene his daughter Margaret & the king of Scots, which ladie he brought with him into Scotland in Julie, at that time they were married accordingly. Some yeares after which, that is about the yeare of Christ

Andrew Steward.

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one thousand four hundred four score and two, and the two and twentieth of James the third, when Alexander Stewart Duke of Albanye with the duke of Gloucester were come unto Rastakrig, with the English power, this man amongst others, was sent to the English campe to treat with the two dukes, with whom in the end an agreement was made. By which the duke of Albanye, before fled out of Scotland, was restored home, and had both honors and offices bestowed on him; who with this chancellor & other noble men had the government of the kingdom for a certaine space: during which time, this duke the chancellor and others, going to visit the quene at Sterling, the duke by the quenes persuasion without knowledge of the other, went to Edinburgh, and by force restored the king to libertie, before taken and kept in hold by some of the nobilitie, which being knowne to the chancellor and the other lords at Sterling, they fled to their owne countries.

James Beton

James Beton archbishop of Glasco was chancellor in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred & thirtie, being the first yeare of king James the first. This man being of great wisdom, was appointed amongst others to assist the quene in the government of the realme, whereunto he was for a time advanced: but the woman not induring to be directed by others, taking quarell against the bishop, did immediatlie after the marriage, performed the first of August, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and foure score, betwene hir and Archibald Dornoglas earle of Angus (which this bishop incountried as much as he could) take the great seale from the said bishop of Glasco, at saint Johns towne, whereupon the bishop got him to Edinburgh, and assisted with manie lords, kept the quene and hir husband out of that towne, whereby great dissension and party taking was raised amongst the nobilitie of the realme. But as I gather, peace being made betwene them, he was againe made chancellor. After this, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and thirtie, he continually with the earle of Arrarie, who submitted himselfe to the gouernor, shortly following, the gouernor gaue to this archbishop of Glasco the abbete of Arbroth, assigning to the earle of Arrarie a large pension out of the same, which bishop being thus in fauor with the gouernor, was in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and thirtie in estate, when the gouernor went into France appointed amongst others, to haue the rule of the realme until his returne. Two yeares after which, the nobilitie being disuised about the quarell of the earle of Angus & Arrarie, this bishop in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and thirtie, being then also chancellor, with other noble men of the realme, kept the towne of Glasco; but after that, this chancellor who would not come to Edinburgh, the king of England and of France their ambassadours came to Sterling, where a peace was proclaimed amongst the nobilitie.

But what can long continue in one state, or what peace will be long embraced amongst ambitious minds: for in the yeare following, being the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and thirtie, the noble men fell againe to factions: for then diuelt of the parties were come to Edinburgh to also the earle of Angus against the earle of Arrarie (this chancellor remaining then in the towne) they put to the earle and chancellor so horlie, that they were both constrained to forsake the towne, and to flee through the north Loch, about the thirtieth date of April. But as the euents of quarels be doubtfull, now up now downe, so this archbishop not long after this disgrace, recordered breath; and in pouerment following, did accompanie the regent come out

of France to Edinburgh, where was a parlement holden, to summon the earle of Angus to appeare; but he refusing, it was agreed that the earle should passe into England there to remaine.

The bishop thus hauing the better of his enemies, Andrew Forman bishop of S. Andrews died, in the yeare one thousand five hundred thirtie and two, being about the ninth yeare of James the first, by occasion whereof, this chancellor James Beton bishop of Glasco was advanced to that see, and further made abbat of Dumfermling. Upon which new honor, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thirtie and foure, he was appointed one of the gouernors of the realme by parlement: but he not possessing this honor anie long time, the earle of Angus (who had gotten the king into his usurped government, and denied the deliuerie of the king, being sent for by this bishop and the other nobilitie) sent to the chancellor for the great seale, which was deliuered to the messengers: upon which, this bishop not forgetting the same, hastened the sentence of diuorce sued before him, betwene the quene and the earle of Angus. Whereof the earle, to reuenge the same, did with the king, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thirtie and six, seke for the quene and the bishop of saint Andrews: but because they were kept secretlie in their friends houses (so that they could not be heard of) he spoiled the abbete of Dumfermling, and the castell of saint Andrews, taking awaie all that the archbishop had. Notwithstanding which, the archbishop keeping in fauor with the old quene and the young king, did in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thirtie and nine, and the sixteenth yeare of James the first, christen James the kings sonne borne at saint Andrews, and not long after, surrendered his soule to God in the said yeare one thousand five hundred thirtie and nine: of whome it shall not Greene me to set downe what Lesleus hath written, which though it be somewhat long, yet because it is necessarie, I had rather set downe the plaine words of the author, than by abridging of them into our our tongue; to deprive the author of his due by his owne stile: thus therefore he writeth.

Jacobus Betonius archiepiscopus Santandreapolitanus, qui maximis reipublice honoribus summaque gloria apud nos quam diutissime floruerat, etate iam grandior, natura concedebat; ac in æde sancti Andree tumulo honorifice tegebatur. Hic antistes quosdam, quos egregie charos habuit, viuis constituebat, ut in beneficia sibi mortuo sufficeretur. In episcopatum autem Santandreapolitanum, ac in abbatiam Arbrothensem, vir summa prudentia, & animi magnitudine præstans David Betonius eardnalis, eius ex fratre nepos, in abbatiam verò Dumfermlingenensem Georgius Dureus, in alia denique alij: quam illius voluntatem rex non impedivit; quo minus illi, quos archiepiscopus ante obitum constituerat, beneficijs libere fuissent: ne cuius viui mentem semper laudaret, eius mortui voluntatem malitiose videretur rescidisse. Hic archiepiscopus præcipuum illius collegij quod nouum Santandreapoli dicitur, partim suo sumptu excitauit, ac maximam pecunie vim qua reliqua pars indota perpoliretur, testato reliquit: verum pecunia illa in alios vsus postea traducta, collegij ius (ne quid acrius dicam) perierat. Thus much Lesle, and thus much I, touching this chancellor, spoken of also in my treatise of the archbishops of saint Andrews.

Gawen Dunbar archbishop of Glasco, and the kings scholemaster, was chancellor as appeareth by Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 399. who in in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thirtie and two, writeth: Non multo post Andreas Formannus episcopus

Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 450.

copus Santandropolitanus vitā cessit, huius quā primū honore ac titulo insigniebatur Iacobus Beton archiepiscopus Glasguensis, qui quidem archiepiscopus omniū summa voluntate cessit prætāfimo euidam viro Gawino Dunbarro; cui quod recōditā eruditionis, sinceræ vitæ consilijque grauiissimi laudibus prætiterit, regis tenella ætas moribus doctrinæque informanda credebatur, quem intimis sensibus ita dilexit rex, vt sui intimi concilij socium, regniq̃ cancellarium postea illum coaptauerat.

David Beton (the brothers sonne of James Beton deceased archbishop of saint Andrews) was chancelor of Scotland, who being abbat of Arbroth, was with others sent ambassadoz into France in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thirtie and four, being the one and twentieth yeare of the government of James the first, for to procure the earle of Maudslimes sister in marriage for the king; but the same toke not effect, because the king going in person into France liked hir not. About thre yeares after, which was in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thirtie and seven, and the four and twentieth yeare of James the first, this David was aduanced to the honor of a cardinal, of which title I do not at this time remember, that euier I haue read anie other to haue intioied but Walter Warblaw, of whome Onuphrius thus writeth: Walterus episcopus Glasguensis presbyter cardinalis creatus, anno Domini 1383, 10 kalend. Ianua. 6 pontificatus Clemētis 7, obiit inter annum 1400, & 1409, whome the Scottish histories make cardinal somewhat before in the yeare one thousand thre hundred fourscore and two, about the eleuenth yeare of Robert the second (at what time with others he was sent to Charles king of France as ambassadoz to renew the league betwene France & Scotland) by Paul the third, then pope of Rome, to whom also the king of France gaue in commendam the bishopricke of Miropen: of the making of which Beton cardinal, thus the same Onuphrius writeth: David de sancto Andrea Scotus episcopus Miropiensis presbyter cardinalis tituli sancti Stephani in Calio monte creatus, anno Domini, 1388, 13 kalend. Ianuar. per Paulum tertiu, anno pontificatus 13. In which words Onuphrius, and Lesleus following him, refer the creation of this cardinal vnto the yeare one thousand five hundred thirtie and eight, though others attribute it to the yeare one thousand five hundred thirtie and seven. In which yeare one thousand five hundred thirtie and eight, he was with others sent ambassadoz into France after the death of the queene, to procure Marie of Lorraine widow duchesse of Longuille, and daughter to the duke of Guise, to be giuen to king James in marriage; which matter he brought to his desired effect.

The next yeare after, being the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thirtie and nine, as you haue heard before, he was by his vnckle James Beton archbishop of saint Andrews, & abbat of Arbroth, appointed to succede in the same bishops see and abbacie, which he intioied accordinglie: who aduanced with these dignities, did after the death of James the first, falling in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fortie and two, labor by policies and other extraordinarie deuises to be gouernor of the realme, during the minority of the young queene; but he was disappointed thereof by the nobilitie, who chose the earle of Arrane to that function; by meanes whercof, there fell continuall dissensions betwene the nobilitie, which ended not untill this cardinal was slaine as after it shall appeare. For thortie after in the said yeare one thousand five hundred fortie and two, being committed to ward (in the castle of Dalkeith vnder the custodie of the

lord Beton, smallie favoring the French faction) because he would haue perswaded the nobilitie to forsake the motion of the R. of England, determining to marie his son prince Edward to the young queene of Scots. But the cardinal did not long remaine there; for by the gouernors appointment he was removed to his owne castell of S. Andrews, hauing watch and ward about him, to see him safelie kept, in which place also he did not long continue: for corrupting his keepers he found meanes to escape; which done, in the yeare one thousand five hundred fortie and thre, he came to the coronation of the young queene, and thortie after perswaded the earle of Arrane the gouernor to leaue the part of the king of England, and wholie to become French.

Now at the coronation, the cardinal ordered all things, appointing euerie officer, and growing into great credit, did in like sort at other times dispose of the common-wealth as seemed best liking vnto him. Whereupon, the earle of Lenear taking part with the English, opposed himselfe against the gouernor and the cardinal, whereby followed sharpe warres, the cardinal still supporting and counselling the gouernor: which troubles being somewhat abated, by reason the earle of Lenear was gone into England, the cardinal in the yeare of Christ one thousand four hundred fortie and four, receiued the patriarch of Jerusalem arrived in Scotland. In which meane time, there was great contention betwene the cardinal and the archbishop of Glasgow, for bearing their crosses in the others iurisdiction: whereupon they fell from words to swords, which the gouernor appeased: that done, the patriarch the popes legat comming to Rome, procured the legantine power to be granted to this cardinal, which he long intioied not. For being greaillie enuied by reason of these honors & some greuous facts, certeine persons in the yeare one thousand five hundred fortie and six (after that he had burned George Wilschart a learned man, condemned at saint Andrews by an assemblie of bishops) did the thirtenth date of Aprill (when they had secretlie in the morning entered the castell of saint Andrews where the cardinal was) repell the porters of the foresaid castell, the cardinals seruants, and slue the cardinal, naked as he came to meete them, whose death sir James Hatermount prouost of saint Andrews thought to haue staied by assembling a power therefore: but after that he saw the cardinals dead bodie hanged out ouer the wals, he made no further attempt. The death of which cardinal comming to the gouernors eares, he banished the author thereof, as writeth Lesleus in these words: Gubernator, quod nec cognato suo, sanguinis coniunctio, nec cardinalis dignitas, nec cancellarius maiestas ac domus propria, ad impiorum insidias effugas quicquam profuerit, ageriem ferre. Consilio itaque Huntlei ac Argadij iussu indicto, in cardis auctores capitis proserptionisque sententia data est.

George Gordon earle of Huntlei sonne of John Gordon, being chancelor of Scotland, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fortie and seven, falling about the first yeare of the reigne of Marie queen of Scots, was taken prisoner by the English at Dunkelborow field, who pitting the miserie of diuerse of his countrymen, wounded and taken at the same battell, did vnder take for their ransom; whereupon they were permitted to depart, and left to shift for themselves as well as they might. In the next yeare, which was the yeare of Christ (as hath Lesleus one thousand five hundred fortie and eight) the protector of Scotland sent Carnegie knight and senator to the protector of England, to requeste Huntlei, or at the least to obtaine that his wife might

Two cardinals one in Scotland.

referred to

Lesleus lib. 20 pag. 482.

George Gordon.

toke might come unto him. Whereupon the earle was with his keepers permitted to come to Sporth, where expecting his wife, he thought upon his escape, and from thence after supper, deceiving his warders, he fled by night into Scotland; through the aid of one George Carre his deere friend, who provided him speedie horses therefore. The earle being thus come into Scotland, was instantly intertained of the quene, the gouernor, and the other nobilitie; but chiefelie of his wife, whose earnest desire to see him was the occasion of his escape. But as all soe hath some hard hap for the most part attending upon the same; so this earle did after feele the force of like misfortune. For about seven yeares after, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure, he was againe committed to prison as after shall appeare. Before which, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and fiftie, he with other noble men goeth into France with the quene mother of Scotland; but before that iournee, whilst he was preparing for the same, he commanded William Shackintoch chiefe of the Glenbatkins to be executed at Stratbolgie, for a priue conspiracy made against him, being the kings lieutenant in the north parts. Which thing raised a great commotion like to haue succeeded to great slaughters (in that the earle of Cassels and manie others fauored Shackintoch) if the wisdom of the quene mother had not appeased the same.

After that the quene mother had bin in France, she in the same yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and fiftie, returned into Scotland through England: but the earle Huntley warlike fearing to fall into the dangers of the English (whome he thought would not forget his escape from them, returned by sea into his owne countrie: after which, when he had bene about foure yeares in Scotland, the quene mother regent in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure, sent this earle Huntley into Heiland to take John Muziad: but returning without him, he was committed to prison in Edinburgh the eleventh of October: at what time the regent changed all the officers, toke away the great seale from this earle Huntley the chancelloz, and gaue it to monsieur Robie a French man, which monsieur Robie thus made keeper of the great seale in the said yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure, and the twelfth yeare of Marie quene of Scots, had the vse of the same seale in the place of the earle Huntley then chancelloz in ward. But the earle of Huntley after being set at libertie, it seemeth that he was still chancelloz. For besides that Lesleus saith that he was restored to all his dignities (except the earldome of Murreie, whereof he had a gift of inheritance, the earldome of Marre, the farmes of Mhenete & Heiland, and the quenes land at Straitsdie, all which he gaue for his libertie) he is also by the Scottish histories named still chancelloz, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred threescore and one, and the nineteenth yeare of quene Marie, being then by the nobilitie amongst other, chosen to be of the priue council. Of whome before this also Lesleus writeth, that in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and nine, the quene hauing receiued a bill of supplication from the protestants: Illa hunc protinus libellum supplicem per Huntleum regni cancellarium synodo exhibendum, vt de illis desiniret, reddidit.

After this, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thre score and two, in October being the twentieth yeare of the same quene, he was in the faction betwene him and others (for diuerse misdemeanors also, upon his coming with an armie

to Cornethie in Mar)aine, and John Gordon his sonnetaken prisoner, thought to Aberdine the nine and twentieth of October, and there beheaded. Now for the other chancellors which followed in succession of time, because they fall yet fresh in memorie, and some mention is made of them in this my continuation of these annals; I do not intend to make any double recital of them in that place, being a thing superfluous so to do; & therefore, & because Omne nimium ueretur in uitium (whereto the lawiers agree saing; that Frustra fit per plura quod fieri potest per pauciora) I will referre the for the supplement of this title of the chancellors, to the same continuation of my annals, there at thy pleasure to collect and dispose them, as best shall serue thine owne memorie or knowledge.

Wherefore leauing them, and returning to the consideration of other things, which following time hath begotten and brought forth in Scotland: we saie, that as the quene of England had before time, after the taking of Sterling, sent maister Knolles into Scotland to vnderstand the estate of these times: so in like sort the Scots with like congratulation, dispatched a messenger vnto the quene of England, by whome the might haue knowledge of such things as were after done. For maister William Keith one of the chamber to the king, was sent from the king of Scots to the quene of England in the same moneth of December, a little before Christmas with letters, who coming to the court then remaining at Greenwich, did there make deliuerie of the same letters. During whose abode here in England, some of those which had before assisted the earles of Angus and Marre, against such as seemed to nourish the king in the Romane religion, fell from their former opinion, & either for loue to the same Romane religion, or for malice to other of the nobilitie, or for a desire to be singular to themselves, embraced the abolished doctrine of the pope, & set by the ceremonie of Italie. Amongst whom, one, not of the meaneest, the lord Marwell, who had married the earle of Angus his sister, did in Januarie aduance the same, and heard masse at Lincluden a mile from Dumfries, contrarie to the publike lawes appointed in Scotland. Wherof intelligence being brought vnto the king, he forthwith dispatched a messenger vnto him, commanding him to surcease the same. But the lord Marwell persisting in that his former action, was (in the end apprehended, and upon the refusal of an oth touching the same, according to the lawes of Scotland) committed to prison in Edinburgh, where he long remained.

These things thus done in Scotland, the aforesaid maister Keith departed from London towards that countrie, about the foure and twentieth of Januarie, with answer that his maiestie of England would shortly send an ambassadoz into Scotland, who should fullie satisfie the king in all things, and further deliuer vnto him the fall of his maiesties determination. Whereupon Thomas Randolph esquier, a person who had manie times before executed that function in those countries, and was well acquainted both with the state & manners of the people, was by the quene of England dispatched into those parts; who being so authorized, toke his iournee from London towards Scotland on the eight date of Februarie. After which, in Aprill following, maister Archibald Dowglass (one that had bene sometime of the session or parliament of Edinburgh) hauing remained some yeares here in England, upon displeasures which the king of Scots conceived against him, did make his returne into his owne countrie, where he behaued himselfe so

William Keith
sent into Eng-
land.

The lord
Marwell hear-
eth masse.

Maister
Randolph go-
eth into Scot-
land.

Monsieur
Robie keeper of
the great seale.

wiselie, that he obtained great fauor after his re-
turne home. In this yeare, the presbyterie (as they
had manie times done before, but especiallie in the
yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fourescore
and thre, which I thought to note in this place, be-
cause I would not often vse repetition of one thing
done at seuerall times in so manie places) did ex-
communicat their metropolitan the archbishop of S.
Andrews, and the rest of the bishops also, because
they would not in all their actions, support and con-
firme the doctrine which the presbyterie had esta-
blished. Which excommunication the presbyterie
did the more boldlie, because they were supported by
the assistance of the maister of Lindseie, a great eni-
mie to this Patrike Adamson bishop of saint An-
drews.

But the king in the beginning did assist him a-
gainst them, and the archbishop did in like sort thun-
der an excommunication against them. Which di-
uision not being meete to be in the cleargie, who
ought to be (as the apostles were) of one hart, and of
one mind, will in the end as Christ saith, bring
the same realme to confusion: for Omne regnum
in se diuifum desolabitur: which must needs be,
where euerie man will be a lord, & that the inferior
of the clergie will neither acknowledge nor obeie
antie superiours. In which place, sith I haue menti-
oned Patrike Adamson the archbishop of saint An-
drews, because I shall not haue occasion to speake
antie more of him, I will here set downe a collection
of all the archbishops of that see.

A Cathalog of the archbishops of saint Andrews, collected out of the histories of Scotland.

The Scots seeking meanes to rid them-
selues from subiection of the bishop of
Rome, who was the metropolitan of
Scotland, did in the yeare of Christ one
thousand foure hundred threescore and fouretene ob-
taine of the pope that they might haue a metropo-
litane see within themselves, by reason of the conti-
nual wars which was betwene the two nations;
during which they could neither vse appellations to
their metropolitan, nor haue other bishops conse-
crated. Whereupon the pope erected the church of S.
Andrews into an archbishopricke in the time of king
James the third, touching which, thus writeth Les-
leus, lib. 8. pag. 317. Hoc anno (which was the yeare
of Christ one thousand foure hundred threescore and
fouretene) Patricius Grahamus sedis Andreapolita-
næ ecclesiæ episcopus, crebris litteris ac nuntijs a pa-
pa efflagitauit, vt metropolitana potestas in diui An-
dree ciuitate fingeretur: iniquum esse enim contendit, vt
Scoti ab Eboracensi episcopo, tanquam primate pē-
derent, cum propter crebra bella (quibus se Scoti &
Angli mutuo laceffunt) Scotis ad illum non pate-
retur tutus accessus, nec liberum ius, præsertim in ap-
pellationibus. Annuit summus pontifex, vt Andrea-
politano deinceps episcopo potestas metropolitana
incumbat. Dies indulto pontifici promulgandi
mense Septembri dicta est, atque maxima populi no-
bilitumque laetitia celebrata. Episcopi reliqui Graha-
mi odio flagrantibus, illius auctoritatem repudiant, re-
gisque animum ingenti pecunia (which was as other
authorz saie, eleuen thousand marks) occupant, ne
Grahami partibus studeret. Interea præfules Romæ
mittunt qui sui defensionem contra Grahamum sus-
cipiunt. But in the end they did not preuaile. Gra-
ham was made archbishop.

Patrike Graham being bishop of saint Andrews
and the first archbishop of that see, was after his ad-
uancement to that title deppined in this sort. In the

yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred thre-
score and seuentene, pope Nissus the fourth of that
name sent a legat called Husman into Scotland,
which should displace this Patrike the archbishop of
saint Andrews, condemned by the sentence of the
pope and the cardinals for an heretike, schismaticke,
simoniacke, whereupon he was deppined of all ecclesi-
asticall dignitie, and conimanded to perpetuall pri-
son; in whose place was William Schewes chosen,
to whose custodie and disposition this Patrike was
committed, after which Graham being remoued for
his safe imprisonment first to saint Colms Ile, then
to Dumfermeling, and lastlie to Locheleune, there
in the end he died, and was buried in saint Sharmis
or Seruianus Ile in Locheleune after that he
had bene thre yeares archbishop.

William Schewes being created archbishop of
saint Andrews in the yeare of Christ one thousand
foure hundred threescore and eightene as some haue,
or one thousand foure hundred threescore and nine-
tene as others haue, in the Holie rood house in Co-
denburgh, in the presence of king James and ma-
nie of the nobilitie receiued the pall, as the ensigne
of his metropolitan power, being declared legat
and primat of Scotland, at that time he was not
withstood by anie of the other bishops, who being es-
tranged from thewing anie fauor to Graham, did
often infringe his authoritie, and in the end expelled
the same Graham from his archiepiscopeall see. Af-
ter which in the yeare of Christ one thousand foure
hundred fourescore & two, this archbishop Schewes
fled into his owne countrie, and after at the request
of the king resigned his archbishopricke, contenting
himselfe with the bishopricke of Purrie.

Andrew Steward vncle to king James the third
was vpon the resignation of William Schewes
made archbishop of saint Andrews, after which in
the yeare of Christ one thousand foure hundred foure
score and foure the king sent this archbishop ambas-
sador to Rome for the obtaining of certeine priuile-
ges, which he brought to effect. In the yeare of Christ
one thousand foure hundred fourescore and eleuen, in
the time of king James the fourth, about the third
yeare of his reigne was great contention betwene
the archbishops of saint Andrews and Glascow,
touching both their authoritties: which when it had
drawen manie of the nobilitie into diuers factions,
it was ceased by the king for a certeine time, untill
all doubt thereof might be taken auaile, by deciding
the same by the canon law before ecclesiasticall iud-
ges. When in the yeare of Christ one thousand five
hundred and seuen, being about the nineteenth yeare
of James the fourth, the bishop of saint Andrews
with the earle of Arrane were sent ambassadors in-
to France.

Alexander Steward bassard sonne to king James
the fourth, was made archbishop of saint Andrews
in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and
ten, about the two and twentieth of the reigne of the
same James the fourth: this man hauing long sta-
died with Erasmus in Germanie, and in the low
countrie was aduanced to this see of the archbi-
shopricke when he was yet in flanders; who hauing
intelligence thereof by his frends, came forthwith
into Scotland, where he was sofullie receiued by the
king, the nobilitie, & his kindred. He was slaine to-
gither with his father king James the fourth at
Floden field, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five
hundred and thirtene. After which, John Hepburne
prior of saint Andrews strongly besieging the ca-
stle of saint Andrews, forced the same to be yielded
vnto him. The cause of which bessege grew, that Hep-
burne being chosen bishop of saint Andrews by his
canons of that church (wherevnto the whole nobilitie
were

Lesleus. lib. 8.
pag. 318.

William
Schewes.

Andrew
Steward.

Lesleus.

1483

Lesleus. lib. 8.
pag. 313.

Left pag. 373.

were helpers) was hindered to possesse that archbishopske, by such stipendarie people of Gawine Doolglaſſe as kept the castle; whereupon the queene and the earle of Angus, after that they understood how the castle was by force come into the hands of Hepburne, did take in euill part that he who was so troublesome vnto them, should ascend to so high a dignitie, and that Gawine Doolglaſſe so deere to them beloued, and to whom they had giuen that bishopske should be helpelesse of the recouerie therof. Whereupon the queene and the duke of Albanie diligentlie labored by ambassadores sent to Rome, that a third person (such Gawine Doolglaſſe could not obtaine it) might be advanced therevnto, which third man was Andzew Forzman bishop of Purrie: further requiring therewithall that he might be abbat of Dumfermling, & Aberbroth, which in the end with much intreatie they obtained of the pope.

Andzew Forzman.

Andzew Forzman bishop of Purrie was at Edinburgh by the popes bulls on the eighth kalends of Januarie in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and sixtene (being about the second yeare of the reigne of James the first) declared archbishop of S. Andzeus, and abbat of Dumfermling and Aberbroth. Whereupon the prior of saint Andzeus before named, still contending that he was archbishop, both in respect of the election of the couent, and the consent of the nobilitie, did labor all he could against Forzman, appealing him to Rome, for which cause he with the lord Hales and other his friends came to Edinburgh to defend the matter, at what time the lord Hume chamberlaine of Scotland and such others as openly assisted Forzman, did oppose themselves against the prior, which nobilitie (because they were great in the court) did the more molest and hinder Hepburne, shortly after by publike edict (and proclamation of the king) banishing the prior & his followers. Hepburne being stricken with the sharpnes of that precept, did pryncially depart the towne, and the prior went to Rome, hoping by the popes authoritie to wrest from Forzman the archbishopske, which he could not obtaine by violence. But how he sped at Rome I do not know, for I onelie find this, that in the yeare following, being the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and sixtene, about the third yeare of the same James the first, that the gouernour perceiving that all these contentions, hatreds, and diuisions of the nobilitie did arise by these bzailes, which were betwene Forzman and Hepburne for the see of saint Andzeus, desired to cure this greivous wound made in the commonwealth. Wherefore he perswaded Andzew Forzman that he should resigne all his ecclesiasticall benefices into his hands in an open assemblee at Edinburgh, for by that meanes the gouernour thought that he might pacifie the minds of the nobilitie, and utterlie root out those breaches of dissention. Whereupon there was a daie appointed to the nobilitie to assemble: at what time Andzew Forzman frelie resigned to the gouernour the duke of Albanie all his ecclesiasticall promotion, to be disposed at the dukes pleasure. In consideration thereof, the duke bestowed the archbishopske of saint Andzeus and the abbete of Dumfermling vpon the same Andzew Forzman, and gaue the bishopske of Purrie to James Hepburne (greatlie fauored of the earle Bothwell and the competitor of Forzman) being therevnto substitute by John Hepburne prior of saint Andzeus in place of the said John, to whom moreover the duke appointed a perelie pension of a thousand marks, to be paid by the same Forzman out of the abbete of Dumfermling. After which, about six yeares or somewhat lesse, this Forzman departed his life, being in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and two, and the

ninth yeare of king James the first, to whom succeeded James Beton.

James Beton archbishop of Glasco and chan- James cello of Scotland, was made archbishop of saint Beton, Andzeus (as is before touched) after the death of Andzew Forzman, hauing therewith the abbete of Dumfermling, as his predecessor before had possessed it, of whom see more in my discourse of the chancellors of Scotland.

David Beton brother to the same James Beton David was after the death of the last archbishop of saint Beton, Andzeus named to that see by his brother before his death, which place he possessed accordingly, after the death of the same James Beton. Of this man being a cardinall I haue spoken more liberally in my discourse of the chancellors of Scotland.

John Hamilton (brother to the gouernour) being John Hamilton, abbat of Passaic, was by the same gouernour in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred forty and six, being about the fourth yeare of Marie quene of Scots made archbishop of S. Andzeus, after that he had returned out of France (where he applied his studie) in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred forty & three, being the first or second of quene Marie of Scotland. This man comming out of France, passed through England, and hauing other learned men in his companie, did visit the king of England, of whom he was most honourable and courteously receiued. From thence going into Scotland he was made treasurer, which office he kept as long as his brother was gouernour, whom he did further in all good counsels at home, and saue & defend in the wars abroad. Then in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and nine, being the seauententh of quene Marie, he was with the quene besieged in Leith. After still following the quenes part, he with others metely hir in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred fiftie and six, at Puskelborow, and so attendeth on hir, who not long after in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred seuentie & one, being about the fourth yeare of James the first, was taken in the castell of Dunbratane, and sent prisoner into Sterling, where being examined by the regent Mattheu earle of Lennox, about the murder of Henrie king of Scots, sonne to the said Mattheu, he was there drawne, hanged, and quartered, being the first archbishop that I haue yet heard of that suffered so ignominious a death.

Patrike Adamson alias Constance succeeded Patrike Adamson, John Hamilton in the archbishopske of saint Andzeus, who possessing this place at this daie, and hauing occasioned me to speake of him in severall places in this my continuance of the annales of Scotland, is here to be overpassed, and therefore I referre thee to the same annales, if thou desire to know what I haue said of him. Thus knitting vp the catalog of the archbishops of S. Andzeus, we saie that as you haue heard before, that in Februarie last Thomas Randolph esquier was sent ambassador from the quene of England into Scotland, so he still remaining there a long time in that countrie dispatched his ambassage to good effect. During whose abode there, there was an assemblee holden at Edinburgh in Maie, wherein these things which follow were concluded vpon for the establishing and order of the same commonwealth.

The articles concluded in the assemblee holden at Edinburgh in Maie.

First, the whole realme was diuided into 52 presbyteries, & the number of ministers and churches appointed to euery presbyterie.

A t. y.

2 That

2 That there shall be two prouinciall assemblies in the yeare in euerie prouince, the first tuesday of October and Aprill.

3 There shall be one generall assemblee in the yeare, the first of October next ensuing.

4 All assemblies doe consist of these persons, the pastoz, docto, and elders, & all the thre to haue votes, as well in the presbyteries prouinciall as generall assemblies: and that all such as haue ante lutes in the assemblies may see and here, but giue no vote except they be of the number of the thre afore specified.

5 That there was onelie foure offices in the church, the pastoz, docto, elder and deacon, and that the name of bishop was onlie proper to the pastoz or minister, and that he had especiall charge and function in the church, but no greater than a common pastoz.

6 Item, that visitation in the church was lawfull, and at this time necessarie, in respect of the eldship as yet is not lawfullie planted, and that this visitation did appertene onelie to a pastoz or pastozs sent from the assemblee, and not else.

7 That when euer the assemblee maketh mention of a bishop, they meane onelie S. Paules bishop and none other.

8 That the receiuing of presentations, giuing of collations, trial of ministers, deposing them for iust causes, shall be in the power of the most learned and soundest iudgement of two presbyteries, and this to stand untill the presbyteries be better erected.

9 That a commissioner appointed by the generall assemblee, being a pastoz, as pastoz shall be tried and censured in life and doctrine by the presbyterie, or prouinciall assemblee, but in respect of his commission, he shall be tried by the generall assemblee, of whome he receiued the same.

10 If he admit or do any thing without consent of his assemblee, it shall be of no effect, and a iust cause of his deposition.

11 The power which he shall receiue shall be *Ordinis causa non iurisdictionis*.

12 Commission appointed by the prouinciall or generall assemblies to visit, shall visit presbyteries or particular churches, alwaies not presudging the power of the presbyterie within the bounds of their visitation.

13 The visitors appointed by the generall assemblee for this present to stand for one yeare, and thereafter as the assemblee shall appoint.

14 That no commission giuen by ante in times past before the date of this assemblee shall be vailleable, but such onlie as the said assemblee shall appoint. In which assemblee also it seemeth that the kings maiestie made certaine requests, to haue somewhat established concerning the bishop of saint Andrews, whereupon these things were concluded against him, and he brought to subscribe the same, to the presence of his metropolitane iurisdiction ouer the rest of the clergie of his crowne.

The meanes taken in this generall assemblee, touching the bishop of S. Andrews, at the desire of the kings maiestie.



If the bishop by his owne handwritting or personall appearance in the assemblee, will in Gods presence denie, that euer he publickly professed or meant in ante to claime a supremacie, or to be iudge ouer other persons and ministers, or euer auowed the same to haue a ground in Gods word: and that if he had so done, it had bene great error and against his conscience and knowledge.

2 If he will denie, that in the last synodall as-

semblee he claimed to be iudge thereunto, and that if he had done it, that he erred in it, and in his impious behauiour or contempt of the said synod and his brethren, in that he will remit him to the brethren present, and craue pardon for the oversight thereof, and promise god behauiour in the time to come.

3 If he will promise to claime no further than he iustlie may by God his word, and according to the last conference, and endeavour himselfe in all behauiour to shew himselfe in all time to come a moderate person, and so serue, as that he may proue agreeable for a bishop prescribed by S. Paule, and so submit his life and doctrine to the iudgement and censure of the generall assemblee without any reclamation, prouocation, or appellation from the same in any time to insue.

These things being demanded at the archbishops hands, he was contented to yield to them by subscribing his name with his owne hand thereunto, which done, the said assemblee at Edinburgh did for their part in like sort publish their dutifull mind and obedience to his maiestie, in aduulling the processe of excommunication against the said bishop of saint Andrews, and to continue him in his former estate, as followeth.

The decree of the assemblee at Edinburgh, concerning the restitution of the bishop of S. Andrews.

OF his maiesties satisfaction, and to giue testimonie with what god will we would obete his helres so farre as we ought, or in conscience we may, and for god hope we haue in his maiesties fauourable concurrence in building up of the house of God within this realme, and because the processe of excommunication was laid, and the sentence pronounced during the time of the conference, whereupon his maiestie hath taken occasion of offense, which for manie god causes were conuenient to be remoued, we will so beare to examine the said processe, or decide it, whatsoeuer prouocation or appellation, or to call in doubt the legalitie or forme of the said processe, or to condemne the said synod. Yet for the respects afore said, and vpon god and weightie considerations, we hold the said processe and sentence as vnlaid, vnderduted or pronounced, and restore the said bishops in all respects so farre as may concerne the said processe and sentence of excommunication in the former estate he was immediatly before the same, like as no processe nor sentence had ben laid and deducted against him. Providing alwaies he obserue what hath bene promised by him in the premises, & behaue himselfe dutifullie in his vocation in all times comming.

This done the earle of Rutland (having a commission directed to him, to William lord Cuers, and to the same Thomas Randolph) went to Berwikke as his maiesties ambassadours, to confirme that league betwene the two nations of England and Scotland, which the said Randolph had before concluded. Whereupon the commissioners of England, the earle of Rutland, and the lord Cuers, from out of England, and Thomas Randolph from out of Scotland, came to Berwikke the place appointed where this league should be fullie established. For the meeting of whome at the same place, were commissioners of like number, and equall honor and authority, appointed to come to Berwikke for Scotland. But some delate being made of their appearance, and manie excuses therewith to intertaine time by messengers bled, at the length commeth to Berwikke Francis earle Bothwell, Robert lord Woid, and

and sir James Hume of Colden Knowles knight and baron, commissioners for the king of Scots, who there meeting with the foresaid commissioners of England, did conclude a league defensive and offensive betwene these two nations; which done, the earle of Rutland returned home, and maister Randolph departed againe into Scotland to take his leaue of the king, whome when he had saluted he left, and returning into England came to London about the fiftenth of August, where I will now leaue him. ¹⁰ But before I turne my pen to any of the persons of Scotland, I determine to set downe certeine verses which Buchanan dedicated vnto him. For although they be matter impertinent to this historie of Scotland, yet because they were written to him (here mentioned) by a Scot, and are meet for the instructions of the young Scottish king, I will not refuse to set them downe in this sort as followeth:

*Sape tibi Randolphe iubet me pingere regem,
Qualem optem, tribuat sic mihi vota Deus.
Accipe: sit primum vera pietatis amator,
Effigiem summi se putet esse Dei,
Pacem amet: et si res poscat, sit ad arma paratus,
Exuat in victos arma, odiūque simul,
Nolo nimis parcus, nimium sit nolo benignus,
Vt rāque regno aqua est exitiosa lues,
Non sibi sed populo sese putet esse creatum,
Et se communem diuibus esse patrem:
Puniat iniustus, cum res iubet esse seuerum,
Publica cum poscent commoda lenis erit.
Viuat, vt exemplar populo sit recta sequendi,
Sit vultus prauis terror, amorque bonus,
Excolat impense ingenium, corpusque modestē,
Luxuriam frangat cum ratione pudor:
Iam tacitus tecum, sentas me sūllere, tanquam
In tabula nostram, qui mihi pingit heram.*

During the time of the abode of this Randolph in Scotland, there was an ambassadoe sent from the king of France to the king of Scots, which ambassadoe being called monsieur D'annauall ⁴⁰ had at this time small intertainment in Scotland; where not staid long after that Randolph was come into England, he also came hither out of Scotland, to the end to passe through this countrie into France. This summer Montgomerie erle of Eglinton, whose father died not manie yeares before, hauing married the daughter of the lord Boyd was slaine in this sort. The earle being a goodlie young gentleman, and like to proue a good member of his countrie, as manie of his ancestors had done before, did for his delight ride forth on hunting (a warlike exercise, & much vsed by the Scots) about five or six miles fro his owne castell, where hauing satisfied his pleasure, he returned home. But hauing wait laid for him by an ambush of his enemies, he was in his forne towards his castell intercepted by the lord of Glencarns brother, with the lards of Hacket and Robertlands, and some of the surnames of the Wals; at what time he was most miserablie slaine by them to their great dishonour, and his countries discommoditie. After which, in September Archibald Dowglaste (who as you heard before departing this realme in Aprill last, was admitted to come into his owne countrie) was sent ambassadoe from the king of Scots to the quene of England; in whose companie were attendant on him William Purro one of the kings chamber, and Richard Dowglaste nephew vnto the same Archibald. Which ambassadoe after his comming into England, had full audience at the court then remaining at Windsor, on the first of the same moneth of September, with whom remaining still here in England, at the writing hereof, expecting the end of his ambassage; I will set end to this slender dis-

course. Thus hauing patched vp a Rapshode of some few things done in Scotland since the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred seuentie and one, in which I began my annals of that countrie so needlie deliuered by me, I determine to knitt vp all that soeuer is set downe before, with a catalog of such writers of Scotland, as either by mine owne search in histories, or by others intelligence by conference haue come vnto my hand. The which I haue bene the willinger to do, because I would obserue that course in Scotland which I haue done in my additions to the historie of England, first written by Raphael Holinshed. For hauing there closed vp that historie with a generall catalog of all such as haue written anie thing concerning England, so will I close vp these annals of Scotland, much after that manner, with a generall discourse of the writers of that countrie. In doing whereof I haue not refused to follow the order of Lesleus and other historiographers of Scotland; obseruing the like course in the repetition of the names of a few persons at the end of most of their kings.

A generall catalog of the writers of Scotland, with the times in which they liued, as well of the yeare of Christ, as of the reigne of Scottish kings.

³⁰ **B**Efore I enter into the discourse thereof (which I speake not by waie of impeaching anie glorie of the Scottish nation) I must deliuer the opinion which I conceiue of some of the Scottish writers, set downe by manie of their historiographers, who (sauiug exception) finding manie learned writers to be termed Scots, do transerre them to all their owne countrie of Scotland. But in that they saue vnto me (holding the same for this present untill I may see good authoritie to disproue it) to be ouer conetous in taking from other that which is their due. For I do verelie suppose, that manie of those men so termed Scots were Irishmen borne. For untill late yeeres a little before the conquest (if my memorie faile me not) the Irishmen were called Scotti; Scots; wherevpon it is, that the Scots and Irishmen at this daie now knowne by seuerall names, do challenge Duns, Columbanus, and others to be borne amongst them, some calling them Scots, and other naming them Irishmen, and rebuking the Scots for chalenging those men vnto them. For although the Scots came out of Ireland, and the Irish were called Scots, it is no reason to call a Scot borne in Ireland, by the name of a Scot borne in Scotland, as some writers do vnder the amphibologicall name of Scot. But I (whose determination is not to aduance the one, or derogat from the other) will onlie in this place set them downe as I find them, & shew the different opinions touching the same, first leaving it to the iudgement of others, to thinke thereof as they please; for I neither may nor will sit as Honorarius arbiter betwene those two nations. Wherefore thus I enter into the catalog of the writers of Scotland as followeth.

Fergusius the first of that name king of Scots, *Fergusius* who died, as hath Gesnerus out of Bale, in the yeere of the world three thousand six hundred seuentie and eight, and two hundred ninetie and two before the birth of our Lord Iesus Christ, but Lesleus saith three hundred and five before Christ, did write *Leges politicas lib. 1.* This man the Irish make to be there borne amongst them; for thus writeth Scanihurst in his writers of Ireland: Fergusius sonne to Feguarus king of Ireland, the first king of Scots, whome some affirme to be borne in Denmarke, the more part

part suppose to haue bene an Irishman, was in the five and twentieth yeare of his reigne by misfortune drowned nere a rocke in the north part of Ireland, that of him at this daie is called Caerfergus. Upon whose mishap these verses following were made:

Icarus Icaris vt nomina fecerat vndis,

Fergusius petræ sic dedit apra suæ.

Joshua.

Joshua, the ninth king of Scots, after Fergusius the first, who flourished in the yeare of the world, as hath Gesnerus, three thousand eight hundred twentieth and six, before the birth of Christ one hundred thirtie and seven, as the same author saith, but one hundred three score and one as hath Lesseus lib. 2. pag. 89 did write De viribus herbarum lib. 1.

Ethodius.

Ethodius the first of that name king of Scots, who (delighting in musike) was in the yeare of Christ one hundred ninetie and foure, and the third yeare of his reigne, as hath Lesseus, but one hundred ninetie and six, as hath Gesnerus, slain by a musician of the Hebrewes, did write Ad Pictorum

Celcius Sedulius.

Celcius Sedulius a Scot by birth, as hath Gesnerus, which flourished about the yeare of Grace foure hundred and thirtie, in the reigns of Fergusius the second, and Eugenius the second, kings of Scots, who being a companion to Hildebert a learned bishop of the Scots, did after the death of Hildebert for further learning trauell into Spaine, France, Italie, Greece, and Asia, as hath Lesseus lib. 4. pag. 134. Whome the pope Gelasius wondering at his vertue and writing was wont to call Venerabilem, or worthy reuerence, as our English Bede is accustomed to be termed. This Sedulius did write Carmen paschale lib. 4. which books are intitled Libri mirabilium diuinorum. Besides, he penned Annotationes in omnes Pauli epistolas, printed at Basil by Henrie Peter, Hymnum de seruatore. Ad Theodosium Cæsarem lib. 1. In ædificationem Donati lib. 1. In Prisciani volumen lib. 1. Exhortatorium ad fideles lib. 1. De Christo lib. 2. with diuerse other verses and epistles.

Merlinus Calidonus.

Merlinus Calidonus otherwise called Merlinus Syluestris, or Glandif (a different person from him which is called Merlinus Ambrosius Britannus) was borne in the borders of Scotland, and the scholer of the British prophet Telesinus. This Merline Calidon executed manie prodigies or strange things against the English Saxons, which man flourishing about the yeare of Christ five hundred and seuentie, did write De vaticinijs lib. 1. in which he intreated of matter belonging to historie.

Columbanus.

Columbanus, whome Gesnerus, Bede, and the Irish histories affirme to be an Irishman borne in Ulster, but Sixtus Senensis in his Bibliotheca sancta, Lesseus, & the Scottish & Englishmen name to be of other nations, as of Scotland and England, was a monke & father of manie monasteries, being Abbas Luxuriensis, as hath Gesnerus, Sixtus Senensis, and Lelle, being a place in Burgundie, which abbete he built (by the permission of Theodoricus the king) together with the abbete of Fount-nelle in France. This man at the first held the feast of Easter contrarie to the west church, but in the end was reduced thereto. He went into Almaine now Germanie, where he left saint Gall, and after passed into Italie, where he liued a most holie life in the monasterie of Bobiens, or (as hath Marianus) of Bontiens, which he built for a perpetuall monument of his liberalitie, and died in the same on the twentieth daie of November. He flourished in the time of Conballus king of Scots, about the yeare of our redemption five hundred ninetie and eight, and left these books to posteritie, Commentaria in totum psalterium lib. 1. Epistolarum lib. 1. Mona-

steriorum methodos lib. 1. Aduersus Theodoricum regem adulterum lib. 1. De moribus monachorum metricè lib. 1. Collationes ad monachos lib. 1.

Briget, a most holie woman, whome the Irish affirme to be borne in Limster, but Gesnerus and Lelle with the Scots do affirme hir to be borne a Scot, being by Gesner called Brigida Lagenensis, she became religious, and was veiled by the bishop of Mann, as hath Lesseus lib. 4. pag. 149. she flourished about the yeare of our Lord five hundred three score and eight, as hath Lesseus, in the reigne of Conballus king of Scots; some other saie she flourished in the yeare five hundred and ten, Gesnerus in the yeare of Christ five hundred and eightene, and wrote twelue books of reuelations verie darke and full of mysteries, which books Lesseus will not haue to be written by this Brigida Scottish woman, but by Briget called Brigida Suetica that flourished manie yeres after this Scottish Briget, writing thus: Imperitè tamen hanc nostram cum Brigita Suetica, cuius nomine reuelationes multæ inscribuntur, quidam cõfundit: siquidẽ multis sæculis hanc Brigita nostra fuisse posteriorem satis constat. Tanta veneratione Scoti, Picti, Britanni, Angli & Hibernenses diuam Brigitam sunt vbique prosecuti, vt plura templa Deo in illius memoriam apud illos omnes erecta videas, quàm in vllius ceterorum diuorum omnium. Illius sanctum corpus Hibernici, Duni, quo loco sancti Patricij illorum apostoli corpus seruatur se habere contendunt. Nostri eandem gloriam sibi vendicant, qui id ipsum in canonicorum collegio Abrenethi rectè se colere hætenus putantur, &c. Touching which I haue read these old verses, by which the Irishmen challenge hir with Columbanus and Patricius to be buried in Ireland, which verses are thus:

Hi tres in Duno tumulo tumulantur in vno,

Brigita Patricius, atque Columba pius.

Maidolphus or Maidultus Scotus, as Gesnerus termeth him, did flourish in the yeare of our Lord five hundred foure score and nine, he writ De Paschatis obseruatione, whom I take to be Maidolphus, who was notable learned in the Greeke and Latine, first a scholemaster, and after abbat of Maidulphurie called in the beginning Maidulphi curia, or Maidulphurie, after the name of this Maidolphus, who as hath Lesseus lib. 4. pag. 137. did flourish in the yeare of Christ seven hundred and firstene. Now it is certaine both by our and the Scottish chronicles, that Maidolphus the builder of Maidulphurie monasterie was a Scot.

Kilianus a Scot being a monke, was martyzed in Germanie about the yeare of our Lord five hundred three score and nine, as hath Gesnerus out of Bale, but Lesseus affirmeth him to liue in the government of Celsinus, which died in the yeare of our Lord seven hundred three score and two, being the thirtieth yere of his reigne. This Kilianus did write Contra peregrinos cultus, lib. 1. Gesner also out of Mat. Dresserus nameth Lecturā Kiliani super magistrā sententiarum, which peradventure might be this Kilianus the Scot.

Jonas Monachus being borne in Scotland, and the disciple of the abbat Columbanus, flourished in the yeare of Christ six hundred and thirtie, as hath Gesnerus, he writ Vitam sancti Columbani lib. 1. Vitam sancti Eustacij abbatis lib. 1.

Adamannus Coludius, being a Scot as hath Gesner out of Bale, was a monke of the apostolicall order, and moderator, ruler, or abbat of the monasterie in the Ile of Iona, who flourished in the yeare of Christ six hundred foure score and nine, and writ De locis terræ sanctæ lib. 1. De situ Ierusalem lib. 1. De pascheta legitimo lib. 1. Epistolas multas. From this mans works Bede affirmeth that he had

had man's things which he inserted in his owne booke. But I much doubt whether this Adamannus were a Scot, in that he is called Adamannus Coludius, that is Adam of Coludi, which Coludi is a place in Dorsetshire belonging to the bishopricke of Dorke, and now at this daie is in English called Catwode.

Florentius (whom Scotland brought forth flourished in the yeare of Christ six hundred foure score and eight, in which yeare Eugenius the first king of Scots began his reigne) was, as hath Lesleus, notable boone, who travelling into strange countries, converted manie from paganism into Christ, leaving a most austere life in the solitarie woods, not far from Bzulchius the famous riuer in Alsatia, and built a monasterie for such religious persons as came to him out of Scotland, being after the death of Motharius by the Argentines made their bishop. He was buried in that monasterie before named, builded for his Scots. This man I take to be the same man of whom thus writeth Gesnerus: Florentius Volusenus Scotus scripsit theologica oratione sue commendationem piam & eruditam; Griphius excudit Lugduni 1539. Idem de animi tranquillitate carmen ibidem excusum 1543. & Basilæ apud Ioannem Oporinum cum pijs aliquot poetis an. 1551. Idem edidit aphorismos beatæ vitæ & dialogum de animi tranquillitate, which maie be the booke of that matter before mentioned.

Artullus.

Artullus, or Artullis a worthie gentleman, the sonne of a most noble person boone in Scotland, flourished, as hath Gesnerus out of Bale, in the yeare of Christ seuen hundred and ten, but Lesleus appointeth him to haue liued in the time of Eugenius the eight of that name king of Scotland, who as he farther saith, began his reigne in the yeare of Christ seuen hundred thre score and two, this Artullus writ De rebus mathematicis librū vnū, ad Adelmum episcopum lib. 1.

Sedulius Junior.

Sedulius Junior being bishop of the south Scots did write Statuta concilij Romæ ad sanctum Petrum habiti, and liued in the yere of Christ seuen hundred and fouretene.

Bonifacius.

Bonifacius, as hath Marianus Scotus by the witness of Lesleus lib. 4. pag. 166, being of the Scottish blood, went to Rome, from whence by pope Gregorie the second he was sent into Germanie to convert them to the faith, where he was made the first archbishop of Mentz, being called the Germane apostle, after which he was the popes legat and sent into France: In qua (as saith Lesle) Thuringis, Hessis, & Austrasionibus ad rectam religionis viam traductis, messim longè copiosissimam collegerat; after which he went againe into Germanie, & from thence into Frisia, where he was martyred in the yere of Christ seuen hundred fiftie and five, who being a monke of the order of saint Benet, did write; Epistolarum ad diuersos lib. 1. Vitam quorundam sanctorum lib. 1.

Ioannes Mailrose.

Ioannes Mailrose whom Gesnerus maketh mention to be all one with Ioannes Scotus, being the companion of Alcuinus, in the time of Charles the great: this man being skilfull in all diuine knowledges, liued in the time of Donald the first of that name king of Scotland, as saith Lesleus bishop of Ross, and also flourished in the time of Gregorie king of Scots, in the yeare of Christ eight hundred fourescore and twelue. This Ioannes Scotus after many yeares spent at Athens in the Greeke letters, was called into France by Lodouike emperor of the Romans, who besides other monuments of his learning, at the commandement of the said emperor, did turne the Hierarchie of saint Denis into Latine, besides the commentaries of Hugo de san-

cto Victore, a most notable diuine. Shortly after which, the said John was sent by Charles the great into England, to Alured, or Alfred the king thereof, to congratulat so worthie a prince for the victories which he had of the Danes: who after that he had settled a perfect league betwene the French and the Scots, remained in England continuallie, intertained by Alured, of whose children he was admitted to be chiefe scholemaster and instructor.

But shortly after, professing diuine and humane learning in the monasterie of Palmesburie, to all such as would come to his lecture, he was by certaine scholars of his (whose pride and euill conditions he did sharpelie rebuke, wounded & killed pitifullie with Pugionibus, as saith Lesleus. Which John, the king of England (as I suppose) by the authority of the pope, procured to be numbred amongst the martyrs of Christ, ordaining a notable monument to be erected ouer him in the same monasterie: of whose writings and doings thus writeth Gesnerus in these words: Ioannes Mailrosius cognomine & natione Scotus, Alcuini socius, scripsit super canones Aizachelis lib. 1. Ad Carolū regē lib. 1. Versus diuersi generis lib. 1. In euangel. Mat. lib. 3. De officijs humanis lib. 8. De officijs diuinis lib. 1. Dialogum de natura lib. 1. De naturæ diuisione lib. 1. De primo rerū principio lib. 1. De eucharistia lib. 1. Commentaria scripturarum lib. 1. Homilias eruditissimas lib. 1. De German. iuxta Irenium lib. 1. Claruit anno 792, Baleus. Idem libros Dionysij Areopagite in Latinam linguam transtulit. Carmen eius ad Carolum magnum extat apud M. Dreff.

Kennethus king of Scots, who died in the yeare of Christ eight hundred fiftie & six, wrote a booke of godlie lawes which are expressed by Lesleus lib. 1. pag. 75. of whome thus writeth Gesnerus: Kennethus Scottorum rex, Alcuini regis filius, scripsit Breuiarium antiquarum legum, quibus in foris per Angliam iurisperiti vtuntur. But in that Gesner is deceiued; for we neuer read (as far as my memorie serueth) that euer the English borrowed lawes of the Scots; but contrarie, the Scots haue borrowed, & bene inforced to obvie the lawes of England, as receiuing them from the kings of this land, their superior lords: to whome they haue done their homage, although time hath now woone the same out of vse.

Kennethus king of Scots.

Claudianus Clemens, by birth a Scot & a monke, being the disciple of Bede, was companion to Albinus or Alcuinus, as saith Sixtus Senensis in bibliotheca sancta: he was verie studious in the scriptures, & skilfull in other humane knowledges, who liuing in the time of Charlemaine, in the yeare of Christ eight hundred, and eight hundred and ten, did in verse and prose write manie learned works, whereof these are knowne to be his: In pentateuchum lib. 5. In Iosua lib. 1. In Iudicum lib. 1. In Ruth lib. 1. In psalterium. In Mattheum lib. 1. In Paulum ad Galatas. De euangelistarum concordia. Contra Bonifacium Anglum, & alia multa.

Claudianus Clemens.

Beornillus bishop of the Scots, of whome thus writeth Parker in his booke of the liues of the archbishops of Canturburie: Beornillus Scottorum episcopus acerrimus verborum & sententiarum aculeus carmine scriptis, monachorum turbam laceffuit: which Beornillus was also at the counsell of Calne in Wilthire in England, about the yeare of Christ nine hundred thre score and seuentene. For Alfritha the queene procured Alfrith or Alfred earle of Mercia in England, that he should labor to haue this Beornill to be present there, which this bishop Beornill did performe, and vehementlie spake in defense of the secular priests, against the placing of monks in their houses.

Beornillus.

Alcuinus

Aemilius.

Aemilius archbishop of the Scots, being martyred, and so termed a martyr, is supposed to have written certaine homilies; he flourished as hath Gesnerus out of Bale, in the yeare of Christ one thousand and seuen, vnder the gouernment of Grime and Malcolme (the second) kings of Scots.

Malcolme.

Malcolme the second of that name king of Scots, who began his reigne in the yeare of Christ one thousand and ten, and reigned thirtie yeares, departing the world in the yeare of Christ one thousand and fortie, did write of his countrie lawes, Lib. 1. being at length slaine by his owne courtiers.

Marianus Scotus.

Marianus Scotus so called, because that he was bozne in Scotland, was a monke of the order Benedictine, who when he perceiued all the realme of Scotland to be kindeled with continuall and cruell hatred in the time of the tyrant Mackbeth, beginning his reigne in the yeare of Christ one thousand fortie and six, he forsooke his countrie, and first came vnto the monasterie of Hulda in Germanie; where for a time he continued vnder Richard the abbat (a Scot, no lesse famous for his godlinesse, than for his learning) which at the time of his coming thither, had the gouernment of the same abbete. After which, Marianus went to Mentz, and passing ouer a solitarie life by the space of thirtie yeares, in an opinion of all men for his vertue, he shortly after died, who (flourishing vnder the said tyrant Mackbeth, & Malcolme the third of that name king of Scots) did leaue behind him these works of his: Chronica ab initio mundi vsque ad sua tempora lib. 3. De concordantia euangelistarum lib. 1. De computo lib. 1. Emendationes Dionysij. Annotationes scripturarum. De cyclo paschali. Algorithmum. Breuiarium in Lucam. Epistolae hortatorias, obiit Maguntia, anno Dom. 1086.

Turgotus.

Turgotus by Gesner called deane of Durham, and by our chronicles called prior of that house, was a verie vertuous person, and after created bishop of saint Andrews, who being in life in the yeare of Christ one thousand fourescore and sixteene, in the time of Malcolme the third, surnamed Canmor, or with the great head king of Scots, did write De Scotorum regibus lib. 1. Chronica Dunelmensis lib. 1. Annales sui temporis lib. 1. Vitam Malcolmi regis, & vitam Margaretæ Angliæ reginæ. In which Gesner hath mistaken himselfe, for there was not ante Margaret quene of England manie hundred yeres after this Turgotus, vntill the latter time of king Edward the first. Wherefore it should rather be the life of saint Margaret quene of Scotland, and the wife of that Malcolme.

David Scotus.

David Scotus, of whom Gesner maketh two distinct writers one after another, first setting downe David Scotus, and next David Presbyter Scotus, this man being bozne in Scotland, was first scholemaster at Wilceburgh, who being after called into the court by Henrie the first the emperor, of whom Auentinus abbas Vrspergensis & manie others do write, was after made bishop of Bangor in Wales. This man writing the discourse of the iourneie which the emperor Henrie the first made into Italie after the pacification had betwene him and the pope about the inuestiture of bishops, did occasion William of Malmesburie to saie thus much of him in his first booke De regibus. At verò Henricus antiquis Cesaribus in nulla virtute deiection, post pacatum regnum Theutonicum præsumebat animo Italicum; rebellionem urbium subiungaturus, quæstionemque de inuestitura suo libito recisurus; sed iter illud ad Romani magnis exercitationibus peccatorum magnis angoribus corporum consummatum. David Scotus Banchorensis episcopus exposuit, magis regis gratiam quam historicum deceret accluius. He lived and pro-

pered about the yeare of our Lord one thousand one hundred and ten in the times of Edgar and Alexander (the first) kings of Scotland, & did write Henrici imperatoris in Italiam expeditionem lib. 1. Magistratuum insignia lib. 1. Apologiam ad Cæsarem de regno Scotorum lib. 1.

Richardus de sancto Victore (of whom I do not as yet find ante mention in Gesner, but in John Maior and Lesseus) lived in the yeare of Christ one thousand one hundred twentie and foure, vnder David the first king of Scotland, who being a religious person of the order of saint Augustine, and not inferior to ante diuine of his time, as well in scholasticall as other diuinitie, did set forth manie works to be read, & was buried in the cloister of saint Victor in Paris, whose monument is yet to be seene with this epitaph recited by John Maior in his memorialis:

*Moribus, ingenio, doctrina clarus & arte,
Puluerco hic tegeris docte Richarde situ:*

*Quem tellus genuit felici Scotica parui,
Te sonet in gremio Gallica terra suo.*

Nili tibi parca ferox nocuit, nec stamina paruo

Tempore tracta graui rupit acerba manu:

Plurima namque tui superant monumenta laboris,

Quæ tibi perpetuum sunt paritura decus.

Segnior ut lento sceleratas mors petiit edes,

Sic propero nimis it sub pia tectâ gradu.

Walter the bastard sonne of David the first of

that name king of Scots by a widow sometime the wife of one Walter a Scot, was so far estranged from the vaine things of this world, that from his youth he was (as saith Lesseus lib. 6. pag. 223.) wholly consecrated to holie exercises and offices, being first inuened with the rich carionrie of saint Oswald, and after with the honorable priorie of Kirkham. But he rightlie considering with himselfe that there was nothing which did more weaken the force of vertue than riches and idlenesse, did refuse the archbishopricke of saint Andrews, and closed himselfe in a monasterie, where he remained vntill he was aduanced to be abbat of Melrose, wherevnto being so preferred, he was the author and occasion that Malcolme (the fourth of that name king of Scots, surnamed the virgin) laid the foundation of manie abbetes. This man made commentaries vpon the booke intituled the Ecclesiasticall rule, and at length being famous through manie intracles (as that age did simple suppose) he was installed amongst the number of the saints, and flourished vnder the same king Malcolme, which began his reigne in the yeare of our redemption one thousand one hundred fiftie and three, which Walter I suppose to be the same man of whom Gesnerus writeth in this sort: Gualternus Albanensis monachus scripsit de libris ecclesiæ lib. 1. claruit anno Domini 1180. Balcan.

Richardus de sancto victore.

Walter the bastard sonne of king David the first.

Thomas Liermant alias Ersilton being bozne in Scotland, was had amongst the common people in great admiration, who not being greatlie learned did by a certaine diuination (as though Apollo had spoken from the curteine) foretell things to come, but with what spirit we will not iudge, whose words obtained the more authoritie and credit, because he had foretold the fatall date of the death of Alexander the third king of Scots, which lost his life in the yeare one thousand two hundred fourescore and three. He wrote Prædictiones rerum Scoticarum rhimicis versibus, speaking most commonlie also in rime, and was therefore by the English surnamed Rhimicus, or the Rimer, living some yeares after the death of Alexander the third, for Gesner maketh him to flourish in the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred fourescore and six.

Thomas Liermant alias Ersilton.

Epichall

Michael
Medicus.

Michael Medicus, being a learned man in all philosophy, astronomie, and the other mathematicas, whereby he grew in admiration amongst the people, is twice mentioned by Gesner, a fault which I manie times find in his Bibliotheca, first pag. 607, by the name Michael Mathematicus cognomine Scotus, who flourished in the time of John Balliol king of Scots, and in the yeare of Christ 1290, being an old man, he wrote In gratia Frederici 2. imperatoris. De sphaera lib. 1. In Aristotelis meteoris lib. 4. De constitutione mundi lib. 4. De anima lib. 1. De celo & mundo lib. 2. De somno & vigilia lib. 2. De generatione & corruptione lib. 2. De substantia orbis lib. 1. De sensu & sensato lib. 2. De memoria & reminiscencia lib. 2. Contra Auerroem in meteoris lib. 1. Imagines astronomicas lib. 2. Astrologorum dogmata lib. 1. In ethica Aristotelis lib. 10. De signis planetarum lib. 1. De chiromantia lib. 1. De physiognomia lib. 1. Abbreviationes Auicennae lib. 1. De animalibus ad Caesarem lib. 1. whose booke of physiognomie was printed at Venice Anno Dom. 1503. by John Baptista Selva.

John Duns.

John Duns by some called Iohannes Scotus, and learned the subtil doctor, was so surnamed Duns of the towne of Duns, eight miles from England, who (when he was yet but a boie) was by two frier minours brought into England to Oxford, there to be instructed: for at that time not long after was there not anie vniuersitie in Scotland. By means of which two friers he was placed in a house of their profession, in which this Duns at length took the habit and order of the Franciscans, proving of a most singular wit, whereby he became a sharpe and subtil disputer, who departing from Oxford, went to Paris, being called thither by the frier minours, where when he had for some space remained, and read unto them of scholasticall matters, he traueled to Cullen, and there vntimely died in his youthfull yeares. He liued in the time of John Balliol king of Scots, which began his reigne in the yeare of Christ 1283, of which Duns all they which follow his opinions are (as faith Lellius lib. 7. pag. 250) called Scotists or Scotists as all they of an other faction are surnamed Thomists or the Thomists, after Thomas Aquinas. But now in our age it is growne to be a common prouerbe in derision, to call such a person as is senselesse or without learning a Duns, which is as much as a foole: although trulie the same cannot stand with anie reason, this man Duns being so famous for his learning as he was, who wrote manie volumes as after shall appeare. But before I come to him, I thinke it not vnfit to set downe what other haue written touching him, sith both the English, the Irish, and the Scots, do challenge him to be their countriman, borne amongst them. Thus therefore writeth Scanihurst in his description of Ireland vnder the title of the Irish writers: Iohannes Duns Scotus an Irishman borne, as in the forefront of this treatise I haue declared. Howbeit Iohannes Maior a Scottish chronicler lib. 4. cap. 16. would faine proue him to be a Scot. Leland on the other side saith, that he was borne in England. So that there shall be as great contention rise of him as in old time there rose of Homers countrie, for the Colophonians said that Homer was borne in their citie, the Cyprians claimed him to be theirs: the Salaminians aduouched that he was their countriman. But the Smirniens were so stiffelie bent in prouing him to be borne in their territorie, as they would at no hand take no naie in the matter, and thereupon they did consecrate a church to the name of Homer. But what countriman so euer this Scotus were, he was doubtlesse a subtil and profound cleark. The onelie fault wherewith he was dished,

was a little spece of bawlingorie, being giuen to carpe and talunt his predecessors diuines, rather for blemishing the fame of his aduersaries, than for aduancing the truth of the controuersies. Thus much Scanihurst. Now the booke which he wrote were these: Super sententias lib. 4. Quodlibeta quoque lib. 1. Sermones de sanctis lib. 4. Sermones de tempore li. 1. De cognitione Dei lib. 1. Comentarios Oxonienses lib. 4. Reportationes Parisienses lib. 4. In metaphysica quaestione lib. 12. Quaestiones vniuersaliu li. 2. Quaestiones praedicamentoru lib. 1. In analytica posteriora lib. 1. In Aristotelis physica lib. 8. In Categorias eiusdem lib. 1. Lecturam in Genesim lib. 1. De rerum principio lib. 1. Commentaria in euangelia lib. 4. In epistolas Pauli. Collectiones Parisienses. Tetragrammatum lib. 1. & alia. Claruit Anno Dom. 1308. Of whose booke thus further writeth Gesn. Iohannes Scotus sententiarum interpreti primam sacratissimam Dionysij translationem ascribunt, cum alteri cuidam Iohanni Scoto (before named, and liuing about the yeare of Christ eight hundred ninetie & two, about three hundred yeares before this Duns) Qui istu multis saeculis antecessit, & Athanis Grece didicit, accepta referri debeat. Of the death of this man see Petrus Crinitus lib. 24. cap. 11. De honesta vita, where he affirmeth that this Duns did turne the hierarchie of S. Denis out of Greeke into Latine.

Thomas Warreite or Warreite flourished at the battell of Otterburne, which was in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred eightie and eight, in the time of Robert the second of that name king of Scots, at what time the English were put to the worst. This man vpon this victorie did compose manie things in Latine rime beginning in this sort: *Musarefert fatum fore scriptum carmine vatam, &c.* Who being maister and ruler of Beshwallie, is not greatly esteemed of the Scottish historiographers. Gesnerus referreth the time wherein he liued, to the yeare of Christ one thousand two hundred and ninetie, which is almost a hundred yeares before that, in which the histories of Scotland make anie mention of him.

William Elphinstone being borne in Scotland was a great learned man, but because I do find one hundred and fortie yeares difference touching the time wherein he liued, set downe within three or foure lines the one of the other by Gesnerus, I will saie nothing of him, but onelie verbatim set downe the words of the same author in this sort. Gulielmus Elphinston natione Scotus, Albonensis episcopus, scripsit antiquitates Scotorum, & conciliorum statuta librum vnum. Claruit anno Domini 1480. Laudat hunc valde Bostonus Buriensis in magno scriptorum catalogo, ob singularem eruditionem. Vixit circa annum 1340. Thus much Gesnerus.

James Steward the first of the name of James, being brought vp in England as a person estranged from his native soile, is by Gesnerus said to haue bene by some called Robert the third, which can not be so; for he that was so named was John Steward, and not James. This man in the time whilst he remained in England, being a kind of banishment from his owne countrie, did compose one booke of verses, and manie other songs, he being both a learned diuine, philosopher, and musician, who was in the end slaine of his owne people, in the thirtieth yeare of his reigne, falling in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand foure hundred thirtie and six.

Iohannes Maior borne in Scotland, whom Sixtus Senensis in his Bibliotheca sancta doth (not rightlie) call an Englishman, was brought vp in Oxford, where attaining to sufficient learning, he went into France for the obtaining further knowledge

Thomas
Warreite.William
Elphinstone.

James Steward.

Iohannes
Maior.

ledge, and applied his studie in Paris, where he followed and professed diuinitie, as appeared by his owne woorkes. He was bozne at Haddington in Scotland, as appeareth by Gesnerus, of whome he is named Iohannes Maior Haddingtonensis, he did write Decisiones sententiarum lib. 4. Sophisticalia Parisiensia, Placita theologica, Commentarios in Mathæum, Historiarum maioris Britannia lib. 6. Caxtonum Anglum transtulit lib. 7. He flourished at Paris, as hath Gesnerus, in the yeare of Grace one thousand five hundred & twentie, under James the first king of Scots, vnto whome he dedicated his storie of Britaine, concerning England and Scotland. There is one John Spator vouched and aledged in Crisopasso Ioan. Eccij, which I do take to be this man. And Sixtus Senensis in his Bibliotheca sancta amongst the writers of the bible doth speake of one John Spator in this manner: Iohannes Maior Anglus scripsit in quatuor euangelia scholastica postillam, and liued in the yeare of Christ one thousand and foure hundred, being an hundred and twentie yeares before the time appointed by others, and by Spator himselfe therein he should liue. Of which Spator Buchanan hath verie scoffinglie set downe these foure verses here vnder written as followeth:

*Cum scateat nugis solo cognomine Maior,
Nec sit in immenso pagina sana libro,
Non mirum titulus quod se veracibus ornat,
Nec semper mendax fingere Creta solet.*

William Gregor.

William Gregor bozne in Scotland, and student in Paris, where he professed diuinitie, did liue, as saith Bibliotheca sancta, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and seuentene, and also, as hath Bibliotheca Gesneri in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred twentie and seuen. He left manie books behind him which he had carefullie and learneblie written, whereof these are the titles: De duplici potestate lib. 1. Elucidationes sententiarum lib. 4. Quaestiones vesperales lib. 1. In politica Aristotelis lib. 8. De triplici animæ potentia lib. 1. De regno Christi aeterno lib. 1. De triplici principatu lib. 1. De scripturæ sensibus lib. 3. Ad vocabulæ theologici lib. 1. Collectiones Sorbonicas lib. 1. De disciplina Iuniorum lib. 1. De sacra synaxi lib. 1. In psalterium commentarios lib. 1. Sermones in euangelia & epistolas per circuitum lib. 2.

Hector Boetius.

Hector Boetius of Dundee in Scotland, was a learned and an eloquent historiographer, whose stile in manie parts goeth beyond the truth of times, places, and persons in his Scottish historie. He flourished in the yeare of Christ one thousand three hundred twentie and six, vnder James the first king of Scots, of whome I will saie no more, but set downe Gesnerus woords: Hector Boetius Deidonnatus, natione Scotus, scripsit catalogum regum Scotia. Descriptiones eiusdem regni lib. 1. Historias Scotorum lib. 17. Aberdonensium pontificum vitas, eius historia Scotorum excusæ sunt Parisijs, anno 1556: earundem historiarum à prima gentis origine cum aliarum & rerum & gentium illustratione non vulgari lib. 19. Duo postremi huius historiae libri nunc primum emittuntur in lucem. Accessit & huic editioni eiusdem Scotorum historiae continuatio per Ioannem Ferretium Pedemontanum recens & ipsa scripta & edita sol. Parisijs apud Iacobum Dupuys 1580.

Gawine Dowglas.

Gawine Dowglas, bozne of the noble house of the Dowglases in Scotland, being of a rare wit and learning, was made bishop of Dunkeld; who for contention betwene him and the gouernour of Scotland, forsooke his countrie and fled into England, where he died at London, in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred twentie and one, in the

time of James the first of that name king of Scots, who in his life time did write Palatium honoris lib. 1. Aureas narrationes lib. 1. Comedias aliquot lib. 1. De rebus Scoticis lib. 1. Transtulit in patrium sermonem Aeneidos Virgilij lib. 12.

Dauid Lindsay of the mount of hill, otherwisse by his office of principall herald of the realme of Scotland, surnamed Lion, was both a knight and a learned person, as may appeare by his woorkes written in his owne tong in verse, which were Acta suæ temporis lib. 1. De mundi miserijs lib. 1. Tragedia Davidis Beton lib. 1. Testamentum cardinalis Beton lib. 1. as hath Gesnerus (if that booke and the tragedie of Dauid Beton cardinal be not all one) Testamentum psalici lib. 1. Dialogus aulici & experientia lib. 1. Somnium Davidis Lindsey lib. 1. Deploratio mortis reginæ Magdalene lib. 1. Of most of which his woorkes Gesnerus maketh no mention, although that he affirme that he flourished in the yeare of Grace one thousand five hundred and fortie, in the time of James the first king of Scotland, with whome in his youth this Lindsay was brought vp, and whome he after painfullie serued in the court.

Patrick Hamilton, bozne of the noble familie of the Hamiltons, being the nephew of the earle of Arrane by his brother, was (as saith Lesleus lib. 9. pag. 427) Abbas Fenensis, who hauing applied his time in studie in Germanie, and followed the doctrine of Luther, did returne into Scotland, was after by the bishops condemned for an heretike, and burned in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand five hundred twentie and eight, as haue Gesnerus and Bale in the time of James the first of that name king of Scots. He wrote diuerse books, amongst which were these, De lege & euangelio lib. 1. De fide & operibus lib. 1.

Johannes Altus, so called by Gesner, being a Scot bozne, had some contention with one Cusdan Porphet, to whome he did write in verse a sharpe and rebuking apologie which contained one booke; besides which also he did write another booke Contra Antiscotum of this Porphet, & Epigrammata lib. 1. He liued in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred and thirtie vnder James the first.

John Bellendon or Wallentine, who flourished in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred thirtie and six, vnder king James the first, translated Hector Boetius out of Latine into Scottish and English, and wrote the description of Albanie or Scotland.

John Mouran being a canon regular, hauing applied himselfe to the studie of diuinitie, wherein he much profited, did write in his owne language Catechismus fidei lib. 1. and liued in the yeare of our redemption one thousand five hundred fortie and six, and in the fourth yere of the reigne of Marie quene of Scots.

John Herrison a Scot, liuing in the yere of our saluation one thousand five hundred fortie and eight, being the first yere of Marie quene of Scots, did applie his time in the studie of diuinitie, and wrote, De amplectanda in christiana religione concordia lib. 1. which was written to Edward Seymour duke of Summerset protector of England.

John Packebate called in Latine Ioannes Machabæus, being descended of a noble familie of the Scots, did follow his studie in matters of diuinitie; who flourishing in the yeare of our Lord God one thousand five hundred and fiftie, being the eight yere of the reigne of Marie quene of Scots, did compose, De vera & falsa ecclesia lib. 1.

John Packebate bozne in Scotland, did flourish in Germanie in the yere that the word became flesh

George Chanam.

Patrick Hamilton.

Johannes Altus.

John Bellendon.

John Mouran.

John Herrison.

John Machabæus.

John Packebate.

both one thousand five hundred fiftie and eight, being the sixteenth year of the reigne of Marie quene of Scots: This man, whome Gesnerus supposeth might fortune to be the same John Maketh before touched, did write Anglorum ecclesiarum originem & progressum lib. 1. Explicationem suae fidei lib. 1.

George Buchanan.

George Buchanan an Irish Scot, greatlie learned, but manie times maliciouslie affected, and that so vehementlie, as that he would not forbear in the highest degree of malice to upbraid and backbite euerie person and nation which had offended him, as male appeare by his inuictible speeches, not beleeving a man of his learning, was schoolmaster to James the first of that name king of Scotland, of whom living in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred three score and nine, I will forbear to saye what I could, least I might offend in that which I write in him, & therefore will onlie set down what Gesner hath written of him. Georgius Buchananus Scotus rudimenta grammatices Latinae Thomae Linacri ex Anglico sermone in Latinum vertit: ea Nicoh. Brilingerus impressit Basilae anno 1542. extant eius & elegantissima poemata: Iephthes tragedia, Lutetiae apud Vascosanum. Franciscanus & fratres, quibus accesserunt varia eiusdem & aliorum poemata, Basilae apud Guarcinum an. 1568. Eiusdem psalmorum paraphrasis poetica, Geneuae, Argentinae, Antuerpiae impressa in 8 & 16. eiusdem Baptistes suae calumnia tragedia, in 8. Francof. apud Wechelium. De iure regni apud Scotos editio secunda, Edinburgi 1580. Psalmi Davidis ab eodem versibus expressi nunc primum modulis 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, vocum a I. Seruino decantati 4 Lugduni 1580. Rerum Scholasticarum historia lib. 20. Edinburgi in folio an. 1583.

John Knoles

John Knoles borne in Scotland, a great enimie to the Romane religion, was sometime remaining in England as banished from Scotland, after being returned home he preached at the coronation of Charles James, the first of that name king of Scotland, and wrote manie bookes in the Scottish English, amongst which were Ad Londonienses & alios lib. 1. Ad euangelii professores lib. 2. Qualiter sit orandum lib. 1. Contra missam papisticam lib. 1. Doctrina missalium lib. 1. De fide eucharistiae epistola 1. Ad ecclesias afflictas epist. 1. Ad Scotiae reginam Mariam epist. 1. Concilium in his angustiis epist. 1. Bucinae afflatum primum lib. 1. Appellationem a sententia cleri lib. 1. Ad populares Scotiae libri vnum. He lived in the yeare of Christ 1569.

John Langeie

John Langeie a Scot borne, following his studie in Paris became a Sorbonicall doctor, who living in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred three score and ten, did write a booke of the life, doctrine, and death of Martin Luther and John Calvin, and of manie other ministers of the new gospel (as he scoinefullie termed it) which bookes were out of French turned into Latine, and latelie into the Germane tongue, printed in 4 at Ingelsfide in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred foure score and two.

John Durie.

Iohannes Durus or Durie, whom Gesner calleth Bureus, being borne in Dumfermling, and the son before he was abbat of the abbat of Dumfermling brother to the lord of Duries, was brought up in Paris and Louan, after which he became a priest, and then a Jesuit, who now living did in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred foure score and foure, write a booke which was intituled Confutatio repositionis Iohannis Whitakeri, ad rationes decem quibus fretus Edmundus Campianus Anglus Iesuita certamen Anglicanae ecclesiae ministris obtulit in causa fidei: which booke was printed at Paris in 8 by Thomas Brunelius, In clauso Brunello sub signo oliuae.

Patrick Adamson.

Patrick Adamson living in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred three score and thirteene, did write certaine verses, whereof this was the title

and effect, as hath Gesnerus, Patricii Adamsoni gratiarum actio illarum & potentiss. principi Elizabethae Angli. Franc. & Hiberniae reginae, propter liberatam civili seditione Scotiam, & redactam munificentiam Edinburgi arcem sub fide regis carmen elegiacum, which man being now living, is archbishop of saint Andrews.

Patrick Cockburne.

Patrick Cockburne borne in Scotland, and flourishing in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred & fiftie, in the time of Marie quene of Scots, did write, De vilitate & excellentia verbi Dei, which was printed at Paris by Michael Jezandate, and Robert Craucion, in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred fiftie and one. He wrote also De vulgari sacrae scripturae phrasi, lib. 2. whereof the first doth treat of the sinne against the Holie ghost, which they call irremitable or unto death: the second booke doth with great diligence and fidelitie unfold the most hard and most obscure places of both the testaments, hitherto by manie entille understood, and twice interpreted: which booke was printed at Paris by Robert Speltine in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred fiftie and two in 8 chart. 13.

John Bese sometime officiall of Aberdeen, and bishop of Ross, of whom I have spoken in the continuance of the annals of Scotland, being an obstinate fauor and furtherer of the Romane religion doth yet live in the yeare of Christ one thousand five hundred eightie & six, in the time of Charles James the first king of Scots, and hath written Pii afflictionum consolationes diuinae remedia lib. 1. Animi tranquilli monumentum lib. 1. De origine, moribus, & rebus gestis Scotorum lib. 10. printed at Rome.

Ninianus Winzetus.

Ninianus Winzetus, who flourished in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred three score and one, in the time of Marie quene of Scots, was a fauor of the popes doctrine, and enimie to John Knoles, touching whom I will set down the words of two severall authors, whereof the one is Lelleus a Scot, and the popes and his friend, and the other is Bibliotheca Gesneri, whereof the first saith: Hae res (which was a disputation in religion) Niniano Winzeto maximam apud haereticos inuidiam conflavit, unde cum audirent illum (Ninianum Winzetum) iam apud typographum calere in libro excudendo, quo cogitabat cum Knoxio de fide violata ad nobilitatem expositulare, consilium ineunt de opere disturbando, Winzeto capiendo, typographo mulcendo. Magistratus cum satellitibus irruit in typographiam, liberos quos reperit, aufert, Iohan. Scoti typographi bonis mulctatum in carcerem abripit: sed Winzetum, quem tanto pege cupiebant, praeforibus magistratui occurrentem quod incognitus elapsus fuerat, dolent haereticum, rident Catholicum. On the other side thus writeth Bibliotheca Gesneri: Ninianus Winzetus Renfrous, S. theologiae doctor, & apud sancti Iacobi apud Scotos Ratisponae, abbas flagellum sectariorum qui religionis praetextu iam in Caesaris aut in alios orthodoxos principes excitare student, quarentes ineptissime quidem, Deo ne magis an principibus sit obediendum. Accessit velutatio in Georg. Buchan. circa dialogum, quem scripsit de iure regni apud Scotos 4. Ingolstadt ex officina typographica Davidis Sartorii, an. 1581.

Adam Blackwood borne in Scotland in Dumfermling, was brought up in Paris, where attending to manie degrees of learning, is now living, being advanced to the place of one of the chiefe counsellors of Postiers. This man hath learnedlie written manie works, amongst which are his bookes De coniunctione religionis & imperii, Funebres orationes admeralli regni Franciae, & Iacobi Stuarti primi regentis (after that Charles James the first, attained to the crowne) Scotiae. Besides which having written against the work of Buchanan intituled De iure regni, he is now in hand with a booke which he writeth against the chronicle of the same Buchanan.

Adam Blackwood.

Andrew Speltine one of the presbyterie in Scotland.

land, and one who came hither into England with the earls of Angus and Mar, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred fiftie and foure, hath written manie epigrams, and amongst the rest, one inuective against the quene mother, to the king of France, which beginneth *Vipera cum catulis*.

James Erie.

James Erie did (as hath Lesleus lib. 10. pag. 587) go to Rome, after which he became a companion of the Iesuits, who coming to Paris, travelled by writing with his elder brother being a baron, to forsake the doctrine of Caluin; he flourished in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred threescore and one, vnder Marie quene of Scots, and did write *Ad fratrem epistola 1. Responso ad Knoxium lib. 1.*

Charles James.

Charles James the first of that name king of Scots now liuing, a toward yong prince, and one well furnished with the gifts of nature and learning by birth and instruction, did in his yongest yeares about the age of seuentene or eightene, write a booke of verses in his mother tong, containing manie matters of sundrie rare inventions, and of sundrie sort of verses both learned and eloquent, which booke was after published to the world; whom I haue here placed the last in this catalog of Scottish writers, to the end that I would close by the same title with no lesse honorable and rare person, than I first made entrance thereinto: and therefore beginning with a king, I thought good also to knit it by with a king.

Thus setting end to my travels touching Scotland (which I haue not performed as the maiestie of an historie required), but as my skill, helpe, & intelligence would permit: I desire this reader to take it in good part, remembering that *Vltra posse non est esse*, with according to our old prouerbe, A man cannot pipe without his pipe lip. For being denied furtherance (as in the beginning I said) both of the Scots & other of mine owne nation, and thereby not hauing any more subject wherupon to worke, I can do no more than set downe such things as come to my knowledge. And therefore contenting my selfe with this, that In magnis voluisse sat est; I commit my selfe and my labors to thy favorable iudgement, who measuring my meaning with the square of indifferencie, and pardoning all imperfections in these my first labors, in respect of the shortnesse of time to performe the same (for I protest to thee that both the historie of England and Scotland were halfe printed before I set pen to paper to enter into the augmentation or continuation of any of them, as by the inserting of those things which I haue done made well appeare) thou shalt encourage me hereafter vpon more lesure, and better studie, to deliuer to the world rare matters of antiquitie, and such other labors of mine (*Ab sit verbis philautia*) as made both thew the discharge of my dutie to God, to my countrie, to my prince, and to my friends. For though I make same to be sole, yet I fate with Scipio, *Nunquam minus sum otiosus quam cum sum otiosus*.

Post tenebras lucem, sed nondum hora.





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(diuerfe perfons being of one name) his memorie be confounded, and fome error or doubt arife.

By this table you may obferue how manie archbifhops, bifhops, earles, dukes,

etc. haue bene in this land before the conquest: as alfo matter of difcourfe and woorth the marking, whe-
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Gathered by Abraham Fleming.

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Post mortem vita.

FINIS.





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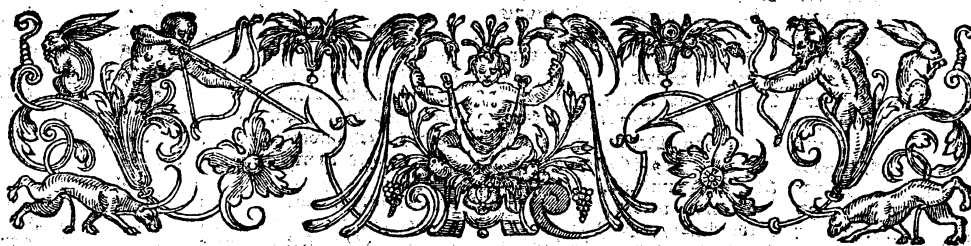
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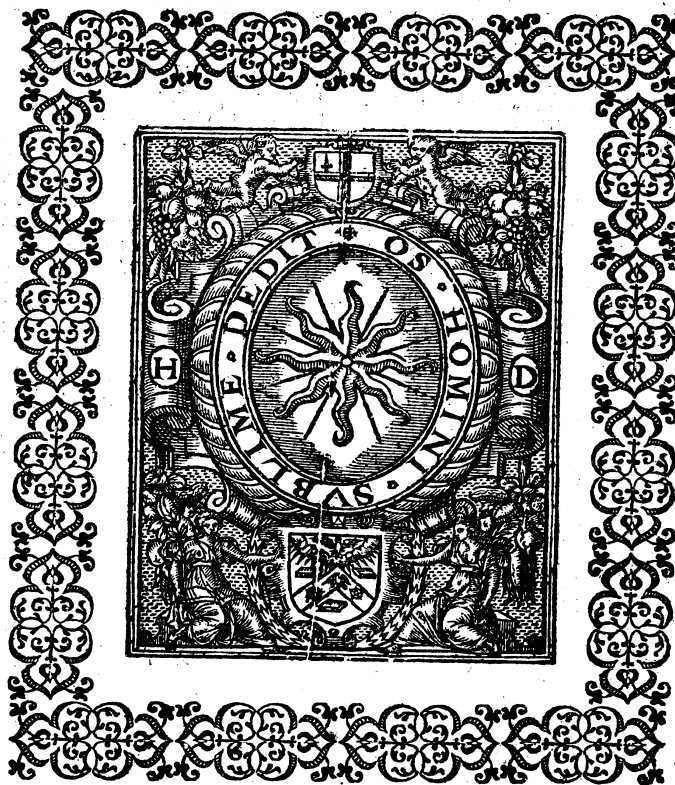
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